Comparative and Global Framing of Enslavement

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Contents

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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.

Michael Zeuske

Slavery and Slaves as "Global and Globalizing"?

Slavery and the enslaved, under whatever culturally shaped name, are ubiquitous in the history of all continents, territories, oceans, nations, countries, and societies of our globe or whatever spatial-social concept. It has been so from the emergence of – or at least since – the so-called "Neolithic Revolution," when people settled down and began to live on the basis of agriculture, weaving, pottery, and, later, animal husbandry (with the very important invention of preservation and storage, such as grain in pottery or meat in herds).[1] Animal husbandry, especially of horses, enabled elites to become influential and rich, while also facilitating massive raids on other settlements (which, of course, also took place on foot or by water). In addition to domestic slavery, this also enabled the integration of enslaved male warriors.[2] In this respect, slavery is not only a global, but also, in my view as a researcher concentrating not on Europe but on the Caribbean, a universalist issue.[3] To what extent this also applies to

1 On this complicated question (whether slavery really existed in all groups/communities and all societies) there are only very few texts. One of the most important comes from the historical-anthropological research based on works by Alain Testart; see Christophe Darmangeat, "Paiements, esclavage et exploitation: éléments d'un triptyque," *Cahiers d'économie Politique* 75, no. 2 (2018): 227–53. The answer or, rather, the perspective, will always remain in a certain sense hypothetical (although in archeology there are more and more interpretations in the sense that there was a specific "status of enslaved without slavery," very local but as such universal. This is what I call the First Plateau). Christophe Darmangeat says: "Plus récemment, A. Testart [2003] reliait l'absence d'esclavage dans certaines aires culturelles à une disposition particulière du droit de la guerre selon laquelle le vainqueur devait, pour conclure la paix, indemniser le vaincu pour ses tués. L'argument, certes séduisant, reste néanmoins quelque peu circulaire; on ne voit pas pourquoi l'absence d'esclavage résulterait davantage d'un droit de la guerre spécifique que l'inverse. Par ailleurs, si une forte proportion de sociétés non esclavagistes se concentrent en effet dans trois principales aires culturelles, de nombreuses autres se situent en dehors d'elles, auxquelles cette thèse ne peut s'appliquer. On en restera donc ici au constat d'une question qui, en raison de sa complexité, n'a jamais reçu de réponse satisfaisante, et qui constituerait un vaste et passionnant programme de recherche." Of course, if slavery is seen as an institution, the platform of the "status of enslaved 'without institution' does not appear": see Alain Testart, *L'institution de l'esclavage: Une approche mondiale*, ed. Valérie Lécrivain (Paris: Gallimard, 2018).

2 Detlef Gronenborn, "Zum (möglichen) Nachweis von Sklaven/Unfreien in prähistorischen Gesellschaften Mitteleuropas," *Ethnologisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 42, no. 1 (2001): 1–42; Martin Schmidt, "Die Welt des Eumaios," in *Geschichte und Fiktion in der homerischen Odyssee*, ed. Andreas Luther (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006): 117–38; Michael Zeuske, "Globalhistorische Sklavereiplateaus," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 41–140.

3 Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019); Michael Zeuske, "Writing Global Histories of Slavery," in *Writing the History of Slavery*, ed. David Stefan Doddington and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022): 41–57.

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so-called "slave labor" today (i.e., extremely hard labor without a legal framework of ownership), a concept which emanated from Brazil and is now being debated worldwide, is still under discussion.[4]

In reality, it always was and still is about *slaveries*. No other term or name for the institution, whether "servility" or "unfree work," can better grasp the global meaning of these terms, namely the ubiquity of these forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies.[5] But, for reasons of language economy, we have to stick to the singular word *slavery*. Whether the sociological/anthropological (functional) concept of "extreme asymmetrical dependency"[6] works (it is ahistorical, but is certainly useful as a heuristic approach in the sense of more functionalist analysis) is currently being intensively researched at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS).

Slavery, if one absolutely wants a definition, is the exploitation and control of human bodies, their productivity (work, energy, services), reproduction, time, and mobility by other people, institutions, or corporations. This includes their use as bodily capital and a commodity for (more) slaves, economic success, power, value, wealth and productivity/reproduction, status, and health; their use as currency or life assurance; and sometimes the very specific use of parts or the whole of the enslaved body. Slaving or enslavement as the procurement of those to be enslaved by mostly marginal elites or as mutual "gifts" between elite members of empires actually makes slavery an institution (or vice versa: slavery and enslaved people are important for founding and maintaining imperial states).[7] Slavery was never a "mode of production," but always part of other social systems and cultures (imperial, monarchical, republican, as well as in so-called pre-state, small-scale societies).

Slavery as an object of research is now more and more seen by historians as a social-historical global phenomenon with many cultural-historical dimensions and as the basis of many societies, states, and empires. But for other historians and many

4 Rebecca J. Scott, "O Trabalho Escravo Contemporâneo e os Usos da História," *Mundos do Trabalho* (Florianópolis, Brazil) 5, no. 9 (2013): 129–37; Rebecca J. Scott, Leonardo Augusto de Andrade Barbosa and Carlos Henrique Borlido Haddad, "How Does the Law Put a Historical Analogy to Work?: Defining the Imposition of 'A Condition Analogous to That of a Slave' in Modern Brazil," *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy* 13, no. 1 (2017), https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3058191 [accessed 26.01.2023].

5 One of the best examples of research into slavery as slaveries and their interdependencies is that into the diverse slaveries in North America, including northern Mexico and the Caribbean: see Bonnie Martin and James Brooks, eds., *Linking the Histories of Slavery in North America and Its Borderlands* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2015).

6 Ehud R. Toledano, "Models of Global Enslavement," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2020): 31–51.

7 John Bodel and Walter Scheidel, eds., *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2017); Joseph C. Miller, "Slaving as Historical Process: Examples from the Ancient Mediterranean and the Modern Atlantic," in *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern*, ed. Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008): 70–102; Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

more sociologists and anthropologists, it is not considered a global phenomenon. In many societies and historiographies, the mention of the word "slavery" is actively prevented or does not matter. This is a real problem in many ways. I want to start with one here. Slaveries are always local, even in the earliest times, but are spread over entire areas of human populations. They are local-global, or, in current terminology, glocal. However, they are rarely connected by supra-regional exchange networks (which can be relativized by captivity). Truly global structures, that is, the global networks of sailing ships and trade that spanned the globe (in a German word from the fifteenth century, *Erdball*) from around 1570 (Manila) belonged more to slave traders, merchants, captains, ship crews (as well as other auxiliary groups or individuals, such as doctors, cooks, healers, and translators), and members of the global Christian orders (such as Jesuits, i.e., in a very general sense, people of knowledge). There were certainly also some men enslaved on the ships that sailed these global network routes. But relatively few. Enslaved people have been hemispherically "global" (i.e., in the Atlantic World or in the Indian Ocean World, and the marginal seas of the Pacific) or terrestrially "global" – between China, India, Asia Minor, the Middle East, North Africa, Arabia, and the edges of Europe (with a center in Central Asia). Slavery and its social actors were not totally global until the nineteenth century, already mingled with the mass migration of indentured laborers (most of them from China, India, the Pacific Islands, and Indonesia).[8] But they were globalizing in the sense of a globalizing transculturation "from below" (food, plants, epidemics, performances, knowledge of life in the tropics, etc.). The most global and globalizing cosmopolitans from below were slave traders, captains, and their personnel (like seamen, sometimes enslaved ones, and Atlantic creoles).[9]

The connections to real global communications and mobilities began in the sixteenth century. To be more explicit: prior to the circumnavigation of the Earth by Iberian ships (Magellan/El Cano, 1519–1522) and the founding of Manila in 1571, nothing about slavery was global in terms of globally connected slavery/slaveries, slavery regimes, and slave trades. There was also no such thing as global biographies of enslaved people (although there is the myth of a global life history).[10] All slaveries were

8 Michael Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos: Global Dimensions of Second Slavery," in *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*, ed. Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf et al. (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016): 35–57.

9 Damian Alan Pargas, "Slavery as a Global and Globalizing Phenomenon: An Editorial Note," *Journal of Global Slavery* 1 (2016): 1–4; see also Jerry H. Bentley, Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen, eds., *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

10 Eberhard Crailsheim, "Die Manila-Galeone: Ein Akteur der frühen Globalisierung" [The Manila Galleon: An Actor in Early Globalization], in *Seehandelsrouten: Wegbereiter der frühen Globalisierung*, ed. Franz Halbartschlager, Andreas Obenaus and Philipp A. Sutner (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2019): 188–224; Dennis O. Flynn and Arturo Giráldez, "Born Again: Globalization's Sixteenth Century Origins (Asian/Global versus European Dynamics)," *Pacific Economic Review* 13, no. 3 (2008): 359–87.

"systems of belonging" (E. Toledano)[11] for different forms of kin and households, as well as (sometimes very large) regional, social, and political entities. This means that all slaveries were also systems of territorial and culturally rooted dependencies – after almost always very violent acts, actions, and processes of enslavement against individuals and groups. All the systems we know of were initially local, but also regional, continental, imperial, and, perhaps, as said above, "hemispheric" or interhemispheric, such as Mongol (East and Southeast Asia to Eastern Europe) or Islamic commercial networks (North India, with connections to the Malay world, North and East Africa, and Europe).

But before the nineteenth century, the "global," in a spatial sense of the entire globe, did not exist. Let me repeat this before I explain the basic structures below. With the advent of the global market, based on real networks and sailing routes, in around 1550, regional or local slavery regimes (house slaveries and slaveries of women and children, which were collective slaveries, often under the control of local elites) were increasingly globalized.[12] But, before the so-called *Welthandel* (the world economy from around 1860), global colonialities and overseas colonies slaveries were not totally global, only, at most, national-imperial and, as I said, hemispheric work systems. For the nineteenth century, this globalized slavery is conceptualized as *second slavery* in a *hidden Atlantic* (in and for the Americas in 1820–1888) with worldwide ramifications – despite (or precisely because of) Western and other abolition discourses. Before, alongside, and after these processes of globalization, many local slaveries, slavery regimes, and slave trading systems under other names (and cultural traditions) existed, regional slavery among regional elites and myriads of migrations in forced labor systems.

1 Chronological-Spatial Plateaus of Slavery in World and Global History

There are chronological-spatial plateaus (as I call them) of slavery. Hypothetically, they began between 20,000 and 10,000–8,000 BCE and are spatial to differing degrees, ranging from local to larger spaces. However, they always grew from local roots in

11 Ehud R. Toledano, "Enslavement in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 34; see also Gudrun Krämer, "Fürstendiener und Pfortensklaven," in *Der Vordere Orient und Nordafrika ab 1500* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2016): 85–87.

12 Angus Dalrymple-Smith and Matthias van Rossum, "Globalization and Coerced Labour in Early Modern Asia and Africa," in *The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global. From "Capitalism and Slavery" to Slavery as Capitalism*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Michael Zeuske [= *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020)]: 543–59.

some form, which was also culturally defined (religious-legal forms, such as forms of bondage and serfdom in Europe). They were, even in their very local beginnings, "global." This does not contradict the above. This "global," as I have said already, was global in the sense that slaves existed, such as enslaved women and children without slavery as an institution and as prisoners in groups in the absence of a state or in "small-scale societies," across the entire globe (especially on land).[13]

Now, the plateaus. It is important to stress that all these plateaus have a starting point, but no end (i.e., they continue to this day), with the relative exception of the third plateau (Atlantic slavery), which was abolished formally in the West (including all of the Americas and the Caribbean) in 1803 (Haiti), 1810–1850s (the new republics), 1838 (UK), 1848 (France), 1863 (Netherlands), 1865 (USA), Puerto Rico (1873), 1886 (Cuba), and 1888 (Brazil). Today's slaveries all exist without legal concepts of ownership (under "Roman" law – as well as other civil codes and traditional Anglo-American case law).

The First Plateau consists chiefly of enslaved women and children or, better, poor women/children as victims and/or part of concrete actions of slaving within or between communities (hunger, interruption of mobility, shelter, rape, raids, war, and ritual/sacrificial captivity/slavery).[14] This plateau includes the self-enslavement of women, children, and poor people for the sake of food and survival. This was "slavery without an institution," which, as already mentioned, has existed since between 20,000 and 8,000 BCE,[15] and still does.

Even if there is a type of contract (as was the case very early in China), once it is signed these people totally disappear as legal persons, often under other forms of social dependencies (like the enslavement of orphans, adoption, forced marriage or female house servitude, children's bondage, and the buying or lending of girls, boys, and women).

A possibly even older form of slavery is what we might call sacrificial slavery and the use of enslaved people as parts of rituals of death. This means the use of living human bodies as part of rituals that imply the death of an individual or a group of captive/enslaved persons (the debate about "voluntary" participation often reveals

13 Catherine M. Cameron, "Captives in Prehistory: Agents of Social Change," in *Invisible Citizens: Captives and Their Consequences*, ed. Catherine M. Cameron (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2008): 1–24; Catherine M. Cameron, "How People Moved among Ancient Societies: Broadening the View," *American Anthropologist* 115, no. 2 (2013): 218–31; Catherine M. Cameron, "Captive Taking in Global Perspective," in *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016): 19–42; Testart, *L'institution de l'esclavage*; Catherine M. Cameron, "The Nature of Slavery in Small-Scale Societies," in *What Is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective*, ed. Noel Lenski and Catherine M. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 151–68.

14 Cameron, "The Nature of Slavery."

15 Joseph C. Miller, "Slaving in Historical Africa: Early Times to ca. 2000 BCE," in *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012): 90–96.

individuals who have already been subjected to another type of extreme dependency/captivity/slaveries).[16]

The Second Plateau is that of "house" or kin slaveries (domestic), shading into the small-scale earlier personal networks of kinship, affinity, age group, guilds of skilled people (like hunters, warriors, ritual specialists, healers, etc.), and clientage. There is, in the conceptualization of the times, often no name for what we call "slaving,"[17] or there is a lack of sources. This is a dimension of mobility between groups, in the majority of cases involuntary, but in some cases voluntary (clientage, oath warriors, self-enslavement). The enslaved arrive into a household group or a household (whatever basial construction for living there is in a given place – this includes huts, houses, houseboats, tents, temples, palaces, etc.).[18] This plateau forms what I call the Pandora's box of all slaveries until today (debt slavery, collective slavery, raid slavery, sex slavery, and the slave trade (more or less since the beginning of mass metal working and trading)). And it forms, possibly, the most widespread and quantitatively largest forms of all slaveries ever.[19]

The Third Plateau is constituted by so-called Atlantic slavery,[20] from around 1400 to 1900 in the expanding "West" – including the Americas and West Africa, as well as parts of East Africa (ending even later than the mid-1900s) and the islands of the Indian Ocean (from the eighteenth century onwards). This refers not only to all the "hegemonic" slaveries of modern times (see below under historiography), but also different types of other slaveries – other plateaus, plateaus mingled, other forms of the aforementioned first and second plateaus, types of slaving zones (frontiers, war or raiding zones) of independent peoples and/or colonial unfreedom/hidden house slaveries,[21] and colonial territories as slaving zones.[22] The last period of this plateau is formed by some very extensive, almost global, slaveries, like second slaveries, slavery modernities, or slavery capitalisms.[23] This was based on colonialism, Western war capitalism (the USA,

16 Alain Testart, *La Servitude Volontaire*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions Errance, 2004).

17 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*; Zeuske, "Writing Global Histories of Slavery."

18 Alfredo González-Ruibal and Marisa Ruiz-Gálvez, "House Societies in the Ancient Mediterranean (2000–500 BC)," *Journal of World Prehistory* 29, no. 4 (2016): 383–437.

19 Christine E. Sears, "'In Algiers, the City of Bondage': Urban Slavery in Comparative Context," in *New Directions in Slavery Studies: Commodification, Community, and Comparison*, ed. Jeff Forret and Christine E. Sears (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015): 201–18.

20 Michael Zeuske, "Atlantic Slavery und Wirtschaftskultur in welt – und globalhistorischer Perspektive," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 66, no. 5–6 (2015): 280–301; Michael Zeuske, "Out of the Americas: Slave Traders and the *Hidden Atlantic* in the Nineteenth Century," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 15, no. 1 (2018): 103–35.

21 Andrés Reséndez, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016).

22 Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas, eds., *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

23 Robert William Fogel, "American Slavery: A Flexible, Highly Developed Form of Capitalism," in *Society and Culture in the Slave South*, ed. J. William Harris (London: Routledge, 1992): 77–99; Bonnie

Cuba, Brazil, Surinam, partly French territories)[24] and the capital-multiplying space of the *hidden Atlantic* (first of all in the cases of Cuba/Spain and Brazil/Portugal).[25] This Third Plateau is the only plateau in history in which Atlantic south-south connections (direct trade between West African places and islands to the Iberian Caribbean and then to the other Americas), followed by European political centers, set up an entire maritime commercial transport system for enslaved people (partly also land-based, as transports also moved to and from the Atlantic coasts in Africa and America). I repeat, the Atlantic slave trade between the Americas and Atlantic Africa, as well as later parts of East Africa, were mainly a south-south phenomenon.[26] And it is the only plateau that found a formal end in state-proclaimed abolitions. In a very broad global perspective, this may be the main reason why there is no country/nation today that still has *legal ownership* of human bodies as a base of whatever type or plateau of still-existing informal slaveries.[27]

Martin, "Slavery's Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property," *Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 4 (2010): 817–66; Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014); Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman, eds., *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Dale Tomich, ed., *Slavery and Historical Capitalism During the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017); for slavery as capitalism in Cuba/Spain, see Eduardo Marrero Cruz, "Traficante de esclavos y chinos," in *Julián de Zulutea y Amondo: Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2006): 46–79; for a perspective of all Americas, see Rafael de Bivar Marquese and Ricardo Salles, eds., *Escravidão e capitalismo histórico no século XIX: Brasil, Cuba e Estados Unidos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2015); Mariana Muaze and Ricardo Salles, eds., *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos quadros da Segunda Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2015); José Antonio Piqueras, ed., *Esclavitud y capitalismo histórico en el siglo XIX: Brazil, Cuba y Estados Unidos* (Santiago de Cuba: Casa del Caribe, 2016); Daniel B. Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Trevor Burnard and John Garrigus, *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Mariana Muaze and Ricardo H. Salles, eds., *A Segunda Escravidão e o Império do Brasil em Perspectiva Histórica* (São Leopoldo: Casa Leiria, 2020); Conermann and Zeuske, "Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global."

24 Sven Beckert, "Einleitung," in *King Cotton: Eine Geschichte des globalen Kapitalismus*, trans. Annabel Zettel and Martin Richter (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2014): 12. Originally published as Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

25 Michael Zeuske, "The Hidden Atlantic/El Atlántico oculto (Agosto de 2019/August 2019)," https://www.academia.edu/40119218/2019 [accessed 12.06.2020]; Zeuske, "Out of the Americas."

26 See "SlaveVoyages: Home Page," SlaveVoyages, 2021, https://www.slavevoyages.org/ [accessed 26.01.2023]; David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008); David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat, "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–61.

27 Seymour Drescher, "The Long Goodbye: Dutch Capitalism and Antislavery in Comparative Perspective," in *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*, ed. Gert Oostindie (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995): 25–66; Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of*

The Fourth Plateau, starting around 1800, is, as I understand it, the most complicated one.[28] This was a period of Western abolition policies and mass antislavery discourses and politics, especially in England and the United States (1808–1840) and partly in France (1790–1802 and 1830–1848), on the one hand, and the global colonial expansion of "new" slaveries (1800–1960), on the other (together with developing discourses of racism).[29] The "West" really became global, with colonial expansions in India, the Indian Ocean, the so-called Opium Wars, and expansion in Africa (from 1830 onwards for France, at least from 1880 for the other colonial powers). Westerners, under the pressure of their own abolition rhetoric ("freedom") and local names/customs of slaveries, first of all in the eastern hemisphere, did not call slaveries slavery or the enslaved slaves anymore.[30] Instead, they used many traditional names or newly invented and more sociological concepts, such as "bond labor" and other terms for colonial forms of collective slaveries (like "forced labor" from the end of the nineteenth century onwards), to hide collective colonial slaveries. The same, but under "local" names (customs/traditions) of the respective cultures, happened to forms of slavery under local enslavers and slavery regimes in China, India, Persia, and Arabia, Islamic countries or countries with Islamized elites and many other local slaveries (often in continued forms from the First and Second Plateaus).[31]

This was paralleled first by large-scale migrations of forced workers into and from the Indian Ocean, China, and other territories of the eastern hemisphere to the

Slavery and Antislavery (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Marcel van der Linden, ed., *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Studies in Global Social History 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

28 Michael Zeuske, "Viertes Sklavereiplateau – Abolitionsdiskurse, *Bond-Sklaverei* und *Second Slaveries* (Beginn um 1800)," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 96–126.

29 Richard B. Allen, "Slave Trading, Abolitionism, and 'New Systems of Slavery' in the Nineteenth-Century Indian Ocean World," in *Indian Ocean Slavery in the Age of Abolition*, ed. Robert Harms, Bernard K. Freamon and David W. Blight (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013): 183–99; James Francis Warren, "The Structure of Slavery in the Sulu Zone in the Late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia*, ed. Gwyn Campbell (London: Frank Cass, 2004): 111–28; Lisa Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

30 For India, see Andrea Major, "'To Call a Slave a Slave': Recovering Indian Slavery," in *Slavery, Abolition and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012): 18–38; for China, see Michael Zeuske, "Andere globale Räume – andere Sklavereien. Das Fallbeispiel China," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 154–71.

31 Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980); Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997); Matthew S. Hopper, *Slaves of One Master: Globalization and Slavery in Arabia in the Age of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015); Oliver Tappe and Ulrike Lindner, "Global Variants of Bonded Labour," in *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*, ed. Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf et al. (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016): 9–34.

western hemisphere and Australia,[32] as well as mixed forms of indenture, free labor, and bond slaveries, based on the aforementioned national-imperial war capitalism (Sven Beckert).[33] Second, it was paralleled by formal or informal second slaveries (in the Americas as formal slaveries until 1865–1888). It may be that with this plateau, we have a kind of global second slavery.[34] All this takes place under what I call "no end after the end."[35] This means that abolition was merely an informalization of former "big," legal slaveries into smaller complexes of slaveries with no name (or under another name, with "slavery" regarded as a controversial concept), but with the same extremely hard work within the same production structures (plantations and others; also as mass slaveries in colonies or on colonial frontiers), often in even stronger asymmetrical dependencies, and with the same low status (or even lower status for the ex-slaves) of the officially abolished slavery. All this began with practices under Toussaint Louverture in Saint-Domingue/Haiti in 1800 and the first British attempts to bring "contract" workers from Bengal to plantation islands, as well as colonial policies under British pressure from around 1815 onwards – the so-called *emancipated* or *liberated slaves* or *recaptives*, in Spanish *emancipados*.[36] These informal state slaves had

32 Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "La Trata Amarilla: The 'Yellow Trade' and the Middle Passage, 1847–1884," in *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 166–83; Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Latin America in Asia-Pacific Perspective," in *Asian Diasporas: New Formations, New Conceptions*, ed. Rhacel Salazar Parreñas and Lok C.D. Siu (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007): 29–61; Evelyn Hu-DeHart and Kathleen López, "Asian Diasporas in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Historical Overview," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 27, no. 1 (2008): 9–21; Adam McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 155–90; Adam McKeown, "Chinese Emigration in Global Context, 1850–1940," *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 95–124; Allen, "New Systems of Slavery"; Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos"; see also Laurence Brown, "'A Most Irregular Traffic': The Oceanic Passages of the Melanesian Labor Trade," in *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World*, ed. Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus and Marcus Rediker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007): 184–203.

33 Sven Beckert, "Die Bildung globaler Netzwerke," in *King Cotton: Eine Geschichte des globalen Kapitalismus*, trans. Annabel Zettel and Martin Richter (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2014): 197–229.

34 Janet J. Ewald, "African Slavery and the African Slave Trade: A Review Essay," *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 465–85; Hopper, *Slaves of One Master*; Mohammed Bashir Salau, *Plantation Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Historical and Comparative Study* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2018); Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos"; Michael Zeuske, "Versklavte und Sklavereien in der Geschichte Chinas aus global-historischer Sicht: Perspektiven und Probleme," *Dhau: Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* 2 (2017): 25–51.

35 Michael Zeuske, "Kein Ende nach dem Ende-Diskurse und Realitäten der globalen Sklaverei seit 1800," in *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021): 212–44; see also Amalia Ribi Forclaz, *Humanitarian Imperialism: The Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Olivier Grenouilleau, *La révolution abolitionniste*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 2017).

36 Inés Roldán de Montaud, "On the Blurred Boundaries of Freedom: Liberated Africans in Cuba, 1817–1870," in *New Frontiers of Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: State University of New York

to work after their "liberation/emancipation" from a slave vessel (they were often officially registered in written form as "liberated slaves") for seven or more years in the hard conditions of slavery and frontier regimes, often harder than those in slavery.[37]

The Fifth and Sixth Plateaus, which I will not treat here extensively, comprise first of all slaveries of women and children (mostly under other names), collective colonial and state slaveries,[38] slaveries in prisons and camps (German concentration camps, Japanese prisoner camps, the Russian gulags from 1920 to 1970, US jails, and Chinese and North Korean camps), and the so-called "modern slaveries."

2 Some Historiographical Thoughts

The basic historiography for this chapter is not easy. First of all because there is so much of it. It touches on the subject of slavery and the historical slave trade, which has been a kind of hegemonic historiography from around 1800 onwards. This hegemonic historiography referred especially to slavery in ancient Greece and Rome, as well as in relation to Anglo-British slavery and slavery in the American South from the beginnings

Press, 2015): 127–55; Michael Zeuske, "Emancipados oder 'befreite' Verschleppte als Staatssklaven der Atlantisierung [Emancipados or 'liberated' enslaved persons as state-slaves of Atlanticization/Emancipados o esclavizados 'liberados' como esclavos del Estado de la atlantización]," https://www.academia.edu/15139503 [accessed 12.06.2020]; Lowe, *The Intimacies of Four Continents*; Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824–1841," *Slavery and Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 23–44.

37 Fernando Ortiz, "Los 'Emancipados.' Su historia. Su situación desventajosa," in *Los negros esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976): 298–305; G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis, "Characteristics of Captives Leaving the Cameroons for the Americas, 1822–37," *Journal of African History* 43, no. 2 (2002): 191–210; G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis, "The Roots of the African Diaspora: Methodological Considerations in the Analysis of Names in the Liberated African Registers of Sierra Leone and Havana," *History in Africa* 29 (2002): 368–73; David Eltis, "O significado da investigação sobre os africanos escapados de navios negreiros no século XIX," *História: Questões & Debates* 52, no. 1 (2010): 13–39; Sharla M. Fett, *Recaptured Africans: Surviving Slave Ships, Detention, and Dislocation in the Final Years of the Slave Trade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

38 Slaveries in global history have, in global perspective, two main legal-real dimensions: the construction of "one master/one slave" ("private slavery") and collective slaveries (*glebae adscripti* – rural populations and entire villages are bound to the land, which can be sold, "gifted" – also as a privilege), as well as state controlled populations of subjugated and settled people or masses of people in camps; for collective colonial slaveries, see Julia Seibert, "More Continuity than Change? New Forms of Unfree Labor in the Belgian Congo, 1908–1930," in *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, ed. Marcel van der Linden (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 369–86; Vincent Houben and Julia Seibert, "(Un)Freedom: Colonial Labour Relations in Belgian Congo and the Dutch East Indies Compared," in *Colonial Exploitation and Economic Development: The Belgian Congo and the Netherlands Indies Compared*, ed. Ewout Frankema and Frans Buelens (London: Routledge, 2013): 178–92; Julia Seibert, *In die globale Wirtschaft gezwungen: Arbeit und kolonialer Kapitalismus im Kongo (1885–1960)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2016).

of the twentieth century. It also considers what has become a major topic in the modern world, migration (since around 2000, where slaveries are analyzed even under the aforementioned "other names").[39] What is certain is that when "slavery" was referenced in European and US historiography, what was meant initially was slavery in classical antiquity. From the 1980s onwards, it has become clear that slavery has not always been the same, but that there have been many different slaveries and slavery regimes in terms of development, entanglements, and mutual influence.[40] I would therefore like to express a few thoughts on slavery historiography up to the Fourth Plateau (including the European colonies until around 1960). This is mainly because, firstly, it reflects the real history of slavery quite well (at least as far as the Atlantic West and the global expansion of large slaveries are concerned: see Finley's "slave societies")[41] and, secondly, because the historiographies are connected to the emergence and global expansion of capitalism. Most of the historiography of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries focused on slavery in antiquity, on the aforementioned large-scale, hegemonic slaveries, the national-imperial slaveries (despite the fact that there is nothing less national than slaveries, except in historiographies, registers, and national archival systems), often with the final goal of becoming a part of the "Western" abolition and civilization discourse. Under the concepts of Atlantic history and/or "new global history" or "new history of capitalism," it may also refer to an inflated imperial-national slavery ("British slavery," "French slavery," all types of some "national-imperial" Atlantics – Iberian, British, French, etc.).[42]

I think it was Cuban historiography that started to debate and compare different slaveries in the world and to write the first actual world history of slavery. At the

39 Michael Zeuske, "Quellen – und Literaturverzeichnis," in *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 1059–323.

40 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982); Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: Le ventre de fer et le argent* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986); the following title expresses very well that there were very different slaveries: Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, "Slavery Is Not Slavery: On Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire, Introduction," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020): 11–27.

41 Noel Lenski, "Framing the Question: What Is a Slave Society," in *What Is a Slave Society? The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective*, ed. Noel Lenski and Catherine M. Cameron (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 15–57.

42 Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57, no. 1 (2012): 87–111; Michael Zeuske, "Historiografie und Forschungsprobleme in globalhistorischer Perspektive," in *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 51–190. "Atlantics" have been springing up like mushrooms since 2000: see Michael Zeuske and Stephan Conermann, "The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global: From 'Capitalism and Slavery' to Slavery as Capitalism. Introduction," in *The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global. From "Capitalism and Slavery" to Slavery as Capitalism*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Michael Zeuske [= *Comparativ: Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020)]: 448–63.

time, in the nineteenth century, Cuba itself was at the peak of a global development in the highly dynamic *second slavery*.[43] José Antonio Saco (1797–1879), a Cuban intellectual and historian from the tiny town of Bayamo in eastern Cuba, wrote a unique world history of slavery in the nineteenth century.[44] He himself possessed house slaves. All the other important first macro-histories of slavery focused on slavery in antiquity, especially Roman and Greek slaveries. Saco also concentrated on Roman slavery, but in addition he looked, very broadly, at Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, Chinese, Indian, Persian, Scythian, Carthaginian, and other large-scale slaveries in antiquity.[45] Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, himself an eminent historian of slavery and ex-director of the Cuban National Library (*Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba*), says about Saco's opus magnum: "¿Quién podía, incluso, decir que conocía la historia de la esclavitud en el mundo, sin haber estudiado una de las obras mayores que se ha escrito acerca del tema y que, además, tenía una asombrosa óptica americana y no europea? [Who could even say that they know the history of slavery in the world without having studied one of the greatest works that has been written on the subject and that, moreover, had an amazing American, not European, perspective?]."[46]

Saco took a comprehensive and comparative look at many large-scale slaveries, as well as Roman slavery. He did so to explain to his fellow Cuban slave owners that the covert slave trade of the *hidden Atlantic* had to be abolished (also because it was controlled mainly by Spaniards and Catalans),[47] but by no means Cuban slavery itself.[48] And he explained this with the disasters of Roman development after the fifth

43 Dale Tomich, "The 'Second Slavery': Bonded Labor and the Transformations of the Nineteenth-Century World Economy," in *Rethinking the Nineteenth Century: Contradictions and Movement*, ed. Francisco O. Ramirez (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988): 103–17; Dale Tomich, "The Wealth of the Empire: Francisco de Arango y Parreño, Political Economy, and the Second Slavery in Cuba," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 45, no. 1 (2003): 4–28; Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske, eds., *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories*, 2 vols. (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2009) [=Special issue: *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton University* 31, no. 2–3 (2008)]; Zeuske and Conermann, "Introduction."

44 At that time, "global" did not exist – it was something like "universal" history.

45 José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*, vols. 1–2 (Paris: Kugelmann, 1875), vol. 3 (Barcelona: Jaime Jepús, 1878); modern edition: José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud*, vol. 1, Biblioteca de Clásicos Cubanos (Havana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002).

46 Eduardo Torres-Cuevas, "Ensayo introductorio. La esclavitud y su historia," in *Historia de la esclavitud*, by José Antonio Saco, vol.1, Biblioteca de Clásicos Cubanos (Havana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002): 2.

47 Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and Lizbeth J. Chaviano Pérez, eds., *Negreros y esclavos: Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglos XVI-XIX)* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2017); Martín Rodrigo y Alharilla and María del Carmen Cózar Navarro, eds., *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos: De la legalidad a la clandestinidad* (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2018).

48 Saco wrote also, as single volumes, a history of the "African race" (*raza Africana*) in the Americas, first of all in Hispano-America (the Spanish colonies in Central and South America and the Caribbean):

century CE (Western Rome, to be exact). His main argument was that not one second in world history had passed without slaves and slavery: "¿Existió jamás algún pueblo donde ésta [la esclavitud – MZ] no penetrase bajo alguna de las formas que reviste? ¿Hay por ventura en los fastos de la humanidad algún período, por corto que sea, en que haya desaparecido de la tierra? [Was there ever a people where it [slavery – MZ] did not penetrate in any of its forms? Was there, perhaps, a period in humanity's fate, however short, when it disappeared from the earth?]."[49] Saco was right at the time, and he is still right today (despite the fact that I am writing today, just as nearly all histories of slavery are written, with the goal of denouncing all forms of slavery, including contemporary ones, as "bad" and unethical and with the aim of abolishing and ending all forms of slaveries).

3 The Reach of the Plateaus and the Global Reach of Atlantic Slavery Based on the Capital of Human Bodies as a Basic Element of the Slave Trade

As a preliminary thought about the global reach of the plateaus described above, I should highlight that during all plateaus from the third to the sixth, the slaveries of the first and second plateaus continued to exist or were reinvented (mostly slaveries of women and children, but also of male captives, a good part of them due to war captivity or indebtedness).[50]

The most local-"global" slaveries as the basis of imperial systems since the Second Plateau were the long-distance slaveries of the Bronze Ages;[51] ancient slaveries (including all the slaveries in the ancient empires, like Egypt, Sumer or Assyria, the wider

José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de la raza africana en el Nuevo Mundo y en especial en los países Americo-Hispanos*, 4 vols. (Havana: A. Álvarez, 1893); and a history of the slavery of the Indians of the new world: José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud de los indios en el nuevo mundo: Seguida de la Historia de los repartimientos y encomiendas*, 2 vols., Colección de Libros cubanos 28–29 (Havana: Cultural S.A., 1932); Torres-Cuevas informs us that in the papers of Saco, found after his death, were manuscripts about slavery in the French colonies of Caribbean and about slavery in the British colonies of North America and the Caribbean; see Torres-Cuevas, "Ensayo introductorio."

49 José Antonio Saco, "Introducción – Egipto – Etiopía – Hebreos – Fenicios," in *Historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*, vol. 1 (Paris: Kugelmann, 1875): 29.

50 All after Zeuske, "Globalhistorische Sklavereiplateaus": 41–40, passim. See also Suzanne Miers, *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003); Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Women and Slavery*, 2 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007–2008).

51 Kristian Kristiansen, Thomas Lindkvist and Janken Myrdal, eds., *Trade and Civilisation: Economic Networks and Cultural Ties, from Prehistory to the Early Modern Era* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

ancient Mediterranean, like the Thracians, Lydians, Jews/Israelites, Scythians, Parthians, Egyptians, Celts, Britons, Teutons, Numidians, Nubians, etc.);[52] Byzantine imperial slave trades and slaveries;[53] Carolingian slaveries and slave trades and those of other early Christian elites,[54] especially those who founded independent monarchies, among them the Norse/Viking/Varangian slave trades and slaveries;[55] imperial Islamic and islamicate slave trades and slaveries (in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the most global slavery on the three continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe, including the Malay world, Southeast Asia, and part of the Philippines), with their continuation and concentration in Ottoman slavery against the background of Mediterranean slavery and forced labor systems; and Mongolian slavery (especially in the thirteenth century until the Great Plague, with links to Chinese and other Asian slavery regimes). In terms of territorial expansion and volume, the largest (to this day, although there are no estimates of demographics or the number of ships, enslaved persons, etc.) were perhaps the Chinese imperial slaveries and slave trades (often under other names); the mosaics of Indian Ocean slaveries and maritime and land-based slave trades around the Indian Ocean (including Arab slaveries);[56] Indian slaveries;[57] and Russian-Asian slaveries,[58] without greater European involvement. Quantitatively very large until the beginning of the

52 Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Winfried Schmitz, "Überlegungen zur Verbreitung der Sklaverei in der griechischen Landwirtschaft," in *Kultur (en) – Formen des Alltäglichen in der Antike: Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 75. Geburtstag*, vol. 2, ed. Peter Mauritsch and Christoph Ulf (Graz: Grazer Universitätsverlag, 2013): 535–52; David Lewis, "Near Eastern Slaves in Classical Attica and the Slave Trade with Persian Territories," *Classical Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2011): 91–113; Bodel and Scheidel, *On Human Bondage*; David Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems in Their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

53 Youval Rotman, *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009); Youval Rotman, "Byzantium and the International Slave Trade in the Central Middle Ages," in *Trade in Byzantium: Papers from the Third International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, ed. Paul Magdalino and Nevra Necipoğlu (Istanbul: Koç University Publications, 2016): 129–42.

54 Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Michael McCormick, "Geography of the European Slave Trade," in *Origins of the European Economy*: 759–77; Michale McCormick, "Slaves," in *Origins of the European Economy*: 244–54; Michael McCormick, "New Light on the 'Dark Ages': How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy," *Past & Present* 177 (2002): 17–54.

55 Anders Winroth, *Die Wikinger: Das Zeitalter des Nordens* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016); Rudolf Simek, "Undesirable Biographies: Victims of Viking Slavery and Ransom Payments," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 23 (2018): 111–24.

56 Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Frank Cass, 2004); Stephan Conermann, "South Asia and the Indian Ocean," in *Empires and Encounters: 1350–1750*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015): 389–552.

57 Michael Mann, *Sahibs, Sklaven und Soldaten: Geschichte des Menschenhandels rund um den Indischen Ozean* (Darmstadt: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2011).

58 Christoph Witzenrath, ed., *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2015).

sixteenth century were mostly local slaveries (slavery regimes), i.e., mass enslavements on a local or regional level.[59] The local "points" (houses, buildings, residential units) of these slaveries, most of them urban domestic slaveries or slaveries in the vicinity of households in the sense of the Second Plateau, covered very large, often imperial territories.

Is there a global dimension of Atlantic slavery in the sense of really covering the globe? I would say no, but with a caveat. During the Third Plateau, Atlantic slavery (slaveries controlled by Christian Europeans and the settlers of European colonies, as well as enslaved people themselves) played a global and historical role in the rise of Western Europe. This plateau was dominated by the trading and slavery empires of Portugal and Spain (the "Catholic or Christian Atlantic"):[60] the new capitalist trade empires of the Netherlands and England/Great Britain, the French Atlantic regions, and regions of the North and the Baltic Seas controlled by the cities of Denmark, Sweden, and Brandenburg-Prussia (the "Protestant Atlantic")[61] also played a role. Barbados and the French *Amériques* played a major role in the early compression and dynamization of commodification and capitalist slavery. But Atlantic slavery was not completely global; it was, at best, hemispherical, with some routes and ships into the other hemisphere, because exchanges, as I said above, happened largely between south and south (Africa-Atlantic-America (AAA), partly also East Africa-America or Africa-Asia). Slavery and slave trading systems were nowhere totally global until around 1840 (when they began to mingle with indentured migrations). The same is true for the life histories of most enslaved people; the few exceptions can probably only be represented in micro-historical biographies. Before I go into this, let us briefly review the Slavery Atlantic and its globalizing dynamics. I will first give a comprehensive synthesis of the "Atlantics," followed by a detailed historical outline.

1400–1640: the First Atlantic or African-Iberian Atlantic (with connections to the Indian Ocean from 1488 and to the Pacific Ocean from 1520);

1650–1800: the Second Atlantic, a double Atlantic with many interconnections (especially in the Caribbean and West Africa; in some cases, also in East Africa, the western Indian Ocean, and East Asia-Mexico/Spanish America). This Second Atlantic was a Christian Atlantic, but it had two main dimensions that influenced each other: a

59 Matthias van Rossum et al., *Testimonies of Enslavement: Sources on Slavery from the Indian Ocean World* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020). For bibliographies of global slavery, see the chapter Zeuske, "Historiografie und Forschungsprobleme."

60 Jonathan Schorsch, *Swimming the Christian Atlantic: Judeoconversos, Afroiberians and Amerindians in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

61 Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 1997); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "How the 'Reformation' Invented Separate Catholic and Protestant Atlantics," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History* 108, no. 1 (2017): 245–54.

Protestant African-Northwest-European Atlantic and a Catholic African-Iberian *Atlântico Sul* (Portugal/Brazil and Spain/Spanish America);[62]

1800–1900: the third or African-Iberian *hidden Atlantic*, with between two and three million displaced persons through illegal trafficking from West and East Africa (mostly Catholic, with Protestant, mostly North American, partners/captains, crews, doctors, and factors).[63]

The basic spatial structures in chronological order were the first Atlantic, the two second Atlantics, and the third Atlantic. The first Atlantic is traditionally referred to as the Iberian Atlantic.[64] But it was much more. First of all, it was an African-Iberian Atlantic with many global connections, such as with Manila in the Philippines, and with Spanish America (especially *Nueva España*/*México*) as a center between the Pacific and Atlantic oceans. In this sense, the Iberian colonial empires, especially the Spanish colonial empire in the Americas, were an early global center between the Pacific (China and Southeast Asia via Macao and the Philippines)[65] and the Atlantic. In its beginning (1415–1520), this first Iberian Atlantic in West Africa (islands and emporia) was not yet a pure forerunner of the subsequent Atlantic slavery, although it contained a macro-orientation towards the connection between Senegambia, the West African islands, and the Caribbean islands from about 1518.[66]

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62 Cañizares-Esguerra, "How the 'Reformation' Invented."

63 Leonardo Marques, *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776–1867* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016); John Harris, *The Last Slave Ships: New York and the End of the Middle Passage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

64 Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); António de Almeida Mendes, "The Foundations of the System: A Reassessment of the Slave Trade to the Spanish Americas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008): 63–94; António de Almeida Mendes, "Les Portugais et le premier Atlantique (XVe-XVIe siècles)," in *Les Territoires de la Méditerranée: XIe-XVIe siècle*, by Annliese Nef, ed. Damien Coulon, Christophe Picard and Dominique Valérian (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013): 137–57; João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Roberto Guedes and Thiago Nascimento Krause, *A América portuguesa e os sistemas atlânticos na Época Moderna* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2013).

65 Tatiana Seijas, "The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580–1640," *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction* 32, no. 1 (2008): 19–38; Sucheta Mazumdar, "China and the Global Atlantic: Sugar from the Age of Columbus to Pepsi-Coke and Ethanol," *Food and Foodways* 16, no. 2 (2008): 135–47 [= Special issue: *Sweetness and Power: Rethinking Sidney Mintz's Classic Work*]; Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

66 Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Marc Eagle and David Wheat, "The Early Iberian Slave Trade to the Spanish Caribbean, 1500–1580," in *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020): 47–72.

In total, the Iberian dimensions were Mediterranean-Atlantic, African-American, Pacific-European, and soon a pan-Atlantic world that was rooted in global Iberian expansionism. It used African and other forms of slaveries and slave trades as a basis (until the end of the Third Plateau and in the Fourth Plateau). It encompassed West Africa, the Americas, East Asia (Macao, the Philippines), and parts of South and Southeast Asia, as well as Iberia and its mainly Mediterranean contact zones, along with northwest European countries such as the Spanish Netherlands and England until around 1570 (James Lovell, John Hawkins, and Francis Drake's slave journeys took place within the framework of the African-Iberian Atlantic).[67] This dynamic, translocal, transcultural, and above all transnational area of Atlantic xlavery was at the same time part of the religious-philosophically-based Iberian global orientation *por toda la tierra* – on all oceans and continents (despite many real borders and limits).[68] And it was, even then, a north-south dimension that was given a specific Atlantic east-west dimension (south-south = Africa-America (in the Iberian sense)) in the south, on the Atlantic, by Columbus. After this first north-south orientation, it became a gigantic African-Iberian south-south enterprise (with northwest European north-south dimensions as entrances, as well as commodity and profit routes) from around 1520. Starting from this general south-south dimension of the Slavery Atlantic, it remains to be investigated whether there was a kind of what I call *Atlanticization* (*Atlantisierung*) of Europe, and also some routes of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. All of this was used by individual actors, such as merchants, slave traders, captains of ships full of enslaved individuals, and captains smuggling only some slaves.[69]

67 Tobias Green, "Fear and Atlantic History: Some Observations Derived from Cape Verde Islands and the African Atlantic," *Atlantic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 25–42; Toby Green, "Baculamento or Encomienda?: Legal Pluralisms and the Contestation of Power in the Pan-Atlantic World of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *Journal of Global Slavery* 2, no. 3 (2017): 310–36; Rafael Valladares, *"Por toda la Tierra": España y Portugal: globalización y ruptura (1580–1700)* (Lisbon: CHAM, 2016).

68 Carlos Martínez Shaw and José Antonio Martínez Torres, eds., *España y Portugal en el mundo (1581–1668)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2014); Amélia Polónia and Cátia Antunes, eds., *Mechanisms of Global Empire Building* (Porto: CITCEM/Edições Afrontamento, 2017); Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya, *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017); Ryan Dominic Crewe, "Connecting the Indies: The Hispano-Asian Pacific World in Early Modern Global History," *Estudos Históricos* (Rio de Janeiro) 30, no. 60 (2017): 17–34; Susana Truchuelo and Emir Reitano, eds., *Las fronteras en el Mundo Atlántico (siglos XVI-XIX)*, HisMundI 1 (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2017); on whether Spain should be defined as a land empire or a sea empire, see Horst Pietschmann, "Frühneuzeitliche Imperialkriege Spaniens: Ein Beitrag zur Abgrenzung komplexer Kriegsformen in Raum und Zeit," in *Imperialkriege von 1500 bis heute: Strukturen – Akteure – Lernprozesse*, ed. Tanja Bührer, Christian Stachelbeck and Dierk Walter (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2011): 73–92; Bentley, Bridenthal and Wigen, *Seascapes*; Pius Onyemechi Adiele, *The Popes, the Catholic Church and the Transatlantic Enslavement of Black Africans 1418–1839* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017).

69 Lúcio de Sousa, "The Manila Slave Market, the Korean Gaspar, the Japanese Miguel Jerónimo, and Ventura," in *The Jewish Diaspora and the Perez Family Case in China, Japan, the Philippines, and the*

And there were global plans in Philip II's time to conquer China (until ca. 1600).[70] Today we know that, at least until around 1840, this was more an attack on (or disruption of) the dominance of Asia, especially China and Indian territories, and the superiority of African and Islamic states/societies. This was due to global economic and cultural interests, as well as the monetary globalization of silver and the biological globalizations of animals, diseases, and food/plants. Much of the American silver went to China in particular (mostly for silk, lacquerware, other luxury products, and tea), but also a great many plants were introduced from the Americas to Asia. Spanish America was full of Chinese silk and other products, even more so than in Europe. Indian cotton and Indian textiles were global commodities (for example, *guinées* or *calico*, which arrived first in West Africa rather than in Europe: there, European imitations of Indian textiles were called *indiennes*, produced first of all in the so-called global peripheries of Europe, i.e., German territories, Switzerland, etc.).[71] These global textiles were especially used in the slave trade. The same applies to linen fabrics, mainly from Silesia.

There was, however, an important spatial limitation to these types of globalization (textiles/commodities, plants, and precious metals) because of the necessary material

Americas (16th Century), trans. Joseph Abraham Levi (Macao: Fundaçao Macau, 2015): 119–23; for West Africa, see Benjamin Scheller, "Erfahrungsraum und Möglichkeitsraum: Das sub-saharische Westafrika in den Navigazioni Atlantiche Alvise Cadamostos," in *Venezia e la nuova oikoumene Cartografia del Quattrocento/Venedig und die neue Oikoumene: Kartographie im 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ingrid Baumgärtner and Piero Falchetta (Rome: Viella, 2016): 201–20.

70 Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China: De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002); Carlos Martínez Shaw and Marina Alfonso Mola, eds., *La ruta española a China* (Madrid: El Viso, 2007); José Miguel Herrera Reviriego, "Manila, entrepôt comercial," in "Manila y la gobernación de Filipinas en el mundo interconectado de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII" (PhD diss., Universitat Jaume I, n.d.): 46–53, https://www.academia.edu/30718539 [accessed 02.10.2019]; Paulo Jorge de Sousa Pinto, "Manila, Macao and Chinese Networks in South China Sea: Adaptive Strategies of Cooperation and Survival (Sixteenth-to-Seventeenth Centuries)," *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 15 (2014): 79–100.

71 Giorgio Riello and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds., *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Giorgio Riello, "Luxury or Commodity? The Success of Indian Cotton Cloth in the First Global Age," in *Luxury in Global Perspective: Objects and Practices, 1600–2000*, ed. Bernd-Stefan Grewe and Karin Hofmeester (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016): 138–68; Pedro Machado, "Cloths of Fashion: Indian Ocean Networks of Exchange and Cloth Zones of Contact in Africa and India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500–1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (Leiden: Brill, 2009): 53–83; Giorgio Riello, *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Mariano Bonialian, *China en la América colonial: bienes, mercados, comercio y cultura del consumo desde México hasta Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires: Biblos-Instituto/Mexico City: Instituto Mora, 2014); Kazuo Kobayashi, "Inroduction," in *Indian Cotton Textiles in West Africa: African Agency, Consumer Demand and the Making of the Global Economy, 1750–1850*, Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019): 1–27.

elements of transportation and security from the counter-violence of the enslaved. As such, slaving zones, slavery, and slave trading systems were mostly local and regional, at best hemispherical, in Atlantic slavery. The slave trade centers between the Atlantic and the continents were always tiny points on a world map (individual cities, often cities or loading zones on easily controllable islands or peninsulas ("off-shore"), protected by infrastructures of violence, *barracoons*). As I said above, slavery was not completely global (if only because it was subject to national-imperial laws or because of the mentioned structural limitations of slave trading points (harbor cities and islands)). Truly global was the exchange of diseases, viruses, microbes, animals, plants (including many plants worked on by enslaved labor, such as sugar cane, tobacco, yuca/cassava, tapioca; corn, tobacco, and potatoes, because they also grew in temperate latitudes, were truly global plants), and great masses of goods and precious metals. Slaves may have been members of ship crews, including the many slave ships that sailed the great global routes.

Anglo-American scholarship on the slave trade mostly deals with the so-called Second Atlantic, the north-west European Atlantic between around 1600 and 1808. It concentrates largely on Great Britain as an example. But early modern France, on the path to absolutism, had similar global plans for the Atlantic to those of Spain from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.[72] The Second Atlantic was characterized by massive French efforts, carried out by corsairs/pirates, and intense Dutch exertions up to about 1670, followed by the British.[73] Then came a phase of British-French great power competition in Asian and trade wars, as well as monopoly companies and a Bourbon Atlantic shared by France and Spain. France was "absolutely Atlantic" at that time (and indeed remained so until 1803).[74] Spain tried to consolidate a "national" empire on both sides of the Atlantic and a continent-sized colonial territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific as an "empire of slaves" (with capitalist free trade in slaves from Africa and many "other" informal slaveries) in the late eighteenth century.[75] From the War of the

72 Christopher Hodson and Brett Rushforth, "Absolutely Atlantic: Colonialism and the Early Modern French State in Recent Historiography," *History Compass* 8, no. 1 (2010): 101–17.

73 Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Peter A. Coclanis, *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005); Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

74 Hodson and Rushforth, "Absolutely Atlantic"; Susanne Lachenicht, "Histoires naturelles, récits de voyage et géopolitique religieuse dans l'Atlantique français XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 69, no. 4 (2016): 27–45.

75 Xosé-Manoel Núñez, "Nation-Building and Regional Integration: The Case of the Spanish Empire, 1700–1914," in *Nationalizing Empires*, ed. Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2015): 195–245; for the legal side, see Alejandro García-Montón, "The Cost of the Asiento: Private Merchants, Royal Monopolies, and the Making of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in the Spanish Empire," in *Mechanisms of Global Empire Building*, ed. Amélia Polónia and Cátia Antunes

Spanish Succession and especially from the British occupation of Havana and Manila in the Seven Years' War (1762–1763/64), this connection applied not only to Spanish America as a link between the eastern and western hemispheres and the Caribbean, but also in and around Africa. This was accompanied by an even greater interest in slaves and the slave trade, which expanded to include existing regional slaveries and slavery regimes in and around the Indian Ocean and on the edges of the Pacific,[76] but still without really comprehensive global slavery in the sense defined above or enslaved people as global actors. The latter occurred, as mentioned, mostly in ship crews on the ever longer transport routes. Dutch and Baltic traders were in between – especially in the conflicts over trading places/emporia (fortresses) in West Africa, in Caribbean smuggling (in which many Danes participated at the end of the eighteenth century), in and on the Indian Ocean, and in the Malay world.[77] This epoch of the Atlantic ended for the North Atlantic, including the northwest European slave trade, with the revolution of Saint-Domingue (1791–1803), the Napoleonic Wars, and the British and US abolition of the Atlantic slave trade on national ships in 1807/08. The Atlantic narrative for the northwest-European Atlantic in the epoch from 1650 to 1808 is one of the traditional readings of modern Atlantic history (it has been around for 70 years and has been dominant until very recently).

However, the first "globalized" Atlantic, the Iberian Atlantic, did not disappear after 1640. Up until that time, it was under Spanish control as the Iberian Atlantic (from a European perspective). As mentioned above, it was envisaged as a global space (with many real borders) simply because it included the Portuguese ambitions of Catholic globalization and, formally, Portuguese networks, colonies, and emporia (such as Goa or Macau, temporarily also Nagasaki and Formosa/Taiwan). Despite, or perhaps because of, the conflicts between Spain and Portugal and the rapprochement between Portugal and Great Britain, the first Iberian Atlantic continued to exist after 1640. As an increasingly more globalized Slavery Atlantic (with a number of routes, including via Cartagena (Nombre de Díos; Portobelo; Chagres)/Panamá/Lima, and Cape Horn, via the land route of Buenos Aires-Chile-Charcas/Potosí-Lima, and via the Cape of Good Hope and Manila-Acapulco), it really flourished as a slavery ocean,

(Porto: CITCEM/Edições Afrontamento, 2017): 11–34; Anne-Charlotte Martineau, "A Forgotten Chapter in the History of International Commercial Arbitration: The Slave Trade's Dispute Settlement System," *Leiden Journal of International Law* 31, no. 2 (2018): 219–41.

76 Elena A. Schneider, "A Slaving Fever," in *The Occupation of Havana: War, Trade, and Slavery in the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018): 270–84; Dalrymple-Smith and Rossum, "Globalization and Coerced Labour."

77 James Pritchard, *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Wim Klooster and Gert Oostindie, *Realm Between Empires: The Second Dutch Atlantic, 1680–1815* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2018).

especially in the south and south-center (also across the Caribbean), as an Iberian *Atlântico Sul*.[78]

For this purpose (after experiences in the Caribbean/Northern South America),[79] an Atlanticized western part of the Indian Ocean and new regional/hemispherical slaving zones in East Africa were created. This was also because mainly Arab elites (such as the Omanis) took over Portuguese emporia, islands, fortresses, slave trading, and slaving/slavery practices. The structures and routes changed, especially from and to Spanish America and between the colonial empires.[80] The global south Atlantic (*Atlântico Sul*), the massive slave trade to Brazil, and the massive capital accumulation of the Atlantic slave trade, at the heart of the African-Iberian Atlantic, pushed the Indian Ocean and Asia somewhat out of the focus of Iberian global attention, even if the Indian Ocean became increasingly important economically and a target for colonization efforts. Not so for the Dutch, French, and English merchants, commercial companies, slave traders, and their increasingly globalized networks. As already mentioned, local elites such as the Omanis in East Africa or the slave-hunting states of the Zulu Sea grew stronger.

From 1808, but above all from 1820 (when Spain abolished formally the Atlantic slave trade), a third Atlantic was formed (or, if we assume a northwestern European Atlantic and an Iberian-African Atlantic from 1640 to 1800, a fourth Atlantic). This was the *hidden Atlantic* of human smuggling, despite (or precisely because of) the formal

78 Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Le versant brésilien de l'Atlantique-Sud: 1550–1850," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 61, no. 2 (2006): 339–82; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "Brazil in the South Atlantic: 1550–1850," *Mediations* 23, no. 1 (2007): 125–74; Guy Saupin, ed., *Africains et Européens dans le monde atlantique: XVe-XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014); David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, "Introduction: The South Atlantic Slave Trade in Historical Perspective," in *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590–1867*, ed. David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 1–29; Graça Almeida Borges, "The South Atlantic and Transatlantic Slave Trade: Review Essay," e-*Journal of Portuguese History* 15, no. 1 (2017), http://www.scielo.mec.pt/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1645-64322017000100009 [accessed 21.10.2019]; Selwyn H.H. Carrington and Ronald C. Noel, "Slaves and Tropical Commodities: The Caribbean in the South Atlantic System," in *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and Its Peoples*, ed. Stephan Palmié and Francisco A. Scarano (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011): 231–42.

79 Erin Stone, "Chasing 'Caribs': Defining Zones of Legal Indigenous Enslavement in the Circum-Caribbean, 1493–1542," in *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, ed. Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 118–47.

80 Alejandro García-Montón, "The Rise of Portobelo and the Transformation of the Spanish American Slave Trade, 1640s–1730s: Transimperial Connections and Intra-American Shipping," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99, no. 3 (2019): 399–429; Linda K. Salvucci, "Atlantic Intersections: Early American Commerce and the Rise of the Spanish West Indies (Cuba)," *Business History Review* 79 (2005): 781–810; Nadine Hunt, "Scattered Memories: The Intra-Caribbean Slave Trade to Spanish America, 1700–1750," in *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora*, ed. Ana Lucia Araujo, Mariana P. Candido and Paul E. Lovejoy, Harriet Tubman Series on the African Diaspora (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011): 105–27; Hernán Venegas Delgado, *Trinidad de Cuba: Corsarios, azúcar y revolución en el Caribe* (Havana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, 2005).

abolitions in the so-called "West."[81] This *hidden Atlantic* was, together with the second slaveries, especially in the Caribbean, a space of new technologies, organization, finance, science, medicine, culture, elite luxury, art, etc. In general, we must think of modern slavery, and even of Atlantic slavery, as capitalism, with its own industrial bases and dynamics.[82] That is, the Atlantic I refer to in this essay as the African-Iberian Atlantic existed (if we count the history of West Africa (since 1400) and East Africa and the *hidden Atlantic* within the framework of AAA continuously, of course with spatial extensions, new routes, coastal territories, ports, cities, and actors) from around 1400 to at least 1900. I say "at least" because it is still not entirely clear when exactly it ended, due to the transitions to hidden forms of enslavement and bond-slaveries and the difficulties of delimiting the Fourth Plateau of global slaveries. Above all, it is unclear whether this Atlantic Ocean did not merge relatively seamlessly into the even wider global economy of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with its global mass migrations and embedded forms of slaveries/asymmetrical dependencies.[83] This *Welthandel*, as traditional wisdom calls it, with its technological/communicative elements, covered all oceans and important peripheral seas (including whaling and the whale industry).

Despite some possible examples of truly global lives of enslaved people (I repeat, especially members of ship crews), there was no completely global slavery and no completely global slave trading system. On the other hand, there were global diseases (epidemics/pandemics), whose carriers (viruses, bacteria, insects) moved using transport and trading systems – this is clearly the case with the smallpox and yellow fever epidemics, and especially the cholera pandemics of the nineteenth century. These diseases used animals (rats, dogs, cattle), but above all plants and so-called cash crops, the latter of which (sugar, tobacco, cotton/textiles), along with precious metals, were truly global commodities, reaching Australia in 1788.

When we summarize all the "Atlantics" of 1400–1900, the following scheme results:1400–1640: the First Atlantic or African-Iberian Atlantic;1650–1800: the Second Atlantic, a double Atlantic with many interconnections (Protestant African-Northwest-European Atlantic/Catholic African-Iberian *Atlântico Sul*); 1800–1900: the third or African-Iberian *hidden Atlantic*.

81 Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Negociantes, fazendeiros e escravos: o tráfico ilegal de escravos no Brasil," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 18–22 (1999): 9–28; João Lopes Filho, "Tráfico clandestino," in *Cabo Verde: Abolição da escravatura; Subsídios para o estudo* (Praia: Spleen, 2006): 45–75; Zeuske, "Out of the Americas."

82 Adrian Leonard and David Pretel, eds., *The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy: Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650–1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Rood, *Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery*; Conermann and Zeuske, "Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global."

83 McKeown, "Global Migration, 1846–1940"; McKeown, "Chinese Emigration"; Hu-DeHart, "Asia-Pacific Perspective"; Hu-DeHart and López, "Asian Diasporas in Latin America"; Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos."

There is another interesting estimate of the Atlantic slave trade and the rise of the "West": between 1640 and 1820, eight million enslaved people were taken from Africa to the Americas, 75% men and *piezas de Indias*[84] (theoretical) for prices of 200–300 silver-pesos each (*peso de a ocho reales*; *piasters* – a global currency at the time).[85] They were mainly connected to three production complexes that were increasingly globally oriented: precious metals (especially gold, platinum, copper, and precious stones), crop production (sugar, cocoa, tobacco, tea, etc.), and raw materials for textile production (especially cotton, produced by slaves, but also dyes and materials for sewing). This means that Atlantic capital (of c. eight million human bodies) consisted of between 1.6 to 2.4 billion silver pesos.[86] Together with commodities produced

84 The basic currency for large billing operations in the Atlantic slave trade was enslaved persons. The account unit for this type of operations in Spanish was *pieza de Indias* (roughly piece of Indies; in Portuguese, *peça*, also *boa peça*, *peça da Índia*), which was used throughout the Iberian Empire and the Slavery Atlantics until more or less 1820, meaning a healthy man between 15 and 30 years of age with a certain height and healthy, tall, young women expected to have healthy and strong children were considered full *pieza*. Older women (over 25 years of age), as well as adolescents and children, were valued as half or two-thirds *pieza.* Fernando Ortiz gives a working definition of the value measure and ideal type of the "pieza de Indias": "El esclavo tipo era el varón o hembra de quince a treinta años, sano, bien conformado y con la dentadura completa, el cual recibía el nombre de pieza de Indias [The slave type was a man or woman from fifteen to thirty years of age, healthy, well-built, and with complete dentition, which was named pieza de Indias]," in Fernando Ortiz, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos; Estudio sociológico y de derecho público* (Havana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916) [many reprints, e.g. the one that is always quoted today:] Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976): 133; see also Fernando Ortiz, "Clasificación de los esclavos. 'Bozales' y 'Ladinos'. 'Piezas de Indias', 'Muleques' y 'Mulecones'. Negros de "Nación," in *Los negros esclavos*: 168–69; the original definition of the *pieza de Indias* comes from 1662: Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "El período de los asientos con particulares (1595–1700)," in *La esclavitud en la América española,* Estudios y Materiales 22 (Warszawa: Universidad de Varsovia, Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2002): 180: "destacó el [asiento] realizado con Lomelín y Grillo el 5 de Julio de 1662 [. . .] porque en él se definó por vez primera lo que era una 'pieza' de Indias: un negro de siete cuartas de alto, sin defectos (ni ciego, ni tuerto, etc.). Los negros que fueran más bajos había que juntarlos para complete las siete cuartas" – "highlighted the [asiento de negros] made with Lomelín and Grillo on July 5, 1662 [. . .] because in it was defined for the first time what was a 'piece' of the Indies: a black man seven cuadras high, without defects (neither blind nor one-eyed, etc.). The blacks who were shorter had to be put together to complete the seven cuadras."

85 Drawn from "SlaveVoyages" (website); see also Carlos Marichal, "The Spanish-American Silver Peso: Export Commodity and Global Money of the Ancien Regime, 1500–1800," in *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000*, ed. Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal and Zephyr Frank, American Encounters/Global Interactions (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006): 25–52.

86 I'm making theoretical estimates here, for real slave prices for the British Caribbean, see David Eltis, Frank D. Lewis and David Richardson, "Slave Prices, the African Slave Trade, and Productivity in the Caribbean, 1674–1807," *Economic History Review* 58, no. 4 (2005): 673–700; see also Nicholas Draper, *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Catherine Hall, Nicholas Draper and Keith McClelland, "Introduction," in *Legacies of British Slave-Ownership: Colonial Slavery and the Formation of Victorian Britain*, ed. Catherine Hall et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014): 1–32.

for and by the enslaved, land, foodstuffs, working and guard animals (cattle, horses, mules, dogs, etc.), animals to be eaten (pigs, chicken), clothing, tools (machetes, hoes, axes, shovels, sticks with iron tops to plant sugar, etc.), ships, crews, ports, docks, and barracks, this accumulation from the capital of human bodies (plus the products for and by enslaved people) was of immense global value. Was it worth more than precious metals and European goods? Was this Atlantic capital and its accumulation the most important and dynamic basis for global capitalism (not only normal Western capitalism, but also slavery capitalism in the Americas and Africa)? Was this global economy (globalizing European economies on this basis) the cause of the great divergence? To start to answer this question, I will merely give yet another sequence of estimated numbers. In the eighteenth century, the century of the Enlightenment, the beginning of "Western" capitalism as we know it (especially in England and the Southern Netherlands (Belgium)), and the beginning of the Industrial Revolution (Great Britain), around six million people were abducted from Africa to the Americas. If we estimate, as I did above, around 300 *pesos de a ocho* per human body as a commodity, the result is the gigantic sum of 18 billion silver *pesos.* Alexander von Humboldt already calculated this (only for Cuba – but even these sums are extremely high). Humboldt published an estimate for the 15,647 *negros bozales* (enslaved Africans without knowledge of an Iberian language) imported to Cuba in the years 1797–1800: the price per enslaved person (per capita) was on average 375 *pesos de a ocho* (piastres).[87] If we apply this average price to the 307,000 deported from Africa to Cuba during the period 1790–1823, the total is 115 million silver pesos.[88]

In short, my hypothesis for a global history of slaveries here is thus: human bodies, as capital and commodities (in the slave trade in Africa, on the Atlantic, to the Americas, and in/between the individual slaving colonies of the Americas and the Caribbean), as potential producers and reproducers, and as settlers on the islands of Western Africa and the Americas, were more important than the European goods transported in exchange to the Americas, more even than the precious metals that Spain, above all, exported and traded from the Americas. In this respect, the greater Caribbean (including Brazil) was economically more important than Peru.[89]

But, I repeat, what spread globally was plants, animals, food, epidemics, viruses, products, commodities, and knowledge. The *consumption revolution*, with its slavery capitalisms in the Americas (especially Cuba and the USA, but also Brazil, Puerto Rico,

87 See also Jorge Felipe-González, "Reassessing the Slave Trade to Cuba, 1790–1820," in *From the Galleons to the Highlands: Slave Trade Routes in the Spanish Americas*, ed. Alex Borucki, David Eltis and David Wheat (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020): 223–48.

88 According to sources from the *Consulado de la Habana*; *Papel Periódico*, 1801, p. 12, see Alexander von Humboldt, "Population," in *Essai politique sur l'ile de Cuba: Avec une carte et un supplément qui renferme des considérations sur la population, la richesse territoriale et le commerce de l'Archipel des Antilles et de Colombia*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Gide et fils, 1826): 171, n. 1.

89 Carrington and Noel, "Slaves and Tropical Commodities."

Suriname, and other Caribbean places),[90] was already far more global than the European-British industrial revolution until around 1840 (and Great Britain was, on this basis, much more militarily aggressive than China).[91] The Fourth Plateau of slaveries developed against the background of the approximately eight million humans enslaved in AAA (even if we do not have numbers for Africa). It developed on the global Atlantic (the spread of models of Atlantic slaveries) and increasing global consumption and resource demand. Despite, or perhaps because of, abolition and civilization discourses, new slaveries and global migrations (around 1840–1960) developed during the Fourth Plateau: large-scale forced migrations around, within, and from the Indian Ocean (eastern hemisphere), China, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands (also to Australia), indenture, and bond-slaveries. The question is whether there was a global *second slavery*, especially in the transport systems: in the Indian Ocean world as part of the supply of migrants to the Atlantic hemisphere and possibly as second slaveries under local elites (the Arabian Gulf region; Omanis-Zanzibar/East Africa; Madagascar), but also in the Sokoto-Caliphate, in Southeast Asia, and in the Malayan world. The traditional areas of the Second Plateau (such as the Ottoman Empire) continued with second-plateau slavery (with the possible exception of Egypt in the nineteenth century).[92]

4 Enslaved and Otherwise Bonded People as Globalizing Actors?

I repeat, captives are local and regional enslaved people, enslaved people from migrations who are not globally connected but can be found all over the world and in world history: they are transcultural local-global agents between "small slaveries" or regional slavery regimes, as well as slaving zones and greater transportation systems.[93] Transculturation and cosmopolitism from below, at most, reach through

90 Zeuske and Conermann, "Introduction."

91 Priya Satia, "Introduction," in *Empire of Guns: The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018): 1–23.

92 Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840–1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982); Ehud R. Toledano, *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Ehud R. Toledano, "Ottoman Concepts of Slavery in the Period of Reform, 1830s–1880s," in *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia*, ed. Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993): 37–63; Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); Ehud R. Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Ehud R. Toledano, "An Empire of Many Households: The Case of Ottoman Enslavement," in *Slaves and Households in the Near East*, ed. Laura Culbertson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011): 85–97.

93 Cameron, "Nature of Slavery."

different imperial-national territories. But slaves are, relatively speaking, almost always more socially and spatially global than the local populations of the groups or societies they come from or to (apart from slave traders, seafarers, and, of course, the millions of victims of local slaveries, in which the enslaved came from the immediate areas of the enslavers). The African diaspora concept is also mostly hemispherical and, as such, very transcultural. Important biographies in this trans-imperial/transcultural sense certainly include those of Mohammed Baquaqua and Mohammed Nicolas Said, from Islamic Africa to the Ottoman Empire, then to Europe, Brazil, the Caribbean, and the USA. Mohammed Baquaqua and Nicolas Said are examples of enslaved trans-imperial cosmopolitans from below.[94]

As we see, in the view of the masses of enslaved people in Africa and in the eastern hemisphere, it is a complicated question where (at what distance to the place of enslavement) and if the enslavement and life histories of the enslaved form a global pattern.[95] In contrast, epidemics, plants, food, and the products and commodities produced by enslaved labor, as well as precious metals, are much more clearly global and parts of global patterns.

As I mentioned above, slave traders and partly enslaved crews also operated globally as cosmopolitans "from below." So, we can say that we do not know of any truly global life histories of enslaved people; the only really global phenomena are biological (plants, some animals, viruses, diseases, pandemics – often bound to climatic

94 Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener Publishers, 2001); Paul E. Lovejoy, "Identidade e a miragem da etnicidade: A jornada de Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua para as Américas," *Afro-Ásia* 27 (2002): 9–39; Mohammad Ali Sa'id, *The Autobiography of Nicholas Said: A Native of Bornou, Eastern Soudan, Central Africa* (Memphis: Shotwell, 1873), www.docsouth.unc.edu/neh/said/said.html [accessed 04.04.2017]; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Mohammed Ali Nicholas Sa'id: From Enslavement to American Civil War Veteran," in *Microhistoria de esclavas y esclavos*, ed. Vicent Sanz Rozalén and Michael Zeuske [= *Millars: Espai i Història* 42 (2017)]: 219–32.

95 Patrick Manning et al., "Demographic Models for Projecting Population and Migration: Methods for African Historical Analysis," *Journal of World-Historical Information* 2–3, no. 1 (2015): 24–40, https://jwsr.pitt.edu/ojs/jwhi/article/view/817 [accessed 03.06.2020]; see p. 37: "The question of how far continental captives traveled before their settlement as slaves is unanswered empirically, though there is a simple solution in computation. Beyond these issues in calculation, two contradictory interpretive problems arise. First, there appear to be no demographic relationships by which to estimate the historical level of enslavement. That is, the proportion of African populations enslaved in each region and period appears to be 'autonomous' – indeterminate and arbitrary – in that there is no clear way to calibrate it with other information in the system. Nonetheless, in contrast, if one looks broadly enough there does seem to be a general pattern in nineteenth century enslavement. The qualitative historical record for tropical Africa and Asia in the nineteenth century conveys a broad pattern of expanded enslavement. That is, despite the British anti-slavery campaign, enslavement expanded across the Old-World tropics until late in the nineteenth century in what is arguably a common pattern. This hypothesis provides one more argument that the effort of modeling population and migration on a large and systematic scale may bring about clarification of important patterns in large-scale social processes and relationships that had previously escaped notice."

factors), elements of global value exchanges (silver, gold, sugar, tobacco, cotton), and structural: the nineteenth-century slave and coolie trades; imperial colonialisms and collective slaveries; slavery as capitalism (second slaveries), until more or less 1900 in the western hemisphere, as colonial and local slaveries until around 1960: and global migrations to this day.

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Roberto Hofmeister Pich

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

1 Introduction

Historical research on early modern (and modern) scholastic thinkers' philosophical, legal, and theological assessments of black slavery is an ongoing project. This is especially true in the context of the transatlantic slave trade and the construction of Latin American viceroyal and colonial societies in the period stretching from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. In general, there is still a notable lack of philosophical studies dealing with Iberian-Latin American "second-scholastic" authors and works,[1] as well as a

1 On the concept of "Second Scholasticism," see Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "An Index of 'Second Scholastic' Authors," in Right *and* Nature *in the First and Second Scholasticism*, ed. Alfredo Santiago Culleton and Roberto Hofmeister Pich (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014): ix–xiv. On Latin American Scholasticism, see Walter Bernard Redmond, *Bibliography of the Philosophy in the Iberian Colonies of America* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1972); Walter Bernard Redmond, "Latin America, Colonial Thought," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 5, ed. Edward Craig (London: Routledge, 1998): 421–26; Roberto Hofmeister Pich and Alfredo Santiago Culleton, "SIEPM Project 'Second Scholasticism': *Scholastica colonialis*," *Bulletin de Philosophie Médiévale* 52 (2010): 25–45; Roberto Hofmeister Pich and Alfredo Santiago Culleton, "Introduction: The Challenge of Investigating Latin American Colonial Scholasticism," in Scholastica colonialis*:*

Note: This essay synthetizes recent previous research of mine and, thus, uses, with permission, parts of the following studies: Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Second Scholasticism and Black Slavery," *Veritas – Revista de Filosofia* 64, n. 3 (2019): 1–24; Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Second Scholasticism and Black Slavery (Continuation and End)," *Veritas – Revista de Filosofia* 65, n. 1 (2020): 1–13; Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Francisco José de Jaca's (c. 1645–1689) and Epifanio de Moirans's (1644–1689) Plea for the Liberation of Enslaved Black People in Latin America," in *Civilization – Nature – Subjugation: Variations of (De-)Colonization*, ed. Christoph Haar, Matthias Kaufmann and Christian Müller (Berlin: Peter Lang/Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2021): 69–110. All these studies, including the present essay, were originally prepared during my stay as guest professor at the Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn as first "CAPES/Universität Bonn Lehrstuhlinhaber" in different periods between July 2018 and February 2020. I hereby express my gratitude for the remarkable support of the Brazilian Agency Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel) and the University of Bonn.

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dearth of examinations of the main lines of their normative considerations on black slavery.[2]

On the theoretical level, at least, the arguments related to the claims of rulership (*dominium*) of the lands discovered by the Iberians after 1492, according to which aboriginal peoples of the New World had no clear political life or status and were arguably a sort of "natural slaves," were invalidated in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century. If valid, such arguments would give support to the conclusion that the naturally-inferior aboriginal peoples of the Americas should, willingly or not, live in subjection (or at least in a kind of civilizational tutelage) to the Spaniards and Portuguese. After the issuing in 1537 of the Bull *Sublimis Deus* by Pope Paul III and the critical reception of Aristotle's *Politics*[3] by the masters of Francisco de Vitoria's O.P. (1483–1546) generation,[4] and after the Valladolid debates between Bartolomé de Las Casas O.P. (1474–1566) and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490–1573) on the juridical claim of just wars of conquest against the barbarians and infidels of the American continent, theories of natural slavery modeled after Aristotle and of enslavement/servitude justified on the basis of cultural practices offensive to natural law were rejected by Catholic intellectuals,[5] as well as by early

Reception and Development of Baroque Scholasticism in Latin America, 16th–18th Centuries, ed. Roberto Hofmeister Pich and Alfredo Santiago Culleton (Barcelona: FIDEM-Brepols, 2016): 3–33.

2 See Roberto Hofmeister Pich, Alfredo Santiago Culleton, and Alfredo Carlos Storck, "Second Scholasticism and Black Slavery – Some Philosophical Assessments," *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 36 (2015): 3–15. Some important references, though modest in scope, can be found in Luis Perdices de Blas and José Luis Ramos Gorostiza, "The Debate over the Enslavement of Indians and Africans in the Sixteenth – and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Empire," in *A Companion to Early Modern Spanish Imperial Political and Social Thought*, ed. Jörg Alejandro Tellkamp (Leiden: Brill, 2020): 295–317.

3 There is no doubt that the ancient classical view on slavery that is most impactful on the history of philosophy – at least, until the sixteenth century – is the one advanced by Aristotle. The classical treatment appears in Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. B. Jowett (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920): I 4–13, 1131–46. See also Pierre Pellegrin, "Natural Slavery," in *The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle's* Politics, ed. Marguerite Deslauriers and Pierre Destrée (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 92–116. On this aspect of the reception of Aristotle in Latin America and second scholasticism, see Giuseppe Tosi, *La teoria della schiavitù naturale nel dibattito sul Nuovo Mondo (1510–1573):* "Veri domini" *o* "servi a natura"*?* (Bologna: Edizioni Studio Domenicano, 2002).

4 Joseph Höffner, *Kolonialismus und Evangelium: Spanische Kolonialethik im Goldenen Zeitalter*, 2nd ed. (Trier: Paulinus-Verlag, 1969): 189–422; Bernardo J. Canteñs, "The Rights of the American Indians," in *A Companion to Latin American Philosophy*, ed. Susana Nuccetelli, Ofelia Schutte and Otávio Bueno (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 23–35; Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "*Dominium* e *ius*: sobre a fundamentação dos direitos humanos segundo Francisco de Vitoria (1483–1546)," *Teocomunicação* 42, n. 2 (2012): 376–401.

5 See Matthias Kaufmann, "Slavery Between Law, Morality, and Economy," in *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Alexander Aichele (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 191–92. See also Lewis Hanke, *All Mankind Is One: A Study of the Disputation Between Bartolomé de Las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda in 1550 on the Religious and Intellectual Capacity of the American Indians* (Carbondale: Northern Illinois University Press, 1994); Tosi, *La teoria della schiavitù naturale*.

modern thinkers in general.[6] Clearly, such critical appraisals did not mean that indigenous peoples, both on the Spanish and Portuguese sides of Latin America,[7] were no longer enslaved or did not remain enslaved for other (political, legal, and economic) reasons into the eighteenth century.[8]

Black slavery, in the broad space of transatlantic connections *between Africa and the Americas*, became an institution in the sixteenth century,[9] formally ending only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[10] With the slavery of black Africans, there was a new kind of system of slavery characterized by the following: the status of

6 Notes on views about slavery by authors such as Jean Bodin, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke, as well as Enlightenment philosophers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau, can be found in Stephen L. Esquith and Nicholas D. Smith, "Slavery," in *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, vol. 8, ed. Edward Craig (London: Routledge, 1998): 804–5. See, for example, John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960) [1689/1690]: I, 1, i. On slavery in the history of philosophy, see also Egon Flaig, "Sklaverei," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, vol. 9, ed. Joachim Ritter and Karlfried Gründer (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 1995): 976–85.

7 Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Introducción," in *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud* [De instauranda Aethiopum salute], by Alonso de Sandoval, trans. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987): 17–18, reminds us that, by the end of the sixteenth century, "Indios" were basically no longer enslaved: they had rather to live, according to royal mandates, under different forms of institutions, such as "encomienda," "repartimiento," and "peonaje." Moreover, Philip II signed monopoly contracts of African slave trade with the Portuguese, who were also in need of labor forces in their South American colonies, where white or European owners had begun to successfully explore sugar cane plantations.

8 See José Oscar Beozzo, "As Américas Negras e a História da Igreja: questões metodológicas," in *Escravidão negra e História da Igreja na América Latina e no Caribe* (Petrópolis: Editora Vozes, 1987): 43–64. On the so-called "transition" from the slavery of indigenous people to the slavery of Africans in colonial Brazil, see Stuart B. Schwartz, "Escravidão indígena e o início da escravidão Africana," in *Dicionário da escravidão e liberdade*, ed. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz and Flávio dos Santos Gomes (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2018): 216–22.

9 See Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos* (Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1977); Herbert S. Klein, *Escravidão africana: América Latina e Caribe*, trans. José Eduardo de Mendonça (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1987): 33–104; Michael Zeuske, *Sklaven und Sklaverei in den Welten des Atlantiks 1400–1940: Umrisse, Anfänge, Akteure, Vergleichsfelder und Bibliographien* (Berlin: LIT, 2006): 97–264 (on the beginnings of slavery in the Atlantic, 1415–1570); Michael Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negreros und Atlantikkreolen: Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 296–348.

10 Only in the second half of the nineteenth century were both the practice of the slave trade and the social institution of slavery finally abolished in the Western world (lastly in Cuba and Brazil). See the studies contained in Francisco de Solano and Agustín Guimerá Ravina, eds., *Esclavitud y derechos humanos: La lucha por la libertad del negro en el siglo XIX* (Madrid: CSIC, 1990). See also Rebecca J. Scott, ed., *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988); Mário Maestri, *A servidão negra* (Porto Alegre: Editora Mercado Aberto, 1988): esp. 7–39; Mário Maestri, *O escravismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Atual, 2002); Marcel Dorigny, *As abolições da escravatura no Brasil e no mundo*, trans. Cristian Macedo and Patrícia Reuillard (São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2019). An important reference work about black slavery and abolitionism in Brazil is Lilia Moritz Schwarcz and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, eds., *Dicionário da escravidão e liberdade* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2018), containing fifty critical essays.

being someone else's property and merchandise, and thus being the property both of traders and holders for the purposes of massive economic production on a national, international, and transoceanic scale.[11] During this period, though, a striking paradox in thinking emerges that is difficult for us to grasp. In a sense, the same generations of thinkers who in theory rejected the usual arguments for enslavement or formal servitude towards indigenous peoples indulged the slave trade of Africans and black slavery in general. How was that possible? Can answers to this question be found by studying these thinkers' moral thought regarding black people's *servitus* in terms of its various situations and characteristics?

Among the first authors to systematically reflect on black slavery were Domingo de Soto O.P. (1494–1560),[12] Fernando Oliveira O.P. (1507–1581), Tomás de Mercado O.P. (1525–1575), the jurist, active in Mexico, Bartolomé de Frías y Albornoz O.P. (*ca.* 1519–1573), and Francisco García (1525–1585). But there is a consensus that the Jesuit Luis de Molina (1535–1600) was the first intellectual to consider the topic of black slavery extensively. During Molina's lifetime and afterwards, several other Jesuit thinkers also wrote on this subject, in many cases explicitly commenting on his *disputationes*, such as Fernando Rebello (1546–1608), Tomás Sánchez (1550–1610), Alonso de Sandoval (1576–1652), and Diego de Avendaño (1594–1688).[13] In order to systematically characterize the normative treatment given by second and early modern scholastic thinkers to black slavery, I briefly explore three stations of research, the last being two late seventeenth-century polemical treatises by the Capuchin missionaries Francisco José de Jaca (*ca.* 1645–1689) and Epifanio de Moirans (1644–1689), writing against the slave trade in Africans and criticizing the final results of a number of normative

11 Of course, the discussion of the role of slavery in (trans)Atlantic and American colonial economic history is the object of a huge amount of research. See Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1440–1870* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997); Joseph E. Inikori, *Africans and the Industrial Revolution in England: A Study in International Trade and Economic Development* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Escravismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2010); Dale W. Tomich, *Pelo prisma da escravidão: Trabalho, capital e economia mundial*, trans. Antonio de Pádua Danesi (São Paulo: Edusp, 2011); Michael Zeuske, *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2018): 79–119, 187–211.

12 On the positions of Las Casas, who later changed his early favorable view on black slavery, coming to condemn the injustice of the slave trade, see the study by Manuel Méndez Alonzo, "From Slave Driver to Abolitionist: Bartolomé de Las Casas on African Slavery," *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 36 (2015): 17–28.

13 I refer to these authors' works in other studies of mine; see Pich, "Second Scholasticism and Black Slavery": 9–10 (nn. 39–40); Pich, "Second Scholasticism and Black Slavery (Continuation and End)": 9–10. Important references can also be found in Francisco Moreno Rejon, *Historia de la teología moral en América Latina: Ensayos y materiales* (Lima: Instituto Bartolomé de las Casas, 1994): 58–70. See also David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1966): 187–90; José Andrés-Gallego, *La esclavitud en la América española* (Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, 2005): 32–42; Luis Fernando Restrepo, "Colonial Thought," in *A Companion to Latin American Philosophy*, ed. Susana Nuccetelli, Ofelia Schutte and Otávio Bueno (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010): 39–42.

texts of Jesuit authors about black slavery, including the contributions by Molina and Avendaño. The two main theses to be defended are that (i) at a certain point Avendaño realized that an evaluation of the slavery status and trade of black people from Africa strictly in terms of commutative justice would only show that the commerce was illicit – and so reasons other than the traditional criteria of just commutations would be needed to support the continuity of the system – and that (ii) from Molina to Avendaño an important shift in the normative evaluation of the system of black slavery took place, and that was, as Jaca and Moirans realized, that the slave trade of Africans might be legitimated through probable reasons.

2 Justification of Enslavement and the (In)Justice of Slave Trade: Luis de Molina

Molina's influential – exclusively normative, not ethnically- or racially-grounded[14] – assessment of the enslavement and trade of black Africans to Europe and the New World can be found in his expositions *De iustitia et iure* (whose six volumes appeared between 1593 and 1609), Book I, Treatise II, Disputations 32–40.[15] Treatise II is about "commutative justice concerning external goods" or the justice that regulates over "exchanges" (*commutationes*),[16] which, together with "distributive justice" (*iustitia distributiva*), offers the division of what Thomas Aquinas called "particular justice" in his *Summa theologiae*.[17] The nine disputations on the slavery problem combine (a) an effort for describing the historical circumstances of the enslavement of Africans and the characteristics of the slave trade from the African coast to the Western world with (b) a moral-legal analysis of enslavement and the slave trade themselves, including an approach to the "subjective rights" of masters and slaves.[18] The exposition belongs to a theory of *dominium proprietatis*, that is, a theory about the right of possessing things –

14 See Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 189–90, 193, 201.

15 Luis de Molina, *De iustitia et iure* (Colonia Allobrogum [Cologny]: Ed. Marci Michaelis Bousquet, 1738 [1611]): 86–117. This is the edition I use in this study. Molina was a university professor of philosophy and theology in Coimbra and Évora (Portugal), and later taught in Cuenca (Spain). On the origins and the arrangement of the six volumes of the *De iustitia et iure*, see Alexander Aichele and Matthias Kaufmann, "Introduction," in *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Alexander Aichele (Leiden: Brill, 2014): xv–xvi, xxviii–xxx.

16 Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 183. See also Annabel Brett, "Luis de Molina on Law and Power," in *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Alexander Aichele (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 159–64.

17 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae, cura et studio Sac. Pietro Caramello* (Torino: Marietti Editori, 1962): IIaIIae q. 57–122.

18 Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 184. On the sources of Molina's account, see 190.

in distinction to a theory of *dominium iurisdictionis*, which is about political power.[19] Slavery is, of course, a kind of property right, implying "an extreme form of dependence and submission,"[20] as well as a significant loss of freedom. Molina sees in the "freedom" at stake the idea of an internal good that essentially means the possession of one's own body and the right of making use of it – usually presupposing that such a possession is claimed and valid within the context of a given human society and political organization. *Internal* goods are contrasted to *external* goods or things which are not oneself or in oneself. A human being can exert *dominium* both over internal and external things, and internal goods belong to a human being according to natural law – Molina affirms that a human being is the "lord of his freedom."[21]

Regarding the ways how a human being can be rightfully deprived of *dominium* over himself in terms of the possession of his/her body for the sake of free use of it, becoming someone else's property,[22] Molina proposed a set of conditions that combine reasons to be found both in Roman law and medieval authorities,[23] which might on a normative level legitimate someone's enslavement: enslavement might be (i) the result of corrective justice because of a *bellum iustum*, where the death penalty is converted into social death or perpetual enslavement;[24] (ii) it might be a form of alternative punishment for a

19 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXII, pp. 86–87. See Amândio Augusto Coxito, "Luis de Molina e a escravatura," *Revista Filosófica de Coimbra* 15 (1999): 117–36; Jörg Alejandro Tellkamp, "Rights and *Dominium*," in *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Alexander Aichele (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 125–26, 142–52.

20 Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 184.

21 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXIII, n. 14, p. 89: "Tertius titulus est. Emptio et venditio. Ponendumque in primis est, hominem, sicut non solum externorum suorum bonorum, sed etiam proprii honoris et famae est dominus, ut tractatu 4. ostendimus: sic etiam dominium esse suae libertatis, atque adeo standо in solo iure naturali, posse eam alienare, seque in servitutem redigere." On freedom as a fundamental and natural good, as well as on the development of the idea of freedom as a civil and human right in medieval, early modern, modern, and contemporary thought, see Matthias Kaufmann and Joachim Renzikowski, "Einleitung – *Freiheit als Rechtsbegriff*," in *Freiheit als Rechtsbegriff*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Joachim Renzikowski (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2016): 9–14; Matthias Kaufmann, "Welches Eigentum gehört zum Menschenrecht auf Freiheit?" in *Freiheit als Rechtsbegriff*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Joachim Renzikowski (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2016): 117–24. See also Danaë Simmermacher, "Natürliche Freiheit und Verantwortung – Dominium bei Luis de Molina," in *Freiheit als Rechtsbegriff*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Joachim Renzikowski (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 2016): 158–60.

22 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXII, pp. 86–87. See Simmermacher, "Natürliche Freiheit und Verantwortung": 163–64.

23 According to Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 194, the four titles to be now mentioned "[. . .] have more or less belonged to the tradition since Roman times, [. . .]."

24 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXIII, nn. 1–3, pp. 87–88. On Molina's views on *ius gentium* and differences of his account in comparison to Francisco de Vitoria's, see António Manuel Hespanha, "Luís de Molina e a escravização dos Negros," *Análise Social* 35 (2001): 937–60. See also João Manuel A.A. Fernandes, "Luis de Molina on War," in *A Companion to Luis de Molina*, ed. Matthias Kaufmann and Alexander Aichele (Leiden: Brill, 2014): 227–55.

momentous "crime" that would otherwise be most severely punished;[25] (iii) a condition that would result from a male adult or a father selling – in a situation of most grave need – either his own freedom or the freedom of a member of his family (say, his child or children);[26] (iv) finally, enslavement might be a condition caused by simply being born from an enslaved woman, since "birth follows the condition of the womb."[27]

In the context of a trade system in humans, the relational notions of "being a property" and "being a possessor" need closer determination insofar as the nature of the possessed thing is concerned. Accordingly, being the owner of a human being through fair purchase does imply possessing his liberty, but it does not imply possessing his life. It allows the possession of someone's body for a conditional use, that is, for forcefully working for or being at the service of his owner, as well as the possession of the fruits of the work and children born by enslaved women. But a slaveholder has no ownership over the "physical" health and "spiritual" wellness of someone's body, what implies that the holder is not allowed to dispose *ad libitum* of a slave's limbs and any further item the very life of the slave depends upon.[28] The explanation of the scope of the *dominium proprietatis* in question is important to help drawing the ethical principles for a master-slave relationship.[29] In a nutshell: there are many deeds a master is morally and legally not allowed to do against the slave: after all, the slave has rights *qua homo* – although not *qua persona*. Public authorities are entitled to protect the rights of the slaves ("insofar as they are human beings and our next"), and it might be the case that holders would have to compensate them.[30] Following the judgment by Kaufmann, Molina seems to be much more committed to the "protection of the slave against arbitrary treatment by his master" as it happened in the tradition of the Roman law.[31]

25 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXIII, nn. 4–13, pp. 88–89.

26 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXIII, nn. 14–31, pp. 89–91.

27 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXIII, n. 32, p. 91.

28 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVIII, nn. 2–3, p. 110.

29 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVII–XXXIX, pp. 107–13.

30 Even deprived of natural freedom (in the sense of living under rulership and being the property of other human being[s]), as well as of legal freedom, slaves keep their status as subjects of rights due to their natural *dominium* over themselves (their human status as beings capable of making use of reason and will); Simmermacher, "Natürliche Freiheit und Verantwortung": 165–68. See also Danaë Simmermacher, "Slaves as Owners. *Dominium* of and over Humans in Molina's *De Iustitia et Iure*," in *Civilization – Nature – Subjugation: Variations of (De-)Colonization*, ed. Christoph Haar, Matthias Kaufmann and Christian Müller (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021): 46–49. See Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVIII, nn. 1–4, pp. 110–11; here n. 4, p. 111: "Quamvis autem leges hae, quia si excusserit servo aut ancillae, similiter iudiciales erant, cessaverint, aequitate tamen nitebantur, tenenturque hodie naturae iure, qui similia crimina in servos suos commiserint, satisfactionem competentem servis ipsis efficere, qua homines ac proximi sunt, et quatenus damnum et iniuria in eos quoad ea, quae dominorum potestati minime subsunt, redundat." See also Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 218–21.

31 Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 220. On the topic of the *dominium* the slave has over some things (the scope of his property rights) and the theme of the possibility of friendship and justice between slave and master, see 220–21, as well as Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp.

At any rate, since any ethics of the ownership of humans for the purpose of forced labor depends on the justice of the slave trade, it is on the legitimacy of trade or the buying-and-purchasing contract that Molina's exposition focuses. What essentially concerned Molina was the analysis of the justice of the ownership of slaves in the context of – and from the beginning of the chain of – transatlantic slave trade and therefore the justice of the slave trade itself. Until the eighteenth century, this double approach of morally judging black slavery in terms of property rights and commutative justice remained paradigmatic for most Baroque scholastic authors. Clearly, for Molina these two areas of inquiry with regard to the licitness of slavery had to be carried within the context of Portuguese commercial activities on the African coast (thus, in the jurisdictional space of the Portuguese crown and for which it had responsibility). But more than on the moral responsibility of political authorities, Molina's disputes focused on the role played by the agents of slave the trade: firstly on the moral duty of merchants who were engaged in that multi-linked business chain, that is, the people who bought slaves from first-hand sellers on the African coast and transported them to the West[32] and, secondly, on the moral duty of holders who bought and then possessed slaves in Europe and above all in the New World.[33] Putting it simply: any merchant who became the possessor of slaves had the moral duty of checking the existence and validity of alleged titles that justified the slavery status of Africans before buying and offering them on the market; any initially *bona fide* buyer and in principle *bona fide* owner of slaves who came to doubt their enslavement titles had the moral duty of checking the status of the purchased items and the purchase itself. To be sure about the justice of the slavery status of enslaved Africans was a moral obligation: everyone involved in any aspect in enslavements and the slave trade should pursue "safe conscience" and avoid "condemnable" or "capital guilt" (*culpa lethalis*) in the first place. This *moral* requirement of acting in justice, which goes far beyond the requirement of doing only what *positive laws* permit, characterizes all normative evaluations of black slavery from Luis de Molina onwards.[34] This obligation of conscience was directed to everybody – crown, administrators, councils, commerce chambers, etc. – but it is notable that, with respect to a practice such as the slave trade, surrounded by much uncertainty about its fairness, agents directly involved in any of its several chains should be able to see and judge about circumstances that were transparent to existing official trade regulations and licenses.

XXXVIII, n. 5, pp. 111–12. In fact, as long as master and slave are compared according to these two opposite legal status, there is neither friendship nor justice between them; however, as they are compared to each other as human beings, there is both friendship and justice between them indeed (in their contract). See Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVIII, n. 5, p. 111.

32 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, pp. 97–106.

33 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, pp. 106–7.

34 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 1–2, 8, pp. 98–100. See also Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 207–8.

Although Molina's *first three verdicts* about the business with enslaved Africans seem to be concessive about its origin and continuation, we should stress that, as his *fourth conclusion* shows, he thought, in fact, that it was much more likely the entire slave trade was illicit from the beginning; as a result, those engaged in it are in mortal sin and deserve eternal damnation.[35] In particular, the merchant as a purchaser of external goods had to be certain of the fairness regarding the slave *as sold item* (the person had to be justly enslaved, thus a person enslaved due to really legitimate reasons, not an apparent slave but rather an actually free person on the level of rights and justice) and regarding *the selling* (it had to be a just action by *a legitimate owner* who properly acquired a proper merchandise): if justice did not exist in any of those situations, then the merchant-purchaser could not possibly be a legitimate new owner either. Molina expressed the influential opinion that, although "invincible ignorance" – and, thus, the existence of *bona fide* traders and holders – might be theoretically conceded, on the practical level, regarding the expected knowledge of the condition of enslaved Africans traders either knew that the original enslavement and the first selling-and-buying were illegal or did not make any significant effort to verify the real original status of the "products." So, for example, everyone knew that those enslaved persons were not put into that condition as a consequence of just wars according to *ius gentium*, but rather were just stolen or captured.[36] Since rumors about the unfairness of the trade were widespread, the need of previous certification of the status of slavery was an obligation[37] to everyone. As a consequence, *either* in one case *or* the other, traders acted in bad faith:

35 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, n. 16, p. 103: "Mihi longe verisimilius est, negotiationem hanc ementium eiusmodi mancipia ab infidelibus illis in locis, eaque inde asportantium, iniustam, iniquamque esse, omnesque qui illam exercent, lethaliter peccare, esseque in statu damnationis aeternae, nisi quem invincibilis ignorantia excuset, in qua neminem eorum esse affirmare audere."

36 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 16–18, pp. 103–5; here n. 18, p. 104: "Quod de Aethyopum bellis, quibus ordinarie capiunt mancipia, quae Lusitanis vendunt, praesumendum esse arbitror (iuxta ea, quae mercatores ipsi, nulla tormentorum vi coacti, dum interrogantur, respondent) est, potius illa esse latrocinia, quam bella." See also Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 213–24; Leslie B. Rout, Jr., *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976): 404; Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 1997): 602; Alastair Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): 283.

37 In fact, whenever Molina talks of "obligatio" in such texts (or uses expressions connected to "obligation," such as the verb "tenere") there is a double perspective: on the one hand, the perspective of law, where there are legal *obligationes* regarding trading and contracts (between trader and customer, for example) – and their observance is prescribed and enforced by law and authorities. On the other hand, *obligationes* also belong to the sphere of conscience, such as the practical knowledge – on the level of certainty – that traders and holders must have about the justice of enslavements in order to act in good faith when they seal a property contract. Although in many cases these perspectives conflate, Molina many times appeals to the agents' conscience of moral obligation, as, for example, when it is about solving doubts with regard to enslavement titles within a system of slave trade and ownership of slaves that already exists and is legally permitted and about the obligation of restituting freedom and its fruits.

either they had knowledge that what they did was wrong *or* they acted in doubt or vincible ignorance.[38]

Under these presuppositions, it must be stressed that Molina, just like others after him (though with different emphases and interpretations), affirmed that merchants and purchasers, having properly confirmed, after a morally mandatory investigation, that the status of the product they acquired was illicit or doubtful, were morally obliged to restitution (*restitutio*). Restitution as corrective justice in the face of miscarried commutations of external goods and of offences against or damages caused to a person's goods and reputation (*fama*) was already present in medieval canon law and had become a well-established doctrine ever since medieval authors such as Thomas Aquinas[39] and John Duns Scotus[40] discussed it both in the context of a doctrine of justice and a doctrine of satisfaction (as the last formal part of the sacrament of penance). Its application to the problem of slavery (and freedom) from the sixteenth century onwards was as such something new and, if one considers that its aim was to reach practical (prudential) judgments, it turned out to be a quite complex challenge, particularly because of the requirement for certainty and the different cases (and degrees) of doubt: (a) in principle, traders and customers had to investigate and be certain of the slavery status before buying enslaved Africans (otherwise the commerce was illicit);[41] (b) if doubts later arose, and through investigation someone came to know about the illicitness of enslavement, he was obliged to immediate restitution of freedom – this is valid for any kind of slaveholder, irrespective of his distant position in the chain of trade and ownership, the time passed since he became an owner, and even the price of the human product. In most cases, restitution would also imply compensation for services rendered and according to the measure of benefit and enrichment by the holders, as well as compensation for bad treatment, offenses, and damages suffered – to enslaved people directly or to their heirs, descendants or relatives.[42] (c) If doubts later arose, and through mandatory investigation – in the original situation of property acquisition *bona fide* – an owner was unable to have certainty about the licitness of enslavement or not, he was obliged to provide some sort of restitution "according to the degree [quantity] of doubt" (*pro quantitate dubii*).[43] Luis de Molina's account characterizes, thus, a long tradition of scholastic moralists who carefully discriminate and relate, more or less based on Thomas Aquinas and the rich commentary tradition on his question on restitution in *Summa theologiae*,[44] the several headings under which acts of restitution should take place to the very topic of

38 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 16–18, pp. 103–5.

39 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*: IIaIIae q. 62, aa. 1–8, pp. 302–8.

40 Ioannes Duns Scotus, *Opera Omnia XIII – Ordinatio IV* (Vatican City: Typis Vaticanis, 2011): *Ordinatio* IV d. 15, qq. 2–4, nn. 65–272, pp. 75–130.

41 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 16–21, pp. 103–6.

42 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, n. 2, p. 107.

43 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 16–18, 20–21, pp. 103–6.

44 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*: IIaIIae q. 62, aa. 1–8.

giving unjustly enslaved Africans proper restitution (and punishing those who *mala fide* traded with them).[45]

One problematic point in Molina's account, however, is his use of the principle of property rights – also a reflexive principle that should be of help in order to decide what is the right thing to do in dubious cases of commutative justice – according to which "in doubt, the condition of the possessor is the better one" (*in dubio melior sit conditio possidentis*).[46] Despite everything he said about the widespread opinion that original enslavements of black people in Africa and, thus, the trade of black slaves were unjust, Molina maintains the view that in several situations of established contracts, the existence of doubt can favor the slaveholder and not the freedom of the enslaved person. He pays special attention to this topic by evaluating the moral stance of owners in the system of the slave trade, particularly those who in Europe or in the Americas supposedly bought them *bona fide*.[47] If someone bought a slave – from a merchant or another possessor who apparently at least saw no reasons for doubting the status of the sold items – in the honest belief that the enslavement was fair, that possessor is allowed to keep the slave.[48] In fact, once he was, thus, in possession of a slave, a holder would have to be persuaded by strong evidences that he possessed an illicit item. As a simple citizen, in most cases a slaveholder cannot collect all – not even much of – the evidence needed, not to mention that he cannot have overall control over the system of trafficking slaves. Molina seems to indulge in the view that princes or ministers should do the verification of possible illegality in the slave traffic, for the sake of their citizens,[49] that is, in their jurisdiction they should "control whether the goods that are imported and sold in the kingdom are of trustworthy origin," which is, as Kaufmann affirms, "a very macabre kind of customer protection" indeed.[50] But there are situations in which the condition of the possessor of freedom is the better one. If the holder recognizes that the slave was victimized, he "has to set him free immediately, no matter how much he paid for him"[51] and no matter how

45 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, nn. 1–5, pp. 106–7.

46 The principle is derived from a rule of Roman and medieval canon law for deciding cases involving doubtful ownership of goods: "In pari delicto vel causa potior est conditio possidentis" (*Corpus iuris canonici, Liber Sextus Decretalium* lib. V, tit. 12, *De regulis iuris*, reg. 65 [*Liber Sextus Bonifacii Octavi pluries editus* VI (5. 13) 65 (ed. E. Friedberg)]). According to the principle, a possessor of a thing cannot be deprived of it as long as the unlawfulness of his possession has not been sufficiently established. See also Rudolf Schüssler, "On the Anatomy of Probabilism," in *Moral Philosophy on the Threshold of Modernity*, ed. Jill Kraye and Risto Saarinen (Dordrecht: Springer, 2005): 98–100.

47 This is discussed in Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI.

48 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, n. 3, p. 107.

49 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, n. 1, pp. 106–7.

50 Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 215. See Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, n. 1, p. 106.

51 Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 215. See Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, n. 2, p. 107.

much time passed since the slave was bought[52] – after all, as stressed by thinkers such as John Duns Scotus, freedom does not expire because of time.[53] At any rate, if the owner begins to have doubts, he must investigate; if relevant evidence does not come up, he does not need to keep investigating. At least the holder would be, then, in case unjust enslavements really apply, in a moral situation of justifiable invincible ignorance. Notwithstanding all this, remaining doubts might still motivate a degree of restitution.[54]

Due (a) to the overall widespread opinion of illegality and widespread doubt regarding the licitness of enslavements, first purchase, and ownership and (b) the moral obligation of verifying the licitness of any slave titles, which were in practice impossible to prove licit, it is fair to affirm that Molina condemns the concrete system of slave trade he was historically evaluating (he is, to this extent *and only to this extent*, an abolitionist), although this is not a stance against slavery or the trade of slaves *as such*, i.e., an endorsement of the principle according to which it is always and everywhere wrong that a human being is the property of another human being. The practice was both against Christian charity and against natural and human justice (civil law and the law of peoples): it was, simply put, an error or a sin.[55] It is also interesting that Luis de Molina understood that such an error was "systemic" and demanded a systemic correction. After all, although he emphasized the role played by traders in the chain of slavery, every link of it shared some responsibility (was causally related to an injustice), such as enslavers in Africa and first purchasers and sellers on the African coast, as well as priests, bishops, and rulers who might have issued official prohibitions and restrictions but did not.[56] Molina did not explore much the reasons for such a leniency. Although some would say that the system offered black people the possibility of catechesis, baptism, salvation, and even some "material benefits" and a civilized life in contrast to barbarism, it was obvious for Molina that, as he says in his *fifth* conclusion, traders were only interested in profit. Here he works with a deontological principle according to which "one should not commit misdeeds in order to make good things [or ends] to happen" (*facienda non sunt mala, ut eveniant bona*).[57]

After 1609, when they were posthumously edited and published, the six volumes of Molina's *De iustitia et iure* were read throughout the Iberian world, from the Philippines

52 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, nn. 2–3, 5, p. 107.

53 On this point about the non-expiration of natural freedom, see Duns Scotus, *Opera Omnia XIII – Ordinatio IV*: *Ordinatio* IV d. 36, q. 1, n. 25, pp. 469–70.

54 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXVI, n. 5, p. 107. See Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 215.

55 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 16–19, pp. 103–5.

56 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, nn. 16, 19, pp. 103–5. Clearly, this "systemic" analysis has as its background Aquinas's discussion of who has the obligation of making restitution, as essential form of corrective justice in commutations; see Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*: IIaIIae q. 62, a. 7 ("Utrum illi qui non acceperunt teneantur restituere"), pp. 307–8.

57 Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, n. 19, p. 105. See also Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 214.

to the Viceroyalty of Peru. On a strictly normative level, Molina condemned the transatlantic slave trade from Africa to the Americas. Slave trade went on – slavery was abolished only 1886 in Cuba and 1888 in Brazil. What happened on the level of ideas?

3 Criticism of the Black Slavery System and Probabilism: Diego de Avendaño

Our next research station is located in the New World, in Lima, "Ciudad de los Reyes," the capital of the most successful viceroyalty of the Spanish Empire in the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries, the Viceroyalty of Peru. In the largest College of Jesuits in Latin America, the "Colegio Máximo San Pablo," its famous professor Diego de Avendaño was in the last phase of his brilliant career.[58] The summation of his theological and philosophical thought is to be found in the six monumental volumes of the *Thesaurus indicus* and the *Auctarium indicum*, which were published in Antwerp in 1668–1686.[59] Avendaño offered an important – carefully reflected – exposition on the trade of slaves from Africa to Latin America in volume I of his *Thesaurus indicus* (1668).[60] His account was influential and discussed by other authors, which would not prevent his readers from saying that the details of his overall position on the slave trade, especially relating to

58 On Avendaño's life and works, see Ángel Muñoz García, "Introducción," in *Derecho, Consejo y Virreyes de Indias*: Thesaurus Indicus, *Vol. I, Tít. I–III (1668)*, by Diego de Avendaño, trans. Ángel Muñoz García (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2001): 13–53; Ángel Muñoz García, *Diego de Avendaño: Filosofía, moralidad, derecho y política en el Perú colonial* (Lima: Fondo Editorial Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 2003): 29–61.

59 See Diego de Avendaño, *Derecho, Consejo y Virreyes de Indias*: Thesaurus Indicus, *Vol. I, Tít. I–III (1668),* trans. Ángel Muñoz García (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2001), *Oidores y Oficiales de Hacienda*: Thesaurus Indicus, *Vol. I, Tít. IV–V (1668)* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2003), *Corregidores, encomenderos, cabildos y mercaderes*: Thesaurus Indicus, *Vol. I, Tít. VI–IX (1668)* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2007), *Mineros de Indias y protectores de indios*: Thesaurus Indicus, *Vol. I, Tít. X–XI y Complementos* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2009). See also (concerning vol. 2 of the *Thesaurus*) Diego de Avendaño, *Privilegios de los indios*: Thesaurus indicus, *Vol. II, Tít. XII, c. I–X*, trans. Ángel Muñoz García (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2010), *Clero indígena y obispos de Indias*: Thesaurus indicus, *Vol. II, Tít. XII, caps. XIII–XXIII, y Tít. XIII* (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2012).

60 See Didacus de Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus, seu Generalis Instructor pro regimine conscientiae* (Antwerp: Apud Iacobum Meursium, 1668): Tomus Primus, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8 ("De contractu Aethiopicorum mancipiorum"), nn. 180–205, pp. 324–30.

the role of his probabilism in practical philosophy,[61] are not so easy to interpret.[62] Avendaño's exposition contains (i) a description of views proposed by important Jesuit authors, as well as (ii) his own views, including seven interesting reasons *in favour of* the slave trade. For the purposes of this study, it will suffice to describe briefly Avendaño's analysis of some of Molina's[63] determinations on the subject. It is important to note that Avendaño detects a repeated inconsistency in Molina's and other Jesuit authors' general stances regarding the topics under discussion.

As Molina did before him, Avendaño essentially relates "the buying and selling of Ethiopian [African] slaves" to the examination of conscience. Since the buying and owning of slaves is a sort of contract, it must be *a just contract*.[64] The issue surrounding black slavery was the assessment of the consciences of traders and owners, which depended on the fairness of enslavement titles. Avendaño summarizes six main reasonings proposed by Molina regarding the legitimacy of the slave trade of Africans. He depicts Molina as someone *opposed* to it. After all, although he endorses Molina's list of just titles of enslavement based on *ius gentium*, which, *under the condition* of really being obtained, might justify enslavement and the slave trade, he understands that Molina's fourth argument offers a conclusion that was given "in an unconditional sense" and was

61 On probabilism in Latin American scholasticism and on Avendaño's probabilism, see Luis Bacigalupo, "Probabilismo y modernidad: Un capítulo de la filosofía moral del siglo XVIII y su repercusión en el Perú," in *La construcción de la iglesia en los Andes (siglos XVI-XX)*, ed. Fernando Armas Asín (Lima: Ed. PUCP, 1999): 257–300; Luis Bacigalupo, "The Reasonable Ways of Probabilism – A Briefing on Its Essentials," in Scholastica colonialis*: Reception and Development of Baroque Scholasticism in Latin America, 16th–18th Centuries*, ed. Roberto Hofmeister Pich and Alfredo Santiago Culleton (Barcelona: FIDEM-Brepols, 2016): 75–85; José Carlos Ballón Vargas, "El *Thesaurus indicus* [1668] de Diego de Avendaño y los orígenes coloniales de la filosofía en el Perú," in *La complicada historia del pensamiento filosófico peruano, siglos XVII y XVIII (Selección de textos, notas y estudios)*, vol. 2, ed. José Carlos Ballón Vargas (Lima: Universidad Científica del Sur – Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos/Ediciones del Vicerrectorado Académico, 2011): 281–98; José Carlos Ballón Vargas, "Entre la extirpación de la idolatría y la reconciliación intercultural. Lugar histórico del probabilismo en el pensamiento peruano," in *La complicada historia del pensamiento filosófico peruano, siglos XVII y XVIII (Selección de textos, notas y estudios)*, vol. 2, ed. José Carlos Ballón Vargas (Lima: Universidad Científica del Sur – Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos/Ediciones del Vicerrectorado Académico, 2011): 377–98; Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "The Aristotelian Background of Diego de Avendano's Moral and Legal Thought," *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 38 (2017): 53–88.

62 See Ángel Muñoz García, "Aristóteles; una sociedad imposible sin esclavitud," in *Corregidores, encomenderos, cabildos y mercaderes: Thesaurus Indicus, Vol. I, Tít. VI–IX (1668)*, by Diego de Avendaño, trans. Ángel Muñoz García (Pamplona: EUNSA, 2007): 123–68; Lucas Duarte Silva, "A Study of Black Slavery in the First Tome of the *Thesaurus indicus* by Diego de Avendaño S.J. (1594–1688): Is He a Theorist Contrary to Trade or Slavery?" *Intuitio* 12.1 (2019): 1–28.

63 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 187–94, pp. 326–27.

64 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 180, p. 324: "Modo id tantum adiecerim, rem hanc adeo esse Christianis conscientiis periculosam, ut si ad regulas iustitiae aptari debeat, vix aliquid occurrat, quo possit plena securitas in huiusmodi contractu reperiri."

to be taken as a condemnation of the slavery system.[65] For Avendaño, thus, (i)[66] Molina considered illegitimate, *from the beginning*, the selling and buying of enslaved Africans. So, with regard to a central issue in the debate on the legitimation of the transatlantic slave trade, to the best of the knowledge agents had of the transactions, first enslavements were not a result of corrective justice after a war justly waged: wars against Africans were motivated by greed rather than revenge for serious offenses.[67]

However, beginning with his fourth description of Molina's discernments, Avendaño emphasizes that (iv) Molina actually considered the possibility of commutations *bona fide* or with invincible ignorance of any wrongdoing and in which doubt about the licitness of the status of the enslaved person would favor the merchant or owner. It is implicit that the agents in question are more distant links – third, fourth links, etc. – in the long chain of slave trafficking from Africa to the Americas, for whom an inquiry about the licit status of the products and the verification of facts about merchants and their goods would be practically pointless.[68] In this sense, if the purchaser bought slaves from someone who initially owned a slave in good faith, but the former owner afterwards had doubts regarding the status of the sold slave, and the purchaser, having made a careful investigation, was still unable to fully see the truth of the matter, he then has no strict obligation to a full restitution of freedom and other things, but only a partial restitution to the slave "according to the degree of doubt" – a case in which the "better condition of the possessor" refers to the slaveholder. After all, the purchaser "assumes the right of another," i.e., of the seller or former owner, who did not have any obligation to make restitution after such a "diligence," since "the better condition of the possessor" applied to him. Leaving aside the debate on some difficult points within Molina's position here, it should be stressed that Avendaño takes that interpretation as inconsistent and affirms that the best possible solution to such a case would include the release of the enslaved person from captivity: the restitution of the person's freedom.[69]

(v) Besides, Molina also claimed that a purchaser who initially negotiates in "invincible ignorance" and later has doubts about the just title of enslavement, who examines the issue without, however, dispelling his doubts, *would not be*, due to his "better condition" as the owner, obliged to make any restitution. The difference between the case described in (iv) and the one described now in (v) seems to lie in the moment of doubt within the chain of purchasing: a doubt that is transferred to someone else – and, thus,

65 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 187, p. 326.

66 I use (i) to (vi) to refer to Avendaño's description of six points of view by Molina with regard to the trade and ownership of enslaved black people. I will not mention point of view (ii).

67 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 187, 190, p. 326.

68 A similar focus on the condition of agents somehow more distant from the initial links of the chain of the slave trade in the Atlantic was also described by Avendaño in the report by Tomás Sánchez. See Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 181–85, p. 325.

69 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 189, 192, pp. 326–27. See also Molina, *De iustitia et iure*: I, tract. II, disp. XXXV, n. 8, p. 100; disp. XXXVI, n. 1, pp. 106–7.

shared by more people – and persists long after the original purchase (or at least after the previous purchase or ownership) seems to be taken as a more lasting and resilient doubt. The principle of property and the "reflex principle," according to which in the case of doubt "the condition of the possessor is the better one," holds, but in the latter situation it is weakened. Avendaño contrasts what was described in (v) with Molina's own view that the bad faith of merchants everywhere in the system of the transatlantic slave trade was well-known, and thus any initial and subsequent *bona fide* attitude was taken as highly unlikely by Molina himself.[70] Finally, Avendaño reproduces a further view by Molina according to which, (vi) since the verification and assessment of the legitimacy of enslavement titles and the slave trade in those regions of the world (that is, the African Atlantic coast) was in principle the duty of princes and their ministers, this meant that purchasers and holders were allowed to pursue their interests in selling and buying such market goods. But Avendaño, finding here once again a contradiction in Molina's statements (see Molina's discernment (i) above and (iii) below), could affirm that, if authorities allowed the commerce, it was because they were not acquainted with the injustices committed, whereas the traders and owners obviously knew about them. So, the vassals of the Portuguese crown, playing the role of traders and purchasers, could not have *permissionis ius* in those cases.[71]

This is a summing up of Avendaño's reading of Molina's famous account: it is as a whole characterized by the inconsistency between the idea that (a) there is generally insurmountable relevant doubt about the legitimacy of enslavements and the trade of enslaved black people – where, moreover, the hypothesis of the legitimacy of enslavements was usually not checked and actually could not be checked – and (b) the consideration of cases in which the condition of slaveholders might be arguably preferred in comparison to the freedom of black people.[72] The inconsistency can also be characterized as one between the idea that (a') there is a "moral certainty" that the enslavement and trade of Africans were illicit and the idea expressed in (b).[73] Such an argumentative flaw – in one or the other form – characterizes the expositions of virtually all other Jesuits thinkers Avendaño describes. It is important to emphasize that Avendaño, in his

70 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 189, 193, pp. 326–27.

71 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 189, 193–94, pp. 326–27. In fact, Avendaño considers the situation – taken apparently as an exceptional case – in which, if authorities knew about the injustices and nonetheless gave their permission to the slave trade, they might have (good) reasons for that (for example, the goal of avoiding "greater damage" or "evils").

72 See also Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 194, p. 327.

73 This double approach of condemning the enslavement and trade of black people because of the "moral certainty" that it is illicit and because the certainty that the uncertainty about the legitimacy of slavery titles is unsurmountable seems to characterize Avendaño's view on the matter of black slavery as a problematic case for commutative justice. This is also an approach that Avendaño finds in the Jesuit thinkers he analyzes, in spite of the inconsistencies in their opinions as a whole. See, for example (in the analysis of Tomás Sánchez's report), Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, nn. 184–85, pp. 324–25.

analyses, explicitly indicates this inconsistency. He argues that if we grant the significance of freedom as a good and right, and if we accept the truth of the aforementioned premises (a) and/or (a'), there are then two defensible conclusions in an applied ethics of commutative justice. The first conclusion is that there should be a condemnation (and thus abolition) of slavery, of the historical system of slavery he was normatively assessing, and the second is that there should be some form of restitution made for what has been taken from enslaved black people. It is not surprising that in Avendaño's first reasoning in support of his fifth conclusion (see below) – which expresses the probable opinion that both enslavement and the trade of Africans are legal – he mentions the inconsistent views of Jesuit thinkers. Following these Jesuit thinkers, in spite of insurmountable uncertainty about the matter under discussion – and even moral certainty that trade and ownership were illegitimate – there exist cases of doubt that favor the agents (especially the owners) within the slavery system. However, Avendaño's first four conclusions at the end of his report show what would be the logically consistent conclusion about slavery, if one takes into account the safest premises also shared by authorities who wrote on the problem of the slavery of black people. I take them as Avendaño's final résumé of what can be determined on our subject from the exclusive perspective of an applied ethics of commutative justice. Perhaps this can be put in more precise terms: they are Avendaño's final résumé of what can be determined on the ownership and trade of humans from the perspective of an applied ethics of commutative justice that works with the premise of not relativizing both the significance and the right of external freedom for any human being and with the notion that the guiding premises for practical judgments of justice to be met in rightful or sound moral conscience must have the degree of strong certainty or safety (*securitas*) – of what is safer (*tutior*), where there is, in the realm of human acts, a margin for doubt.

In his first four conclusions, Avendaño condemns the *contractus* of African slaves. After all, (I) most *negotiationes* in the transatlantic slave trade from Africa to the Americas were illicit, and forms of restitution were a moral obligation.[74] (II) The purchase of "a [large] group of slaves" (*mancipiorum copia*), inhumanly transported from African regions, was not licit in Europe and the Indias.[75] The illegitimacy of those purchases, thus, applied also to links in the chain of trade that were located far from the initial contexts of selling and buying and in which people could claim to act *bona fide* or in invincible ignorance of any previous injustice. (III) It was not licit to buy one or another single slave in the market – who, theoretically at least, could have been legitimately enslaved and negotiated – out of a group of slaves transported by merchants, since if there was suspicion or lack of certitude regarding the titles of the group of slaves, the same would hold for any single slave too.[76] (IV) In general, it was not licit

74 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 203, pp. 329–30.
75 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 203, p. 330.
76 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 203, p. 330.

to buy enslaved black people brought by merchants to the market in the Americas, no matter how many *domini* they had had before, since their status of servitude – and, thus, the just "title of servitude" (*titulus servitutis*) – was decided at the very beginning. If they were (presumed to be) free at the very beginning, freedom should remain their true status, which, as Avendaño could read in the *Codex Iustiniani*, morally and legally – in clear distinction from the status of *servitus* – does not expire. Here Avendaño combines a strong thesis about the meaning of freedom as a human good and right, i.e., "regarding freedom there is no expiration," with a principle about connected commutations, that is, "healthy water cannot flow from an infected spring."[77]

There is no doubt, thus, that, by reviewing positions advanced by Molina, Avendaño initially endorses and even sharpens the condemnation of the transatlantic slave trade. But writing and publishing the first volume of his *Thesaurus indicus* about seventy years after the beginning of the publication of Molina's commentaries on the *De iustitia et iure*, the Jesuit master from Peru works with a new apparatus of ideas. His different theory of normativity, i.e., his *moral probabilism*, will offer some clues to realize the morality of convention and the subtle ideology that was invoked to give black slavery a vindication. I use "ideology" in this study with the meaning of a complex set of philosophical, theological, legal, and cultural ideas, views, values, and narratives – not necessarily objective, and in fact possibly deviating from reality – that is constructed and shared by a group, class, or nation – even by groups, classes, or nations in the plural – in history because of various interests and processes of political life, and both determines and provides comprehension to given historical and social-political situations and processes.

Before describing what kinds of reasonable probable grounds Avendaño mentions as support to his fifth conclusion, attention should be paid to Avendaño's comment on (iii) the third view by Molina, according to which slavery should be allowed only in the case that it was just or justified in a manner "brighter than light."[78] At that point, Avendaño unmistakably reveals his appraisal of the role of probable opinion in supporting right conscience. Actually, he both endorses the observance of the principle of "safe conscience" (*tuta conscientia*) for allowing the trade and ownership of slaves and affirms that, in order to reach such a "sound conscience" (*salva conscientia*), a just claim (*titulus*) "brighter than light" is not necessary. A claim based only on a "probable opinion" (*probabilis sententia*) suffices. According to Avendaño, the general opinion that some wars against African peoples (such as the wars of the Portuguese against the Angolans) were justly waged and, consequently, the enslavement of prisoners could be taken, by the

77 The status of slavery can, however, expire after a period of time; see Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 203, p. 330.

78 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 188, p. 326: "Tertium, non aliter servitutem istorum, et cuiusque illorum permittendam, quam si luce clarius eam iustam esse constet, tum quod libertatis caussae; quippe quae piissima est, per se sit suffragandum."

offended side, as a just punishment was *a probable claim* only.[79] In spite of the peculiar use of tutiorist language in the context,[80] it becomes clear that Avendaño supports the thesis that safe reasons are not necessarily found through the principle of "brighter than light," which would apparently endow any given reasons for slavery with the *safest* certainty. He rather thinks that *probable* reasons suffice to reach that standard.

Having briefly singled out how much Avendaño's moral evaluations are committed to an account of probable opinions, now it's time to highlight and propose an interpretation, as *fifth and final conclusion* regarding the justice of ownership and trade of enslaved black people, of the following famous sentence: "the mentioned purchase in the Indias and Europe can be in some way [*aliqualiter*] justified."[81] Avendaño describes then seven reasons for this conclusion, which should be taken as acceptable reasons to support the view that the moral opinion according to which the enslavement and trade of black people are licit is probable. They represent the steps taken by Avendaño to introduce probabilism into a complex and concrete moral problem of his times that touched upon both commutative justice and right conscience. His central purpose was, after all, to guide the individual's conscience to right action with regard to the "contractus Aethiopicorum mancipiorum." (1) There are "doctors" who do not think that such a trade is "openly condemnable" and are even in favor of such purchases – even if it would seem that this does not follow on from their own doctrines – and among them are Molina *et alii*. (2) Enslavement, or the slave trade, is such "a common practice" that "all states" (*omnes status*) accept it without hesitation, even bishops and religious men. (3) The Spanish king allows the trade; he "buys and sells" slaves himself, and his vassals are blameless if they follow him as an example of justice. (4) There are bishops who excommunicate people who "steal slaves," and by so doing they endorse the "correct right" (*ius certum*) of slave owners, as well as the purchase and ownership of slaves. (5) Many people think that enslaved African were really born for servitude – or: "to be slaves," "to be in the status of slaves" (*ad serviendum*) – and therefore, regarding the justification of their condition of slavery, there is not "a most exact right" (*exactissimo iure*) as compared to others. In fact, there is just a "minor title" (*minore titulo*) to law and right in the case of enslaved Africans; if nobody or nothing totally "inverosimilis" is involved, purchasers have nothing to worry about. (6)

79 See Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 191, pp. 326–27: "Quod autem in Tertio habetur, est quidem pie, et sapienter dictum; sed certe non esse necessarium pro servitute permittenda, ut luce clarior illius titulus sit, ex priori est pronuntiato deducendum. Cum enim negotiationi favendum sit, quantum salva conscientia fieri possit, non est certe necessarius titulus luce clarior, cum sufficiat esse probabilem; tuta enim conscientia potest probabilis sententia teneri circa titulum huismodi, sicut circa alia, et de bello est satis communis sententia inter Recentiores. Et vero si titulus luce clarior ad servitutem permittendam requiritur, bello capti Angolani non poterunt in servitutem redigi, quia iustitia illius belli non est luce clarior. Ut *numero praecedenti* dicebamus. Videndus P. Rebellus *num.* 13. ex quo P. Fragosus *num.* 26."

80 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 188, p. 326; n. 191, p. 327.

81 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 204, p. 330: "Emptio dicta in Indiis, et Europa iustificari potest aliqualiter."

African slaves are most needed in the Indias, the *conservatio* of which is in the interest of the *res Christiana*. Without slaves the *Respublica* "cannot stand." Besides, those Africans are "the vilest among men" (*vilissimi isti inter homines*), so that certain demands "of the law of peoples" (*iuris gentium*) may be set aside. (7) Finally, their transportation to the Indias cannot be impeded, since kings have "urgent reasons" to allow and authorize it. The dangerous *asportatio* can only be implemented if Africans are deprived of their freedom and "conveniently" handed over to servitude. Besides, although black people are indeed destined for hard work, it does not seem to be the case that they bear it with utmost difficulty. They even perform (ritual) dances while working and, thus, seem to do it with contentment, as long as they are well-nourished and granted holidays.[82]

These are possible or rather "probable" reasons in favor of the slave trade of Africans. They are supposed to be probable because they can receive, and apparently do receive, some rational support by reasonable people. Are they really probable in that sense? At any rate, those reasons bring new aspects to our understanding of the emergence of the ideology of black slavery in the seventeenth century, and it is not immediately clear how they should be interpreted in relation to Avendaño's views as a whole. In particular, it is not immediately clear how to reconcile both sides of Avendaño's report (i.e., his condemnation of the business concerning enslaved Africans and his offer of probable reasons that could justify enslavement and the slave trade).[83] I believe this is a

82 Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 204, p. 330: "*Primo*: quia Doctores aliqui, licet eorum quidam inconsequenter ad suam ipsorum doctrinam, eam non esse aperte damnabilem affirmant, immo et illi favent, ut P. Molina, P. Rebellus [. . .] P. Palaus, P. Fragosus, P. Fagundez. Et alii. *Secundo*: quia ita est communi praxi receptum, quae omnes status complectitur: Episcopos, Religiosos, sine ullo in hac parte scrupulo procedentes. *Tertio*: quia Rex non solum permittit, sed et ipse emit, et vendit, cuius exemplum sequi integrum est vasallis, cum in eo debeant iustitiae exemplaria praelucere. *Quarto*: quia Episcopi contra furantes mancipia excommunicationes fulminant ad dominorum instantiam; eorum ius certum reputantes. *Quinto*, quia cum mancipia ista videantur ad serviendum nata, ut multi expendunt, non videtur circa illa eodem, quo circa alios, exactissimo iure agendum, sed minore titulo, dummodo aliquis non penitus inverosimilis appareat, emptores debere esse contentos. *Sexto*: quia pro Indiis adeo sunt necessarii, ut sine illis stare Respublica ista nequeat. Cum ergo vilissimi isti inter homines sint, dispensari cum aliquo requisito iuris gentium potest, ne Indicae regiones, quarum conservatione res Christiana agitur, ab eo cadant statu, qui adeo necessarius comprobatur. *Tandem*: quia asportatio eorum in Indias nequit impediri, quia ad eam permittendam, immo et auctorizandam, Reges nostri urgentes habent rationes. Cum ergo asportandi sint, nequeunt sine magno periculo in sua libertate relinqui, et ita convenienter servituti addicuntur. Quam quidem illi, licet in assiduo labore sint, non aegre patiuntur, sed inter laborandum tripudiare solent, dummodo de alimentis provideatur, et dies habeant a laboribus feriatos."

83 For a discussion of these difficulties in the interpretation of Avendaño, see Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Diego de Avendaño S.J. (1594–1688) e um de seus críticos: um estudo sobre a escravidão negra," *Intuitio* 12.2 (2019): 13–17, 22–41; Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Probabilismo, escravidão negra e crítica: Francisco José de Jaca O.F.M. Cap. (*c.* 1645–1689) interpreta Diego de Avendaño S.J. (1594–1688)," *Thaumazein* 12.24 (2019): 9–12, 27–34; Pich, "Second Scholasticism and Black Slavery (Continuation and End)": 6–9.

very important – perhaps even a decisive! – discussion topic in order to understand the history of the normative problem about black slavery in pre-modern and modern times.

With regard to the two – apparently irreconcilable – parts of Avendaño's own position, we can propose the interpretation that our Jesuit thinker realizes in the end that, on any normative level (law, conscience, etc.), successful support for the continuity of the system of slavery in its radical dependency on the trade of enslaved Africans would not be found in the premises that were currently available in disputes by theologians and philosophers on the subject. Nor would that support be found in contemporary discussions of the topic as a problem of commutative justice, whose solution had to meet the requirement of showing what is morally safe in a strong sense. If attention should be paid to their own most certain premises and if they were coherently presented, any explanation offered in current legal and philosophical reports could only condemn the enslavement and trade of black people, and could only lead to calls for restitution.

But perhaps moral probabilism could be assumed as a reasonable option for addressing such a problem. Perhaps, as the seven reasons in favor of the *aliqualiter* showed, the scope of opinions able to receive reasonable defense could be significantly (and sufficiently) enlarged with regard to the slavery of black people. Such views could perhaps even be taken as the best attitudes that were morally possible to the concrete historical agents involved in the slavery chain. If so, Avendaño is ready to indicate that path. This does not have to represent his own view about the justice of the trade and ownership of African slaves, but it touches upon the general structure of his moral arguments applied to human affairs generally speaking: probable alternative points of view have to be considered and may prevail. After all, merely probable opinions, even if they are not considered to be *more* probable or *safer* opinions, are taken to suffice to meet basic standards of rationality and correctness, in order to grant someone a good conscience in their actions. These opinions should, then, help agents to see original enslavement titles, the trade, and the ownership of black slaves as probably just things at least, though not with a certainty "brighter than light" itself. This is only so as long as a probable practical opinion (i) is internally rational and in accordance with the laws of logic, and, thus, (ii) does not imply any absurdity, as well as (iii) is externally not contrary to natural law principles, Scripture, the Church Fathers, and the Church's explicit dogmatic determinations, and (iv) usually does receive some, though not major, external support by other thinkers and experts.[84] Being loyal to a probabilistic view of right conscience and to probabilism as a form of argumentation in determinations of particular justice, Avendaño was able

84 At any rate, a probable opinion only contains, because of the nature of its object, room for uncertainty or "fear" concerning its truth up to the point that its opposite can be taken as even more probable than itself. See Pich, "The Aristotelian Background": 60–74. See also Didacus de Avendaño, *Auctarium Indicum seu Tomus Tertius ad Indici Thesauri ornatius complementum, multa ac varia complectens extra rem Indicam sacrarum Professoribus profutura* (Antwerp: Apud Iacobum Meursium, 1675): Pars I, Sectio I, § I, nn. 35–36, pp. 8–9; Pars I, Sectio I, § III, nn. 55–61, pp. 14–15; § VI, nn. 125–29,

to offer opposite probable views – held by others – to what seemed to him the really probable opinion on the slavery of black people: the judgment against slavery that he summarizes in the conclusions (i) to (iv). We have more reasons to think that for Avendaño, and for anybody who could compare the arguments described and proposed by him, condemnation of the slave trade would be the most reasonable position or actually the acceptable probable opinion. Avendaño even says, at the end, that he wanted to show the injustice of that business and thought that, in the face of everything that was said and in spite of the reasons offered in his fifth conclusion, few people would dare to embrace the continuity of those practices. Having fought for the truth and entered into a battle for justice, Avendaño expected at least that the owners, becoming aware of those debates and reasoning on just contracts, would treat their captives "more humanely" (*humanius*). Slaveholders should know that their "right of property" (*ius dominii*) was quite doubtful indeed, to the point that, regarding the unjust *contractus*, to resist the "light of truth" was analogous to the case of someone who walks in daylight with his eyes "almost shut."[85]

Before moving to a third station of research in this characterization of the legal and moral treatment of black slavery by second and early modern scholastic theologians and philosophers, it should not go unnoticed that, in distinction from the strictly normative treatment of slavery and slave trade offered by Molina,[86] Avendaño's account, precisely because of his acceptance of probable opinion as a sufficient ground for giving support to right conscience and for giving a legal rule the status of legitimacy, is connected to new aspects of the debate that arose in the previous decades of the seventeenth century. These aspects help explain the changes in the assessment of enslavement and the slave trade of black people summarized in Avendaño's fifth conclusion. Connected to moral probabilism as a minimal morality for everyday people, these same aspects would contribute to the creation of a kind of space of possible normativity in history in which black slavery could be seen as a suitable, acceptable convention, a kind of admissible socio-political project that included black Africans who were as such quite unfortunate

pp. 31–32. An up-to-date work on probabilism (including moral probabilism) is Rudolf Schuessler, *The Debate on Probable Opinions in the Scholastic Tradition* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).

85 See Avendaño, *Thesaurus indicus*: I, tit. IX, cap. XII, § 8, n. 205, p. 330: "Quae ergo a nobis pro iniustitia negotiationis huius ostendenda non leviter disputata, et stabilita sunt, erunt pauci qui practice complectantur, ultimae huic Assertioni libentius inhaerentes; unde et videri possunt illa supervacue constituta. Sed certe pro veritate pugnasse, et agonizasse pro iustitia, ut Scriptura loquitur, non poterit, ut credo, recte sentientibus non probari. Sic enim et in scriptorum multis est cernere, quos pro eiusdem causae defensione militantes allegavimus. Quin etiam, qui a nobis dicta deservire praeterea poterunt, ut mancipiorum istorum domini humanius cum ipsis agant, scientes ius dominii, quod in ipsos se habere existimant, esse adeo dubium, ut opus sit in re ista, ne lumen veritatis obsistat, clausis fere oculis ambulare."

86 On Molina's reception by other second scholastic thinkers and (early) modern authors, see Kaufmann, "Between Law, Morality, and Economy": 222–25.

and had lived so far as miserable people, the suppression of which was beyond normal people's powers and, in a broader perspective, was also not desirable.

After all, reasons (5), (6), and (7) by Avendaño indicate that ideologies of *quasi* natural slavery and of natural inferiority – at least, a natural disposition to labor and subjection – with some ethnic and racial traits, were being taken into consideration. An effect of this seems to be the relativization of the value of freedom for black people. In the first half of the seventeenth century, this narrative is exemplarily conceived by the Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval in his work on mission and catechetical theology titled *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* (the background of which was Sandoval's ministry in Cartagena de Indias,[87] Colombia, and was first published in 1627).[88] Alonso de Sandoval combines a sort of factual-empirical description of the natural and civilizational defective status of the Africans with a mystical-eschatological view that the condition of slavery is a historically appropriate occasion – provided by God – to make possible that, through catechesis and baptism, the unsurpassable good of the salvation of the soul should reach the Africans, a good much higher than living in freedom on the African continent and which can be brought to black people from Africa, according to Sandoval, only through the true religion *of the whites*. In Alonso de Sandoval's theological treatise, religious discourse and justification of religious practices played a clear role in the "manipulation of race" and ideology of slavery. This narrative both gives support to and is part of a convention, i.e., of a *conventional* normativity in which moral experience and moral conscience – on the individual and collective levels – historically grow and develop. Several early modern scholastic thinkers, including Alonso de Sandoval and perhaps Diego de Avendaño, attempted – through arguments with which we do not necessarily have to agree! – to show that conventional spaces of normativity such as the one sketched above were historically *possible* and, as a whole, arguably *preferable* to other spaces of normativity which might be much more rigorous in the criticism of the system and the institution of black slavery. In seventeenth-century Portugal and colonial Brazil, such a narrative in favor of the condition of slavery of black people was exemplarily represented by the master of Christian rhetoric

87 The Caribbean city of Cartagena de Indias, in today's Colombia, was in Sandoval's times the main port for the trade of black slaves in the Hispanic colonies. For a Jesuit priest, it was an appropriate context to reflect upon the Catholic mission with the Africans, since from 1595 to 1640 about 135,000 slaves were dropped into Cartagena de Indias. See Vila Vilar, "Introducción": 18. See also Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el comercio de esclavos*: 127–238, 239–83.

88 See Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Alonso de Sandoval S.J. (1576/1577–1652) and the Ideology of Black Slavery: Some Theological and Philosophical Arguments," *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 36 (2015): 51–74; Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Religious Language and the Ideology of Black Slavery: Notes on Alonso de Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*," *Filosofia Unisinos, Unisinos Journal of Philosophy* 18, n. 3 (2017): 213–26; Márcio Paulo Cenci, "African Slavery and Salvation in the *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* of Alonso de Sandoval S.J. (1577–1652)," *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 36 (2015): 75–89.

Antonio Vieira S.J. (1608–1697),[89] and this took place in the context of a highly effective and influential way of fixing moral beliefs: *the sermon*.

Moreover, reasons (6) and (7) put forward by Avendaño clearly point out to a primacy of the political over the moral in establishing the normativity of practices that affect not only the well-being of individuals or groups, but, strictly speaking, the common good – perhaps even more simply: concrete interests for the sake of sovereignty – of Christian political entities (republic, state, empire, etc.). This early modern tendency of giving the political a priority of its own over normative concerns, which brings the question of how strategies and discourses in terms of *raison d'État*[90] affect normativity, may be of some help to grasp why Avendaño proposes probable reasons for defending the slave trade. Traditionally, in a political argument in terms of "*raison d'État*" it is implied that the moral-legal is subjected to the political or to a reason of higher order in the context of state interests and concerns represented by its highest authority – the moral-legal can even *be explicitly violated* by the political. But seventeenth-century Catholic thinkers, such as the Spanish jurist Juan de Solórzano y Pereira (1575–1655), author of the *Política indiana* (first published 1648) and Avendaño's preceptor, were also conceiving, in opposition to a "bad" "razón de estado," the notion of a "good" reason of state. This should be one that did not work with the real possibility of making the "tragic choice" between what is good for the "state" and what is good for the "soul."[91]

4 A New Seventeenth-Century Criticism of Black Slavery and Probabilism

A new revision – still quite unknown or even underrated by scholars – of Molina's views on the slave trade and a critical analysis of Avendaño's synthesis was conducted by Francisco José de Jaca O.F.M. Cap. (*c.* 1645–1689) and Epifanio de Moirans O.F.M. Cap. (1644–1689). Actually, these two missionaries did more than this: compared to other moral thinkers of their times, they provided the most explicit and radical criticism of the system of African slave trade until the end of the seventeenth century. In particular, Jaca and Moirans realized the peculiar new combination that Avendaño had made of (a)

89 See Amarilio Ferreira Jr. and Marisa Bittar, "A pedagogia da escravidão nos Sermões do Padre Antonio Vieira," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos* 84, 206–208 (2003): 43–53; Ronaldo Vainfas, *Antônio Vieira: Jesuíta do Rei* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2011): 291–92; Felipe Lima da Silva, "A doutrina do Império da Eloquência: Antônio Vieira e os escravos etíopes," *Caderno de Letras* 25 (2015): 57–70.

90 In a political argument in terms of *raison d'État*, it is implied that the moral-legal is subjected to the political or to a reason of higher order in the context of state interests and concerns represented by its highest authority – the moral-legal can even *be explicitly violated* by the political.

91 See Norbert Campagna, "Reason of State and the Question of the Forced Labor of Indians in Solórzano y Pereira's *Política Indiana*," in *Civilization – Nature – Subjugation: Variations of (De-)Colonization*, ed. Christoph Haar, Matthias Kaufmann and Christian Müller (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021): 115–16.

a clear condemnation of the slavery of black people according to general legal presuppositions of natural law, the law of peoples, and the terms of commutative justice, and (b) the residual acceptability of probable opinion for the legitimacy of the enslavement and trade of black Africans. They saw in this combination a new inconsistency and a new challenge. They set out to disprove probabilism for moral determinations on black slavery and to argue against any hint of reasonable probable force in the seven grounds offered by Avendaño in support of his fifth conclusion. Both authors saw in Avendaño an author who directly or indirectly favored the slavery of black people, and they found in the pages of his *Thesaurus* I a text that accurately provides the *status quaestionis* on the matter, both in American and Iberian contexts. It should be highlighted that Avendaño's report plays a major role in the way Jaca and Moirans organize the arguments in their own treatises.[92] The literature on slavery which Jaca and Moirans happened to produce was a direct result of their denouncing the injustices of the entire slave market, and all this was based on their local missionary experience of about five years in Nueva Granada and on the Caribbean islands. Francisco José de Jaca was the author of a *Resolución sobre la libertad de los negros y sus originarios, en estado de paganos y después ya cristianos* (finished in 1681),[93] and Epifanio de Moirans wrote the treatise *Servi liberi seu naturalis mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio* (completed in 1682).[94] Moirans's treatise

92 On Jaca's and Moirans's critique of Diego de Avendaño's report and evaluation of the slavery of black people, see Pich, "Diego de Avendaño S.J. (1594–1688)"; Pich, "Probabilismo, escravidão negra e crítica."

93 On Jaca's life and the characteristics of the *Resolución*, see Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Un autor desconocido y singular en el pensamiento hispano," in *Resolución sobre la libertad de los negros y sus originarios, en estado de paganos y después ya cristianos: La primera condena de la esclavitud en el pensamiento hispano*, by Francisco José de Jaca, ed. Miguel Anxo Pena González (Madrid: CSIC, 2002): XXIII–XLVI, LXI–XCVIII; Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Francisco José de Jaca: una vida a favor de la liberación de los esclavos negros," *Collectanea Franciscana* 72 (2002): 599–671; Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Aportación antiesclavista en tierras de Indias, a fines del siglo XVII," in *El pensamiento hispánico en América: Siglos XVI–XX*, ed. Ildefonso Murillo (Salamanca: Publicaciones Universidad Pontificia, 2007): 506–18. In 1678, Francisco José de Jaca arrived in Caracas (Venezuela) in order to work as missionary. About three years later, he was living in La Habana (Cuba), where he preached against the slavery of black people and met Epifanio de Moirans, who was also engaged in the cause of the freedom of slaves. Their preaching and practice as confessors led them to undesirable outcomes: after conflicts with slave holders and church authorities, both Capuchins were arrested and sent back to Spain, in 1682, to suffer disciplinary measures on the civil and ecclesiastical levels.

94 See Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Epifanio de Moirans: Exponente singular de la práctica antiesclavista," in *Siervos libres: Una propuesta antiesclavista a finales del siglo XVII*, by Epifanio de Moirans, ed. Miguel Anxo Pena González (Madrid: CSIC, 2007): XVII–LXXV. See also Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Epifanio de Moirans (1644–1689): misionero capuchino y antiesclavista," *Collectanea Franciscana* 74 (2004): 111–45; Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Doctrina antiesclavista de Epifanio de Moirans en su 'Servi Liberi'," *Naturaleza y Gracia* 52.2 (2005): 279–327; Miguel Anxo Pena González, "Aportación antiesclavista en tierras de Indias": 519–30. Epifanio de Moirans landed in Cayenne (French Antilles) in 1677 to act in a missionary capacity as well. In 1680, he illegally entered into Spanish territory (in Cumaná, today's Venezuela), was arrested, and brought to La Habana. There, in 1681, together with Jaca, Moirans gave continuity to anti-slavery preaching. Thereafter, the destiny of both missionaries is

is particularly impressive. He summarized what the most important texts Iberian-American scholastic thinkers wrote on black slavery from the sixteenth century to his own day. However, Jaca and Moirans's works never circulated. They were confiscated and kept for centuries in the "Archivo General de Indias," in Seville. They were finally made public in the 1980s,[95] and received critical editions in 2002 and 2007.

Both Jaca and Moirans observe the inconsistencies that specialized casuistic literature on commutative justice contained with respect to the analysis of the slavery of black people (due to the aforementioned areas of indulgence). Neither of them sees any other consistent option in terms of practical arguments at the level of those scholarly reports besides the suppression of the traffic from Africa to the Americas and the abolition of the institution of slavery in their time and place. These ideas are summarized in the following conviction of theirs: the system of the buying and selling of Africans slaves in the Atlantic was vitiated by an incorrigible error, namely, the fact that the original enslavements were illicit. The market goods that formed the basis of the whole system were black Africans as slaves or as property of others for sale and use as a labor force. But this was in itself corrupt: African slaves were an "unjust received thing." As a rule, regarding enslaved black people on the market, the right of oneself to possess oneself (i.e., the freedom of each person) had never legitimately passed on to become another person's right (the possession of a human being by another as negation and alienation of his freedom).[96] If in a few exceptional cases Africans were legitimate slaves in the transatlantic slave trade, such cases were nonetheless unverifiable or simply incapable of being confirmed. Moreover, the widespread rumors of illegal enslavements in general were strong enough to condemn and completely stop the buying-and-selling of slaves. There was no option but to conclude that *any* transaction and possession of slaves was either more probably or certainly an "unjust reception."[97] We should stress, moreover, Jaca's and Moiran's perception that the illicit *contractus* should be strictly understood as *a chain* or *a system* of unavoidably *connected links*.[98] Thus, due to the lack of knowledge about the real condition of the

similar until the beginning of 1685, when, after being formally absolved in Rome by the *Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide*, their paths diverged. See also Pena González, "Un autor desconocido y singular": XXVIII–XXXVI; Epifanio de Moirans, *Siervos libres: Una propuesta antiesclavista a finales del siglo XVII* [Servi liberi seu naturalis mancipiorum libertatis iusta defensio], ed. Miguel Anxo Pena González (Madrid: CSIC, 2007): Prologus, pp. 6–17.

95 See José Tomás López García, *Dos Defensores de los Esclavos Negros en el Siglo XVII: (Francisco José de Jaca y Epifanio de Moirans)* (Caracas: Universidad Católica Andrés Bello/Visión Libros, 1982/2008).

96 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: IV–V, nn. 48–67, pp. 68–97; Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 6–14, pp. 6–17.

97 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: VI, n. 69, pp. 98–103; Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 13–16, pp. 15–18; II, nn. 30–31, pp. 43–45.

98 See Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: III, nn. 47, 54, pp. 66–67, 76–77, here n. 54, p. 76: "Unde si ius gentium intendat bonum reipublicae et si bellum moveatur ad bonum spirituale et temporale nationis, per se patet non esse bellum iustum quod est in destructionem nationis, in perniciem et perditionem. Ideo nigri seipsos destruentes, vendentes aliis nationibus, nec rectam intentionem nec iustam causam

enslaved people *as legitimate slaves*, at least a degree of uncertainty was the rule, and there was no possible way for that uncertainty to be turned into sufficient certainty by means of examination.[99]

In the face of all this, Jaca and Moirans offer an important interpretation of the – above mentioned – canon law principle that works in these debates as a reflex judgment to be a hermeneutical support in normative reasoning regarding the justice of commutations and property attribution, i.e., "in dubiis melior est conditio possidentis."[100] From the beginning of the enslavements and from the subsequent slave trafficking on the African Atlantic coast to the last transaction in the American colonies and viceroyalties by someone who bought slaves to work in his house or lands, "in dubiis melior est conditio possidentis" could only favor the true original owner of freedom: the enslaved African. Jaca and Moirans, together with the moral and legal traditions of Roman and canon law and the medieval and early modern scholastic views on the value of freedom, emphasize that with regard to the right of freedom there is no prescription.[101] In a nutshell, there are two safe premises: the crucial value of freedom as a human good and right,[102] and the general uncertainty about the slave status of Africans put on the slave market – recognized by everyone and, in practice,

habere possunt, sed contra ius naturae committunt, et in ius gentium faciunt, igitur, omnes cooperantes, consentientes, mandantes, iuvantes, incitantes, dantes causam et occasionem. [. . .]. Sed inter nigros nullum est bellum iustum; ergo nec servitus licita de iure gentium. Igitur fiunt servi contra ius gentium, in perniciem et destructionem suae nationis; contra ius naturale privantur sua libertate, et omnia sunt latrocinia, furta, rapinae. Inter nigros haec est origo infecta, a qua non potest procedere aqua sana, uti dicit Mercadus de contractu nigrorum." See Fernando Rodrigues Montes D'Oca, "Two Capuchins Friars in Defense of African Slaves' Liberty: Francisco José de Jaca and Epifanio de Moirans," *Patristica et Mediaevalia* 36 (2015): 100–102.

99 Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 7–8, pp. 9–11.

100 Jaca, *Resolución*: I, n. 8, pp. 10–11.

101 Jaca, *Resolución*: II, n. 50, p. 59; Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: VI, n. 70, pp. 104–5.

102 Jaca and Moirans exalt freedom as a human good and an intrinsic, innate, and natural right of possession and use of the body. As the condition itself of not being the property of someone else – thus, as a "natural permission" and not as a natural command, precept, or duty, Jaca would say – freedom is simply principal and priceless. It is second only to physical life (and it is commutable only for physical life). See Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 1–4, pp. 4–7; Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: II, nn. 25–28, pp. 38–41; VI, nn. 71–72, pp. 104–7; here II, nn. 25–26, pp. 38–39: "25. Omnes homines natura esse liberos lumen rationis signatum super nos ostendit omnibus; unde dicunt omnes iure naturae liberos esse homines universos. [. . .]. 26. Ex hac autem libertate essentiali formaliter posita in voluntate hominis, de lege aeterna immutabili, immobili, sequitur libertas naturalis hominis; nempe quod sit sui iuris, quae est de lege naturae de iure naturali. Cum igitur omnes homines de lege aeterna habeant libertatem in voluntate sua, de lege naturali persona cuiuscumque hominis libera est et sui iuris. Haec autem lex naturalis, quae una est in omnibus unitate ordinis, quoad omnes homines et quoad omnia tempora, una et eadem est, nec magis obligat tempore hoc quam alio, quantum ad praecepta communissima

immutable.[103] Together, these premises force the outright defense and preservation of freedom. They make transparent the better condition of the possessor (again: the African).[104] First Jaca and then Moirans explore that interpretation in depth, disputing with arguments and uses in the literature that, with regard to some kinds of *casus*, would rather interpret the *conditio possidentis* principle as favoring supposedly *bona fide* buyers and owners. We should stress that for both authors the emphasis in the moral evaluation of cases of the slave trade should not fall upon those agents in the slavery chain who were buyers and owners, but upon the status of the product: as the status of the enslaved person was (unjust received thing) illicit or clearly uncertain, all contracts and ownerships would as a consequence be unjust and illicit, too (unjust reception).[105] If the moral and legal status of enslaved Africans was actually non-prescribable freedom, then one can understand that a radical discourse on restitution should play such a pivotal role in Moirans's *Iusta defensio*.[106]

We should highlight here the discussion of good faith regarding the status of enslaved black people *as slaves* and the possibility of invincible ignorance concerning errors in transactions involving black slaves from the first buying or capturing (in Africa) to more recent ownerships (in the Indias). In answer to the question of acceptable moral excuses that might be invoked by agents of trade, whether to simply excuse their actions or to protect their material interests, Jaca and Moirans stress the view that within the context of such commerce, there was no room for good faith and invincible ignorance by any of those who took part. After all, the commerce of slaves was characterized by numerous and unequivocal widespread *rumors* – and often even by *well-known* reports by "theologians" and "doctors," also based on direct testimonies of agents involved in the traffic – of irregularities with regard to its legitimacy. So in fact these transactions were full of relevant doubts about their legitimacy – the legitimacy of the issue was unlikely, uncertain, and non-certifiable – and there may even have been moral certainty about their injustice. If *per impossibile* there had been no initial doubts in a given

praesertim; sicut illud concludit Parra [Antonio de la Parra y Arteaga] ex Divo Thoma. Unde libertas quae de iure naturali est, non potest tolli homini, aut fieri aliquid in praeiudicium illius."

103 Following Jaca and Moirans's treatises, we could actually propose three premises: the invaluable value of freedom as a human good and right, the general uncertainty – recognized by everyone and, in practice, irresolvable – about the slave status of the Africans put on the slave market, and even the moral certainty – backed by strong widespread rumors and perhaps direct and indirect information (testimony by ship captains, for example) – that the original enslavement titles were altogether unjust. See also Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 6–9, pp. 8–11.

104 Several other auxiliary normative principles contribute to clarify the very meaning of the "conditio possidentis" principle, which I highlight in the body of the text, as well as its application in concrete determinations regarding commutations. See Jaca, *Resolución*: I, n. 10, p. 12; II, n. 44, pp. 55–56; II, n. 50, p. 59; Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: VI, nn. 69–70, pp. 100–105; VI, n. 73, pp. 110–11; VIII, n. 88, pp. 134–35.

105 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: II, nn. 34–35, pp. 48–51.

106 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: XII–XIV, nn. 121–37, pp. 182–221.

transaction and relevant doubts arose only later and remained unsolved, the *conditio possidentis* should all the same favor the enslaved persons.[107] Francisco José de Jaca proposed an important reflection in this regard. He presupposed that having certainty of the truth of the just titles of enslavement had to be a part, in those situations, of the analysis of the moral quality of the acts of trading, buying, and owning slaves. In this sense, he wanted to make sure that there were limits to the excuse of acting in good faith. The central idea is that when someone acts in opposition to something that is granted by natural law, such as freedom – something intrinsic to the human being – then real, significant certainty is required. About first practical principles – such as "the good is to be done" or the "golden rule" – and even about derived principles, as would be the case with the principle of not usurping someone else's freedom except in full certainty of the legitimate loss of that right, invincible ignorance was not possible. It was impossible to reasonably admit that a moral actor could claim good faith and invincible ignorance about such a serious matter as loss of natural freedom. However, the permissibility of the trade and of the original enslavements demanded "ciencia cierta."[108]

Avendaño, Jaca, and Moirans are close to each other regarding the view explained above of on how to interpret the *conditio possidentis* principle in the matter of black slavery as a problem of applied ethics of commutative justice, and so they are too on the condemnation of that *contractus* because of the uncertainty of the just titles of enslavement – and, thus, of the status of the "thing received." But one central difference is already quite apparent: in order to morally decide about matters as important as a human being's legitimate loss of freedom, Avendaño considers a probable opinion to be enough, while Jaca and Moirans demand significant certainty about every possible just title of enslavement. In their treatises, Jaca and Moirans unmistakably denounce the influence of the probable opinion *ad mentem Avendañi* as an option for the moral defense of the enslavement and trade in black people. Apparently, civil and ecclesiastical authorities had no interest at all in interpreting the largely more obvious conclusion of Avendaño, in his ambiguous report, that this *contractus* was rather unjust. We can suspect that they rather comfortably referred to it in order to assuage criticism of the system of slavery found in theological and legal literature. We should not forget that in 1685 the Council of the Indias responded to a request by King Charles II *via* his State Council to be informed about the origin of the slave trade from Africa to the American territories, the necessity or convenience of that trade, and moreover whether theologians and jurists had pronounced opinions about the legitimacy of the business. This request echoed Jaca and Moirans's appeals to the king, which were mediated by ecclesiastical authorities. The Council's answer textually invoked the probable opinion *ad*

107 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: VI, nn. 68–69, pp. 98–103; Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 10–12, pp. 12–14; II, nn. 27–31, pp. 41–45; II, nn. 48–49, pp. 57–59. See Montes D'Oca, "Two Capuchins Friars": 101–8; Fernando Rodrigues Montes D'Oca, "Tráfico de escravos e consciência moral: o pensamento antiescravista de Epifânio de Moirans," *Dissertatio* 46 (2017): 149–59.

108 Jaca, *Resolución*: I, nn. 10–13, pp. 12–15.

mentem Avendañi: Avendaño's *aliqualiter* is reproduced, and he is taken as the main representative of the view that the enslavement and trade of Africans was morally allowable on the level of probable opinion, which could grant a sound conscience.[109]

Jaca and Moirans's reaction to this scenario has two directions: on the one hand, they discuss whether, on the theoretical level and generally speaking, a just probable opinion might be used to solve practical doubts and guide a conscience to rectitude – particularly with regard to important matters like freedom and the loss of it. On the other hand, they react to Avendaño's ambiguous report as a whole and in particular to his *aliqualiter*, i.e., to the seven reasonings offered in support of the provability of the opinion according to which the trade of black slaves and the ownership of them was morally acceptable.[110] I cannot expound in detail here Jaca's[111] or Moirans's[112] appraisal of Avendaño's exposition, but only refer to general characteristics. Avendaño's account assumes the form of a probabilistic argument. According to this account, what some agents take as a probable opinion only can play the role of an opinion worthy of being defended and invoked in order to solve practical doubts. This is despite the fact that another (opposite) opinion is explicitly recognized as more probable or simply safer. Jaca connects Avendaño's probabilistic argument to contradiction, leniency, and moral dissimulation. Regarding moral duties such as right conscience on the slavery issue, Avendaño's general account, according to Jaca, both stimulates and is stimulated by leniency and dissimulation. Jaca's text allows the interpretation that Avendaño himself, with his criticism of the traffic of black slaves, only dissimulates what he in fact intended within his probabilistic argument: to ratify black slavery and offer several agents of slavery in the Indias almost every possible legitimization they wanted.

In his turn, Moirans connects what he takes as a rhetorical probabilistic argument in Avendaño's report (perhaps used by Avendaño to show *a contrario* his rejection of slavery) to contradiction and leniency, too. Avendaño's report causes confusion, because it is contradictory – four of his conclusions are contrary to the slavery system and demand forms of restitution, whereas his fifth conclusion favors slavery and does not suggest any obligatory restitution.[113] As a strategy, the supposed rhetorical character in

109 Jaca, *Resolución*, "Apéndice – II. Testigos y Fuentes," "146. Resumen del origen que ha tenido la introducción de esclavos negros en las Indias y la necessidad que hay de ellos en aquellas provincias" and especially "147. Oficio del Consejo de Indias a Carlos II" (Madrid 1685, AGI, by the Council of the Indias): 345–54.

110 I referred in detail to these reactions of the two Capuchin friars in Pich, "Diego de Avendaño S.J. (1594–1688)": 22–41; Pich, "Probabilismo, escravidão negra e crítica": 27–34.

111 Jaca, *Resolución*: II, nn. 54–61, pp. 62–68.

112 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: X–XI, nn. 108–20, pp. 162–81.

113 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: X, n. 110, pp. 164–67: "Sed quantum ad quintum Avendañi dictum quaero ab ipso: Vel dicta emptio iustificatur in conscientia, vel non. Si iustificatur, quare ergo dicis in secundo, tertio et quarto dicto illicitam esse? Sibi ergo contradicit declinando, sicut et caeteri, quia omnes declinaverunt. [. . .]. Deinde quaero ab Avendaño an propter rationes quas offert, possint emi in conscientia et possideri mancipia, an non. [. . .]. Tandem, vel intendit excusare eos a peccatis, vel non. [. . .]."

Avendaño's construction can only be a slip, for in the slavery problem just a few people are willing to embrace justice. Avendaño, with his opposite conclusions, should be aware of the fact that he was giving reasons for everyone: a self-destructive strategy.[114] Above all, Moirans's criticism of Avendaño's account had the purpose of disabling any legitimating link between moral probabilism and black slavery. Probabilism is depicted as a reason for self-indulgence and even collective indulgence regarding the doubtful room for justice in enslavements and the slave trade. Probabilism as minimal morality and the relativization of possible paths to achieve sound conscience above all opened the door for discourses that strong agents of the colonization project would be willing to embrace. Because of his fine perception of the consequences of moral leniency, and based on the contents of the seven reasons for the *aliqualiter*, Moirans connects the argument by Avendaño to forms of arbitrary thought in normative matters, and thus to what can be taken as the genesis of ideology. We find here a further hypothesis that explains the historical possibility of black slavery on the level of ideas: relativized narratives about importance and fairness in the recognition of freedom towards enslaved Africans ideologically confirmed black slavery as a possible convention in history or a quite natural state in the context of the hierarchies of the colonial world.[115]

To the question of whether a just probable opinion might be used to solve practical doubts and guide consciences to rectitude, particularly with regard to important matters such as freedom and slavery, Jaca and Moirans answer with a clear "no." Jaca's *Resolución* and Moirans's *Iusta defensio* do not allow us to reach a conclusion about the moral system they embrace regarding the problem of right conscience. However, they provide enough information for us to affirm that they move in the direction of favoring the "more probable" and/or the "safer" opinion in order to provide conscience with rectitude.[116] Their analyses of the legitimacy of slavery in their times help us understand

114 Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: X, n. 111, pp. 166–67: "[. . .]. Nonne debebat rationes solvere post stabilitam doctrinam suam, non ita destruere doctrinam suam per aliqualem excusationem, sciens paucos esse qui practice complectantur veritatem traditam? Pugnavit ergo pro veritate et iustitia, sed non usque ad finem, nec certavit legitime. Quapropter, sicut et alii Societatis Patres, declinavit, [. . .]. Enimvero, recte sentiens, probaveram doctrinam, sed videns declinationem in quinto dicto, miratus sum virum doctorem destruere et eradicare quae bene plantaverat, [. . .]. Unde rationes omnes solvam et refellam a fundamentis eradicando, ne remaneat aliqualis iustificatio, sed omnium pateat oculis veritas doctrinae et iniquitas christianorum et malitia, sicut et caecitas et obstinatio, [. . .]."

115 See also Roberto Hofmeister Pich, "Probabilismo e escravidão negra," *Humanidades: Revista de la Universidad de Montevideo* 8 (2020): 46–62, sections 3 and 4, and Concluding Remarks.

116 Granted as a principle that it is wrong to act upon a doubtful conscience and conscious that *practical* certainty is of a special kind, that is, *ut in pluribus*, it is easy to realize that moral philosophy faces a challenge related to practical knowledge and the possibility of effectively helping agents to act with responsibility. For that purpose, as is well known, different systems were in dispute in seventeenth-century scholastic practical philosophy. "Tutiorism" "demanded the election of the "safer" course of action, that is, the choice which would most surely guarantee that the agent would avoid sin," and "probabiliorism" would allow for "the agent to adopt a position in favor of liberty," that is, in favor of a non-safe opinion, only if it were objectively "more probable (i.e., supported by stronger

why those views were theoretically preferable for practical judgments. Like other issues of conscience comparable in importance, with regard to the possibility of (through enslavement) losing freedom, which is as such an invaluable good, only a moral system that embraces rigor and safety can guide agents to rectitude.[117] A moral point of view in terms of probabilism was simply not proportional or internally adequate to provide judgments about issues as important as freedom and slavery.[118] It is evident that Jaca and Moirans realized that slaveholders in the Indias had sympathy for the idea that it would suffice that their opinion about the legitimacy of the trade and possession of slaves should be probable only – simply coinciding with existing laws of trade and ownership of humans, and perhaps with customs and conventions about black people accepted within their society.[119] Jaca and Moirans's discussion of Avendaño's *aliqualiter* is a thoughtful analysis, existing within a well-defined historical context, of how the adoption of a merely probable opinion about such an important matter could amount to arbitrariness in practical judgments and leniency in the pursuit of practical truth. As such, Jaca and Moirans, having people living in Catholic societies as their target, also fight against the probabilistic thesis applied to the problem of slavery by means of the guidance given by Innocence XI against probabilistic moral theses.[120] This was found in the context of the pope's formal condemnations of laxist and probabilistic views. Innocence XI himself advised following, in practical matters, at least that which was "more probable." To give one example of the Capuchin missionaries' acquaintance with the determinations of Innocence XI, Jaca is happy to quote the kind of maxim of normative deliberation that was under papal condemnation: "one should not judge according to the multitude of authors what is better and more equitable, since the opinion [*sententia*] of a single [author], even of the worst [of the authors in question], can perhaps surpass [*superare*] in some part both the many and the better ones."[121]

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arguments, stronger authorities, or both) than the judgment" which constrained someone "by a [given] moral obligation." See Julia A. Fleming, *Defending Probabilism: The Moral Theology of Juan Caramuel* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006): 4–5.

117 Jaca, *Resolución*: II, n. 55, pp. 63–64; Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: V, n. 63, pp. 90–93; VI, n. 69, pp. 100–103; VII, n. 80, pp. 120–21; VIII, nn. 82–89, pp. 124–37.

118 See Montes D'Oca, "Tráfico de escravos e consciência moral": 159–66. See also Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: XI, n. 113, pp. 170–73.

119 Jaca explicitly denounces this in several contexts; see, for example, Jaca, *Resolución*: II, nn. 40–52, pp. 52–62.

120 See Montes D'Oca, "Two Capuchins Friars": 107–8; Montes D'Oca, "Tráfico de escravos e consciência moral": 162–63. See also Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: XI, nn. 113, 115, 117, pp. 170–77.

121 Jaca, *Resolución*: II, n. 46, p. 57. See also Moirans, *Iusta defensio*: XI, n. 113, pp. 172–73. The pontificate of Innocence XI extended from 1676 to 1689. On March 2, 1679, Innocence XI condemned 65 propositions laxist and probabilistic in content. Generally, regarding practical deliberation and right conscience, Innocence's XI stance was in favor of the so-called "opinio magis probabilis." See Franz Xaver Seppelt, *Das Papsttum in der Neueren Zeit – Geschichte der Päpste vom Regierungsantritt Pauls III. bis zur Französischen Revolution (1534–1798)* (Leipzig: Verlag von Jakob Hegner, 1936): 352–53;

5 Concluding Remarks

Philosophical studies about normative debates on black slavery in the transatlantic space from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century have to take into consideration several aspects that together can explain – particularly from the third decade of the seventeenth century onwards – the emergence of the ideology that gave support to the permanence of that system. Early in the seventeenth century, as the assessment grounded on criteria of commutative justice by Luis de Molina reveals, scholastic thinkers were convinced that the system of the slave trade was illicit and should not receive any legal protection. In his ambiguous report, Diego de Avendaño both confirms this illegitimacy and indicates the structure and nature of probable reasons, characterized by the primacy of political, legal positivism, the relativization of rights, a view of colonization as a historical process that brings benefits to the oppressed, and the construction of an image of black people from Africa as inferior or miserable, that contributed to make the enslavement of black people and the trade of enslaved Africans an acceptable historical convention. Francisco José de Jaca and Epifanio de Moirans arguably realized that the system of black slavery in the Americas needed an ideology for its *longue durée*. Jaca and Moirans wrote against the normative evaluation of the institution of black slavery provided above all by Jesuit thinkers. They attempted a reaction against the formal moral literature on black slavery, where there was room for interpreting situations of doubt in favor of traders and owners that were in some way distant from the original enslavement and trade situations. Moreover, Jaca and Moirans reacted against the role played by moral probabilism in justifying the system of slavery. Here, in particular, one of the directions of probable reasons mentioned in support of Avendaño's fifth conclusion, namely the proto-racial and demeaning ethnological representation of black Africans that was being consolidated in the seventeenth century, will lead researchers back to an investigation of Alonso de Sandoval's revealing work *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* 1627/1647).[122]

Jean Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971): 166–67. See also Schuessler, *The Debate on Probable Opinions*: 156–60.

122 Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud* [De instauranda Aethiopum salute], trans. Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987); Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute: Historia de Aethiopia, naturaleza, Policia Sagrada y profana, Costumbres, ritos, y Cathecismo Evangelico, de todos los Aethiopes con que se restaura la salud de sus almas, dividida en dos Tomos* (Madrid: Alonso de Paredes, 1647).

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Karoline Noack

Mobilization as Dependency: The Case of Mitimaes in the Inka State as a Hotspot of Early Glocalization

1 Introduction: Globalization and Glocalization in the Pre-Hispanic Andes

Like other polities in the pre-Hispanic Americas, the Inka state was established completely independently from historical developments in other regions of the world. Yet, no other polity in the Americas has been discussed in so many different ways. The Inka state, or Tawantinsuyu, encompassed southern Columbia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and from northwest Argentina up to central Chile, making it the largest state in the Americas in terms of geographic extent. With its manifold landscapes ranging from coast to hot and fertile valleys, from arid highlands to the eastern slopes of the Andes and the rainforest, Tawantinsuyu was a global phenomenon in and of itself. It is estimated that between six and thirteen million people lived under the control of Inka rulers at its peak.[1] This raises pertinent questions as to how such a large empire was consolidated and managed from a single center, the capital of Cusco, and all within just 100 years.

Scholarship about the Inka state has a long and varied history, and has almost always been conducted within a global framework. Many questions that have been raised over time remain unanswered today. A turning point was the work of John V. Murra, who posed new questions inspired by approaches from social anthropology research on African kingdoms. He applied them in his study of the Americas and offered a new reading of the literary sources: early Spanish eyewitness accounts and historical chronicles written by cosmographers, travelers, and Spaniards married into Inka families. These also included visitation reports of the Spanish colonial administration (*visitas*), previously overlooked sources which Murra showed can provide insight into social life down to the household level. Thanks to these sources, many of the central institutions and categories of the Inka state can be recognized as deeply rooted in local communities and in institutions much older than the Inka state itself. In this way, various local perspectives were brought into the discussion and changed

1 John W. Verano and Douglas H. Ubelaker, eds., *Disease and Demography in the Americas* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): 16.

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the global picture of the Inka state. Could the more recent concept of "glocalization" fit into such a framework?[2] In this article, I would like to examine this question by focusing on socio-economic and political forms of dependency.

Integrating new concepts into Inka research is necessary and challenging. Concepts such as glocalization and glocal are promising and productive for Inka studies because they describe the "the simultaneous occurrence of both universalizing and particularizing tendencies."[3] Both must be understood in order to grasp the particularities of the Inka state and its political and socio-economic organization, including relations of dependency. The Inka state, possibly more than any other "early state"[4] in the Americas and beyond, has been the subject of theoretical-conceptual debates from the beginning of scholarly research in the nineteenth century and up to the present, including approaches in (global) world-system perspectives from the archaeology of the Americas, which nevertheless continued to transmit earlier ideas. In this article, I would like to show that applying and studying the concept of glocal in Inka studies can lead to new insights in regard to the questions debated. The theoretically underdeveloped concept of glocalization "invite[s] a more extensive, transdisciplinary, and critical engagement with the notion of glocal."[5] Although some have argued that glocalization is a concept "that captures modern realities,"[6] others have emphasized that the glocal "offers an additional layer that allows social theory to capture the complexity and multifaceted nature of social processes" more generally.[7] It is to be expected that the impetus in applying the concept will go in both directions: toward further development of the concept itself as well as of Inka studies.

A related concept to be focused on here is that of dependency, specifically that of strong asymmetric dependency. With this concept, "the traditional European 'binary opposition of "slavery versus freedom"' still dominating slavery studies" is to be overcome.[8] Asymmetric dependency "encompasses all 'diverse forms that human bondage

2 The term *glocal*, which since the 1990s has entered into various disciplines including sociology and anthropology, was defined by Robertson (Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* [London: Sage, 1994]) as a metatheory relevant to understanding the globalized world of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

3 Joachim Blatter, "Glocalization," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 22.02.2022, https://www.britannica.com/topic/glocalization [accessed 03.04.2023].

4 Norman Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State: Evolution of the Earliest Cities, States and Civilizations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

5 Victor Roudometof, *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2016): 16.

6 Philemon Bantimaroudis, Review of *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, by Victor Roudometof, *International Journal of Communication* 11 (2017): 728–30. This characterization has seemed especially necessary since the onset of the twenty-first century, as the influence of the concept of globalization has begun to decline in the context of the finance crisis, the dawn of new social movements, and the advance of right-wing political groups.

7 Roudometof, *Glocalization*: 10.

8 Julia Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 2.

and coercion have taken over time'"[9] as a "continuum of dependency."[10] The concept of dependency, if not slavery, hitherto hardly in focus in the sequence of theoretical approaches in Inka studies since the nineteenth century and largely based on European typologies, can be used to elaborate and sharpen the characteristics and globally integrated local particularities of the Inka state beyond those models. Above all, the view of the *yanacona* (Quechua, see below) as slaves, i.e., as the most dependent and "unfree" group, long discussed, is an effect of the importation of a universal-historical and Eurocentric view into Inka society, linked to the idea of a centralized state.

One thing is clear: we are not getting anywhere with concepts and terms from a Europe-centered universal history. Some of this terminology has morphed into a trope, which shows how persistent it is: this applies in particular to concepts like modes of production or socio-economic formations, debt bondage, and serfdom, but also of power, social differentiation and the group, stranger, coercion, freedom/un-freedom, and autonomy.[11] Before we can come to a new proposal for Inka research by exploring the concepts of glocalization and dependency, we must first track down the tropes, anchoring the investigation in a critical historiography of thought about the Inka.

Therefore, this paper introduces in the second part world-system perspectives from the archaeology of the Americas, discussed since the 1970s, which came very close to "glocal" insights. This is followed by a brief introduction of the Inka state in the third part. The fourth part will continue tracking down the tropes, discussing earlier interpretations of the Inka state within a universal framework marked by concepts of "modes of production" or "socio-economic formations," whose global notions had also appeared in the later world-system perspectives. Part five offers a still wider range of approaches to the political economy of the Inka state, including those nurtured by social anthropology, and will provide another facet of the global framework, among them those that have not been continued by later research. On that basis, part six will develop the conceptualization of the Inka state as an "early state" or "fragile state." Here, the emergence of *mitimaes* (together with *yanacona*, *camayoc*, *acllacuna and mitayos* as the other main social categories of the Inka state)[12] will be explained as part of a particular moment of state consolidation and expansion. This phenomenon is the subject of part seven, followed by a case study of *mitimaes* in the Cochabamba Valley in present-day Bolivia in the eighth

9 Quoted in Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 2.

10 David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Dependence, Servility and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 3, quoted in Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 2.

11 See also Christian G. De Vito, "Five Hypotheses on Dependency" (unpublished manuscript, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, University of Bonn, n.d.).

12 *Camayoc* were producing "specialists" on different levels of society (community and state level) and *acllacuna* were "chosen women" who also performed specialized work, above all the production of *chicha* or maize "beer" and textiles for the Inka ruler in particular settings. The *mitayos* formed rotating forced labor groups.

part. This region will be discussed as a hotspot of early glocalization, the most prominent case of mobilization of people and goods as a power strategy, and the strongest expression of dependency in the Inka state. The paper will close with the thesis that the question of strong asymmetric dependency in the Inka state can be addressed only by examining it through an interdisciplinary case study and by reconsidering and combining wrongly ignored research strands into an innovative perspective of glocalization.

2 The World-Systems Perspective in the Archaeology of the Americas

Although archaeology is not mentioned among the fields invoked by the "glocal" perspective,[13] scholars have widely recognized over the last decade that many aspects of modern globalization were also characteristic of earlier periods in history, following an initial trend in scholarship from the 1970s toward examining the glocal in precapitalist world-systems.[14] In current debates in global archaeology, the world-system still "resonates" in concepts of "world," "core," and "periphery"; one of these "worlds" was the Andes.[15] Widespread systems of economic interdependence across political boundaries are thought of as cyclical globalization processes in the Americas, as "bursts of interregional interaction were followed by balkanization."[16] But "not all of these bursts of interaction should be considered as earlier globalizations."[17]

Globalization is understood "as complex connectivity, a condition created by a dense network of intense interactions and interdependencies between disparate

13 Roudometof, *Glocalization*: 27.

14 See Tamar Hodos, ed., *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2017); especially Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12, and Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 229–42.

15 Alexander Geurds, "Globalization Processes as Recognized in the Americas," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 174.

16 Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12. The term "balkanization," used by Jennings and elsewhere by Covey (R. Alan Covey, "Intermediate Elites in the Inka Heartland, A.D. 1000–1500," in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey [Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006]: 113) and other authors should not be applied to these contexts. It is a negatively connotated term coined at the end of the nineteenth century. To this day, it is still associated with violence, primitiveness, conservatism, and patriarchies. This discourse became particularly clear during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s and early 2000s, "when a larger context unfoundedly and in a concrete or figurative sense 'bloodily' breaks up into a thousand pieces" (see interview with Martina Baleva, "Balkan. Das vollständig Andere. Die Historikerin Martina Baleva über die Erfindung des Balkans in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts," interview by Samuela Nickel, Neues Deutschland Journalismus von links, 25.09.2020, https://www.nd-aktuell.de/artikel/1142315.balkan-das-unvollstaendige-andere.html [accessed 28.01.2023] [translation is mine]).

17 Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12.

people brought together through the long-distance flow of goods, ideas, and individuals."[18] Glocalization is considered an integral part of these processes,[19] one that "emphasizes the local responses" and "the ways in which broadly shared ideas, goods, and practices are modified and adapted locally to accord with local practice, customs, habits, and beliefs."[20] This cultural impact and its variations in practice were identified as an obvious gap in previous studies. Lau noted that in "trying to reconstruct the political economies crucial in complexity, [. . .] much of 'the cultural' has been underemphasized, not least in considerations of Andean South America."[21] But unlike in previous debates, little attention is now being paid to social groups, labor categories, asymmetric dependencies, or socioeconomic frameworks in general. The necessary link between political economy and cultural processes merits examination in archaeological-ethnohistorical case studies, as will be outlined in part seven for the Cochabamba Valley.

It is important to remember that although the world-systems perspective has mostly been applied to capitalist Western societies, it is relevant to all societies in the world's history and present.[22] Its "tremendous potential for theory building in the social sciences," due to its "single theoretical framework in which to analyze both Western and non-Western societies,"[23] has led to rich debate in archaeology.[24] In his introduction, Peregrine proposes "to direct attention once again to the world-system perspective," because it has hardly been discussed in archaeology, especially in relation to case studies from the Americas.[25] Wallerstein's notion is based on the world-

18 Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 13.

19 Tamar Hodos, "Globalization: Some Basics. An Introduction to *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 7.

20 Hodos, "Globalization": 6–7.

21 George F. Lau, "On the Horizon: Art, Valuables and Large-Scale Interaction Networks in the Ancient Andes," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 195.

22 Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1976).

23 Peter N. Peregrine, "Introduction: World Systems. Theory and Archaeology," in *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, ed. Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996): 1.

24 Jane Schneider, "Was There a Precapitalist World-System?" in *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds*, ed. Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991 [1977]): 45–66; Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall, eds., *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991); Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, ed., *The Economic Anthropology of the State* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994); Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman, eds., *Pre-Columbian World Systems* (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996); Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, "The Postclassic Mesoamerican World System," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (2000): 283–86; Michael E. Smith and Frances F. Berdan, eds., *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003).

25 Peregrine, "Introduction": 1.

systems perspective. This concept allows scholars "to perceive the world as a set of autonomous political units linked into larger functioning unit through economic interdependence."[26] It assumes "that social action take [sic] place in an entity within which there is an ongoing division of labour, and seeks to discover *empirically* whether such an entity is or is not unified politically or culturally, asking *theoretically* what are the consequences of the existence or non-existence of such unity."[27] The "entity" is the world-system defined only by economic interdependence, not "by any specific geographical, political, or cultural units."[28] Ultimately, the world-systems perspective "hinges on two overlapping processes – one of competition between various geographically localized populations of unequal power; the other of differentiation, division of labor, and interdependence among these same units."[29]

The constellation of hierarchized populations constantly moving within determined geographic spaces and differentiated by their specialized labor also defines the more recent concept of the "fragile state."[30] The "fragile state," like the world-system, cannot be defined by geographical, political, or cultural borders; instead, economic, political, and cultural interdependencies constitute its multilayered reality.[31] For our case study of *mitimaes* in the Cochabamba Valley, however, this perspective makes way for reconsidering the specific socio-economic relationships that formed in the context of Inka conquests and state-building processes. From a world-systems perspective, they can be interpreted as asymmetric dependencies that form part of the understanding of glocalization outlined here.[32] This includes the notion of the "fragile state" as a concept that puts the Inka state into a global framework in a way that makes it comprehensible with respect to the dialectics of "center" and "local." In order to be able to present new forms of dependency in the Cochabamba Valley that can be understood in a glocal context, we first need to give an overview of the Inka state.

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26 Peregrine, "Introduction": 1; see also Smith and Berdan, "Postclassic Mesoamerican World System": 286.

27 Wallerstein: *The Modern World-System*: 345, quoted in Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

28 Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

29 Schneider, "Was There a Precapitalist World-System": 20, quoted in Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

30 Norman Yoffee, "Introducing the Conference: There Are No Innocent Terms," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 1–8; Tom D. Dillehay and Steven A. Wernke, "Fragility of Vulnerable Social Institutions in Andean States," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 9–23. See Darrell La Lone, "An Andean World-System. Production Transformations under the Inka Empire," in *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, ed. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994): 18, 21; see part six.

31 See Peregrine, "Introduction": 2.

32 Interestingly, the pre-Columbian studies from the 1990s that assumed a world-systems perspective placed little emphasis on the Andes compared to other regions of the Americas, especially Mesoamerica (see La Lone, "Andean World-System"; Peregrine and Feinman, *Pre-Columbian World Systems*). The reasons are many and varied and include competing perceptions of the Inka state in the historiography, which made applying a world-systems approach more difficult.

3 The Inka State – An Overview

The Inka state arose through expansion during the hundred years or so before the Spanish conquest of Peru beginning in 1532. How did Inka rulers manage to establish a state of such great dimensions in such a short time? The success of the Inka control system relied on a combination of three social institutions whose interlocking structures were deeply rooted in Andean communities: the *mincca,* the *ayllu*, and the *mita*.[33] The *mincca*, local "mutual aid," was inseparably linked to the *ayllu*, the basic, household-based social organization of *hatun runa* or "commoners." Almost imperceptible to the *hatun runa*, these communal structures were used by the state to construct the *mita*, a form of labor organization by rotating shifts of the heads of households, the *mitayos*, and the main source of revenue for the Inka state. While the *mincca* was carried out at local levels with the coordination of local authorities, the *mita* was coordinated by the central authorities, the Inka, mediated by local rulers.

Social relations within the *ayllu* were structured on the basis of collective land ownership and the related principle of reciprocity. Members of local communities benefited from the *mincca* in agricultural work or house construction, for example. During Inka conquests, the local *mincca* began to assume the form of the state-organized *mita* and became part of a "redistributive" economy.[34] The state needed this form of extended labor obligation through rotating community members, or *mitayos*, to expand its productive agricultural base and infrastructure (e.g., roads, road stations, warehouses, administrative centers).

The Inka succeeded in achieving a subtle balance between population, social, political, and ecological diversities by maintaining local structures while (globally) unifying them in the Andes.[35] In the diverse Andean region, with its micro-landscapes and micro-climates, local agriculture was not only practiced at a single altitude level: for example, growing maize at about 3,000 meters or potatoes in the *puna* highlands, thus encompassing the diverse ecosystems of the high Central Andes. Local communities

33 John V. Murra, *The Economic Organization of the Inka State* (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980); Franklin Pease, *The Incas* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2011).

34 Within this constellation, redistribution and reciprocity belonged to the central mechanisms of the Inka state (on the present-day validity of the approaches of Mauss and Polanyi, see Chris Hann, "Economic Anthropology," in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. Hilary Callan [Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2018]: 14). However, redistribution and reciprocity aimed to maintain a supposedly homogeneous power structure between the global (central) and the local in the Inka state, at least on a symbolic level; thus, it is still difficult to distinguish the associated structures of asymmetric dependencies.

35 Murra, *Inka State*; see Karoline Noack, "Die Staatsstruktur der Inka," in *Könige der Anden. Große Landesausstellung Baden-Württemberg im Linden-Museum Stuttgart vom 12. Oktober 2013 bis 16. März 2014*, ed. Inés Castro and Doris Kurella (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013): 140–52.

controlled several vertical levels by establishing permanent colonies or "archipelagos"[36] in order to obtain a wider range of agricultural products. These levels were often inhabited by *mitimaes* or "colonists" of different origins[37] and different "classes."[38] Although social organizations such as *ayllus* and *mita* were retained in principle under Inka rule, new relationships of dependency were created in the course of state consolidation and integration – one of the most important being the institution of *mitimaes*. Inka rulers "globalized" this institution by systematically resettling families, groups, or even entire communities to new, strategic locations that became hotspots of state formation.

The *mitimaes* were decisive in expanding the productive base of the Inka state, with its growing need for storable goods such as maize. Therefore, the institution is an appropriate example for questioning the encounter between mobilized, uprooted, local groups and new, globalized modes of asymmetric dependency. In particular, I examine to what extent the asymmetric dependencies to which *mitimaes* were subject can be considered as *glocal*, mainly because *mitimaes* came from different origins with different identities and material cultures and experienced new modes of dependency. This will enable us to examine the broader question about the glocal framework of institutionalized asymmetric social dependency.

The increasing demands that Inka rulers placed on laborers to produce, store, and transport maize was a central element in state-building and found its most remarkable expression in Cochabamba in present-day Bolivia, close to the eastern slopes of the Andes. After the original population of Cochabamba was completely displaced, around 14,000 laborers were recruited to produce a huge surplus of maize, which was stored in around 4,000 granaries (*qollqas*). In no other region of the Inka state were so many storage buildings erected. The Inka administration altered access to resources, modified patterns of cultivable land ownership by establishing farms owned by the state or by individual rulers, and changed the succession of central leadership and the configuration of fragmented political elites.[39] But it remains far from clear who the laborers were, including whether they were all *mitimaes*. It is also unknown to what extent they can be distinguished from other dependent groups, above all from *mitayos* or *yana* (plural *yanacona*); the latter term is frequently translated as "slave" or "servant" and refers to individuals in a relationship of extreme personal dependency to a ruler.[40]

36 John V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975).

37 Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 59–115.

38 Within "classes," Pease differentiates between *mitimaes* sent by the Inka and "ethnic entities." Franklin Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu: mecanismos de colonización y relación con las unidades etnicas," *Histórica* 3, no. 1 (1979): 103.

39 Murra, *Inka State*; Pease, *The Incas*.

40 See Karoline Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales y los naturales a los mitimaes': políticas de reasentamiento y la construcción de la diferencia en el Estado inca," *Surandino Monográfico*, no. 4 (2018): 23–38. When the Spanish chronicles mention conquered and resettled peoples, they group

The expansion of Tawantinsuyu and the associated restructuring of economic and political relationships shortly before the Spanish conquest led to striking asymmetries of dependency. The transformations were part of pre-Hispanic globalization processes in the Andes that can be observed beginning in the Middle Horizon (AD 700–1000) and culminating in the Inka state.[41] But, as noted previously, the history of thought about the Inka state in terms of globalization pre-dates recent approaches that adopt a world-systems perspective from world archaeology.[42] The global or glocal frameworks within which scholars previously interpreted the Inka state were very different. Since these approaches affected and still affect our understanding of strong asymmetric relations of dependency, their history must first be outlined. Various concepts that have been used to describe the Inka state since the nineteenth century and their connotations still echo in more recent approaches. Only after considering them we can address the question of how to define and analyze space- and time-specific dependency relationships as part of multidimensional interactions between the global and the local, like those in the Cochabamba Valley.

4 Early Thinking about the Inka State in a Global Framework

Discourse about the Inka state, like those about other historical states, was first examined in a global framework of social evolution and development processes in the nineteenth century. Marxist concepts of political economy, such as "socio-economic formations" or "modes of production," served and still serve as a "model for a new universal or global history."[43] This Marxist model had significant repercussions when applied to the Inka state, as demonstrated in the ongoing world-systems debate.[44] It is still fruitful because it makes clear that asymmetric dependencies are "embedded" in modes of production and in the reproduction of society as a whole.[45] But the early debate in particular also suggests that forms of asymmetrical dependency are different in each "mode of production," or that a certain form of dependency is associated with each production method.

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together persons of high socio-political status and others of low status under the general term *mitimaes*. Even if the different status categories overlapped in pre-Hispanic times, it can be assumed the terms referring to them underwent further changes under colonial influence in the sixteenth century, the period from which the earliest written sources about the Inka state originate (Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 232–33).

41 See Lau, "On the Horizon."

42 See Geurds, "Globalization Processes."

43 Hann, "Economic Anthropology": 5.

44 See La Lone, "Andean World-System."

45 On the interrelation of production and reproduction, see Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1989): 317–21.

The "modes of production" debate is directly connected to the category of *yana* (plural *yanacona*), "slave; servant," and its role and significance. According to Murra,[46] the dispute about the *yanacona* is as old as modern anthropology of the Inka state. It is remarkable that these debates have taken place in different academic fields, sometimes related to each other and sometimes not, and in global contexts. Since the early twentieth century, they have involved scholars from Germany (including both German states between 1949 and 1990), France, Peru,[47] the Soviet Union, the US, and Mexico.[48] According to Karl Marx,[49] the Inka represented a "natural community" (*naturwüchsiges Gemeinwesen*) or an "artificially developed communism" (*künstlich entwickelter Kommunismus*),[50] an idea that Heinrich Cunow also pursued in his first "ethnographic" studies on the Inka.[51] However, Rosa Luxemburg's argument for the Inka ruler as a "benevolent despot" and for "oriental despotism" as a global and necessary form of political organization at a certain stage of societal development[52] recalls a discourse persistent in European thought since antiquity.[53] According to this discourse, "Oriental despotism was one of the most influential ways of interpreting Asian society and politics in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,"[54] a statement which was and still is true for the Inka state as well.[55]

46 Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 226.

47 In Peru from the 1920s up to the end of the 1980s especially, with a peak in the 1960s and 1970s.

48 See, e.g., Pedro Carrasco, "Comment on Offner," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 1 (1981): 62–68; Hans Neumann, "Ethnographie und (Alt-)Orientalistik. Irmgard Sellnow und die Periodisierung der frühen 'Weltgeschichte'," in *Ethnologie als Ethnographie: Interdisziplinarität, Transnationalität und Netzwerke der Disziplin in der DDR*, ed. Ingrid Kreide et al. (forthcoming). This is far from complete, and completeness is not intended here.

49 Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1890]): 102; and Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1894]): 884.

50 In contrast to Marx, many prestigious European authors and travelers during the nineteenth century questioned the "Peruvian" origin of the supposed founder of the Inka realm, Manco Capac, and searched for his origins instead in China, Armenia, Egypt, and among the Hebrews. Alexander von Humboldt also thought that the possible origin of the Inka was in the "Orient" (Mark Thurner, *History's Peru: The Poetics of Colonial and Postcolonial Historiography* [Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012]: 102–3).

51 Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 296–97.

52 Rosa Luxemburg, *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 5, *Ökonomische Schriften* (Berlin: Dietz, 1975); see Karoline Noack, "Buscando un Inca de aquí y de allá. Los incas de nuestro tiempo, Alemania y Lima, Perú," in *Perspectives on the Inca: International Symposium from March 3rd to March 5th, 2014*, ed. Inés de Castro et al. (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2015): 18.

53 On the concept of "oriental despotism," which has its origins in the writings of Aristotle and Montesquieu, see Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Romantic Attitudes toward Oriental Despotism," *Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 2 (2013): 280–320.

54 Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Romantic Attitudes": 281.

55 On the continuity of this discourse to the present, see Noack, "Buscando un Inca." Urs Willmann, "Die Schule der Diktatoren: Eine Ausstellung in Stuttgart zeigt die Pracht des Inkastaats – und wie die Despoten ihr Reich regierten" [An Exhibition in Stuttgart Shows the Magnificence of the Inka State – and How the Despots Ruled Their Empire], Die Zeit Online, Zeit Wissen, 02.10.2013, https://www.zeit.de/2013/41/ausstellung-peru-inka [accessed 29.01.2023].

Oriental despotism (or, alternatively, totalitarianism) has not been considered a "mode of production," but instead a form of government that could rule a "communist" (Marx), a "socialist,"[56] or even a slave-holding society.[57]

Aristotle's idea that in a despotic state, the "relationship between ruler and subjects resembled that between master and slaves"[58] brings us to the heart of a long-lasting debate that was ongoing in Peru from the 1950s through the early 1980s, with occasional influence from Soviet contributions.[59] The debate, which aside from a few exceptions like Espinoza Soriano largely lacked empirical grounding, questioned modes of production and with them the essence of asymmetric dependencies in the Inka state: did slaves exist? Were *yanacona* slaves? Was the Inka state a despotic, slave-holding society, as in the model favored by Emilio Choy,[60] Waldemar Espinoza Soriano,[61] Yuri Zubritski,[62] as well as Carlos Núñez Añavitarte[63] and Julio Valdivia Carrasco,[64] although the latter discussed only a slave society, not despotism?[65]

56 Heinrich Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs: Eine Untersuchung des altperuanischen Agrarkommunismus* (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz, 1896); Louis Baudin, *L'Empire socialiste des Inka*, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1928); Louis Baudin, *Essais sur le Socialisme*, vol. 1, *Les Incas du Pérou* (Paris: Librairie de Médicis, 1944); Louis Baudin, *Die Inka von Peru* (Essen: Dr. Hans v. Chamier, 1947); Louis Baudin, *Der sozialistische Staat der Inka*, Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1956); Louis Baudin, *El Imperio Socialista de los Incas* (Santiago: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1978); Oscar Martens, *Ein sozialistischer Grossstaat vor 400 Jahren: Die geschichtliche, soziale und politische Grundlage des Reiches Tahuantinsuyu des Staatswesens der Incas, auf dem südamerikanischen Hochlande* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Streisand, 1905); Rafael Karsten, *A Totalitarian State of the Past: The Civilization of the Inca Empire in Ancient Peru* (Helsinki: Ejnar Munksgaard Forlag, 1949); José Antonio Arze, *Fué socialista o comunista el imperio inkaiko?* (Bogotá: Argra, 1958); Hans-Gert Braun, "Die Planwirtschaften der Inkas und der Sowjetunion im Vergleich," *Wechselwirkungen, Jahrbuch aus Lehre und Forschung der Universität Stuttgart* (2004): 31–39; (cf. questioning the "socialist" character of the Inka) Hermann Trimborn, "El Socialismo en el Imperio de los Incas," *Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria. Actas y Memorias* 13 (1934): 235–38.

57 Emilio Choy, "Estructuras de Amortiguación y Lucha de Clases en el Sistema Esclavista Incaico," in *Atti del XL Congresso Internazionale degli Americanisti, Roma-Genova, 3–10 settembre 1972* (Genoa: Tilgher, 1973): 511–14; Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, *Los Modos de Producción en el Imperio de los Incas* (Lima: Editorial Mantaro, 1978); Yuri Zubritski, *Los Incas-Quechuas* (Moscow: Editorial Progreso, 1979); Carlos Núñez Añavitarte, "Carácter Esclavista-Patriarcal de la Moral Inca," *Revista Universitaria* 47, no. 115 (1958): 117–36; Julio Valdivia Carrasco, *El Imperio Esclavista de los Inkas* (Lima: Editorial e Imprenta Desa S.A., 1988).

58 Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "Romantic Attitudes": 285.

59 I.e., Zubritski, *Incas-Quechuas*.

60 Choy, "Sistema Esclavista Incaico."

61 Espinoza Soriano, *Los Modos de Producción*.

62 Zubritski, *Incas-Quechuas*.

63 Núñez Añavitarte, "Carácter Esclavista-Patriarcal."

64 Valdivia Carrasco, *Imperio Esclavista*.

65 The Peruvian historian Francisco Quiroz Chueca recalls that the parallel, bigger debate that accompanied the question of slaveholding in the Inka state was about the capitalist character of Latin American and of Peruvian societies in particular (personal communication, August 3, 2020).

The figure of the Inka "despot" connects to the topos of the "tyrant," which was first constructed immediately after the conquest by the anti-Inka faction of Spanish politics led by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1515–1582). This topos has nurtured ideas of an authoritarian Inka state, which gradually entered the nineteenth-century framework of political economy and its theories, including the notion of despotism. In theories connected to tyranny, too, the institution of *mitimaes* was imagined as the most restrictive in terms of individual "freedom" and was considered an important priority within the Inka state's integrated infrastructure, which consisted of administration centers and communication networks.[66] In fact, even in this early thinking, *mitimaes* were thought, like the *yanacona*, to be a fundamental institution integrated into the Inka state and one of the main actors in society, especially during state expansion and formation.[67]

Ultimately, all these debates have narrowed our view of Inka society. Generally, the "paradigm as a whole was considered too deterministic; for example, while the term 'slavery' might well have its uses, it was wrong to consider slavery as a stage in a general model of human evolution."[68] In the course of this paper, I will examine to what extent a general and theoretically based perspective of an "anthropology of slavery" (Claude Meillassoux) can stimulate new research about Inka society.[69]

5 Political Economy and the Social Structures of the Inka State – State of the Research

In the past forty years, considerable changes have transformed Inka studies. New approaches, which will be discussed here briefly, correlate with advances made by John H. Rowe and John V. Murra as early as the 1960s and up to the 1980s,[70] and more

66 See Jeremy Ravi Mumford, *Vertical Empire: The General Resettlement of Indians in the Colonial Andes* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012): 109, 180.

67 Emilio Choy, *Antropología e Historia* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1979): 241–44. The question was how to distinguish these categories and in what way they could be understood as "slaves" (Heinrich Cunow, "Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften," *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde* 63 [1890]: 821–25, 853–56, 872–878; Cunow, *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs*; Martens, *Ein sozialistischer Grossstaat*; Hermann Trimborn, "Die Gliederung der Stände im Inka-Reich," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 [1927]: 303–44; Zubritski, *Incas-Quechuas)*.

68 Hann, "Economic Anthropology": 3.

69 Meillassoux considers research problematic when its starting point is the definition, including the legal one (which he describes as ideological fiction) of the slave, and not the social system in which slavery existed. Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 11–12.

70 See Murra, *Inka State*; John Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to the Cultural Unification of the Empire," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982): 93–118.

recently by Catherine Julien.[71] They encouraged us to see the pre-Hispanic past in terms of social history and to view its main social categories (*mitimaes*, *yanacona*, *camayoc*,[72] and *mitayos*) not only as structural and stable sociological types constituting society, but as historically evolving and transforming social groups, which may also have implied different dependency relationships over time. The idea of a *sui-generis* Inka society, a legacy of earlier debates, demonstrates its long-term impact in the concept of the "Andean world" (*mundo andino*), a geographic term that was converted into a historical, anthropological, archaeological, and sociological concept in the 1980s and has dominated Andean ethnohistory ever since. With Murra's popularization of the use of the term "Andean," which resulted from the connection between the pre-Hispanic and continuities into the present, he gave it "a clear political content which today we could call a 'subaltern agenda'."[73] For "Murra, the term 'Andean' emphasizes the study of those structural and organizational forms in which the continuous struggle of indigenous peoples to preserve their own culture, which does not lose its unity and coherence despite an evident syncretism, is constantly reworked. It was for Murra an eminently political slogan."[74]

Reflecting concerns in the 1940s "with divining the right 'mode of production' to describe the Inka,"[75] US scholars raised another possibility for interpreting the Inka context, namely a "feudal" mode of production.[76] The *Handbook of South American Indians*, with the still-classic article by John H. Rowe[77] on Inka culture at the time of the Spanish conquest, paved the way to a new phase of research. Rowe became one of the most important authorities in Peruvian studies, one who combined "the fields of archaeology, history, ethnography, art, linguistics and intellectual history."[78] When Murra retracted his former characterization of the Inka state as "feudal" ten years later in his 1956 dissertation,[79] he also introduced into Inka research new approaches

71 Catherine J. Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000).

72 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions."

73 Enrique Mayer, *Casa, chacra y dinero: Economías domésticas y ecología en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004): 71 [translation is mine].

74 Mayer, *Casa, chacra y dinero*: 71; [translation is mine]. About the notion of the Andean in Latin American Scholarship, see Friedhelm Schmidt-Welle, "Lo andino en la crítica cultural latinoamericana de los años setenta y ochenta del siglo XX," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 55, no. 3 (2021): 633–48.

75 John V. Murra and John Howland Rowe, "An Interview with John V. Murra," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1984): 640–41.

76 John V. Murra, "The Historic Tribes of Ecuador," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, ed. Julian Haynes Steward (Washington, DC: Government Print Office, 1946): 785–822.

77 John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, ed. Julian Haynes Steward (Washington, DC: Government Print Office, 1946): 183–330.

78 Kathleen Maclay, "John Rowe, Authority on Peruvian Archaeology, Dies at 85," UC Berkeley News, May 7, 2004, https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/05/07_rowe.shtml [accessed January 29, 2023].

79 Murra and Rowe, "Interview with John V. Murra": 641.

to fieldwork, drawing on research from British social anthropology on African kingdoms. The most refreshing, creative, and productive epoch of "Andean studies" had begun, abandoning one of the tropes – "feudal" mode of production – and expanding the global approach.

This era lasted for at least half a century: "If one wanted to understand precapitalist, preliterate polities in all parts of the world, which indeed motivated my study of the Inka state, one had to ask new questions and take account of the new data from outside the American continent."[80] Answers to these new questions could be found in the sources that scholars had begun exploring in the late 1950s, namely Spanish colonial visitation reports or *visitas*.[81] In combination with chronicles and testimonies from eyewitnesses at the time, these texts offered a totally new vision of Andean society, albeit still based on "socio-economic formations" at the community level in relation to the state, the "fabrication" of ethnic identities in the course of Inka conquests,[82] and everyday life in political units, including the question of pre-Hispanic slaves in the Inka state and during pre-Inka periods. This latter question still cannot elicit as clear an answer as it seeks. What is clear, however, is that slavery or other forms of strong asymmetric dependency cannot be limited to the institution of *yanacona*, as the social realities were too complex to be able to separate the deeply rooted social categories of the Inka state.[83] Despite the new thinking within a global approach and anthropological perspectives, Murra did not give up the modes of production or socio-economic formations trope; the conflation of each mode of production with one labor relation is still visible.[84] Therefore, it is necessary to look for another approach that focuses more on the specific and changing contextual conditions of the constitution of the Inka state. As will be seen, mobilization is a concept that opposes the separation of social categories in the analysis and that focuses much more "dependency" in the context of the Inka as a "fragile state" (see part six below).

The concept of socio-economic formations echoes in Murra's and his colleagues' scholarly production.[85] Murra's findings about *mitimaes* as integrated into the Inka model of vertical control of a maximum ecological range makes clear that the institution was deeply rooted in Andean socioeconomic organization, at both the community

80 Murra and Rowe, "Interview with John V. Murra."

81 Franklin Pease, *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978).

82 Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu."

83 Murra emphasized that if one wants to assume that the *yanacona*, about whom we know very little, were slaves, one must estimate their percentage of the total population. His considerations bring him to a proportion of 2–3%. Even if one assumes that these 2–3% of servants were slaves, Murra (*Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 226, 234, 235) wondered, does this transform a society into a slaveholding society?

84 De Vito, "Five Hypotheses on Dependency": 10.

85 Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*; Murra, *Inka State*.

and wider political levels.[86] The advances in Inka studies proposed by Rowe, Murra, Franklin Pease, and Julien, among others, bridge between approaches from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries on the one hand and newer ones established since the 1980s on the other, the latter deriving principally from archaeology and reflecting a renewed framework of political economy.

Yet, despite this new view of Inka society, we are still missing a new analytical focus on the socioeconomic groups of *mitimaes*, *yanacona*, *camayoc*, and *mitayos*, one that addresses labor expropriation for the state like the discussions previously elaborated by Rowe and Murra. Although these groups are mentioned, listed, and described in newer archaeological studies,[87] their entanglement with each other and with the whole social, economic, and political structural framework of the Inka state is still unclear. Rowe has already noted that, as the only written sources at our disposal are colonial Spanish documents, the "incomplete information creates difficulties in interpretation."[88] Rowe's recommendation that "it is best to leave the problem as a subject for further research"[89] is just as valid today as it was then. Our planned research project on *mitimaes* in the Cochabamba Valley will allow us to draw new conclusions from an archaeological and ethnohistorical interlinked case study.

The new approaches to analyze the pre-Hispanic past in terms of social history derived principally from archaeology. These demonstrated that Inka history was not only an endeavor of the last three rulers before Spanish conquest, as the Inka state had been under construction for a long time.[90] At the same time, Inka archaeology has become "provincialized." On the basis of profound archaeological research in the "imperial heartland,"[91] as well as in its periphery, researchers have discovered that

86 Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*, 59–115; Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 100; see Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales.'"

87 "The lives of estate laborers are not as clear in the documentary research available. The Cheqoq Archaeological Project's (CHAP) valuable contribution is a detailed and systematic archaeological study of estate laborers and administrators and its application to larger regional patterns of economic development." Kylie E. Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy on the Royal Estate in the Inka Imperial Heartland (Maras, Cuzco, Peru)* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University, 2012): 6.

88 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

89 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

90 Thus, Rowe ("Inca Policies and Institutions": 111) claimed that the "formation of the Inca Empire and the policies and institutions by which it was governed were effectively the work of only three successive rulers: Pachacuti (also called Inga Yupangui), Topa Inga, and Guayna Capac." Covey points out that Rowe's model ignores the importance of Inka development in the greater Cusco region (R. Alan Covey, "A Processual Study of Inka State Formation," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22, no. 4 [2003]: 333–57), painting an image of a village-turned-empire under a charismatic ruler (Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 73).

91 Brian S. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

the "deep history" of the Inka state is connected to the "Wari tradition of statecraft."[92] In the terms of simultaneously emerging world-systems, discussed in the next part, this means that the two "globalizing periods," Wari and Inka, were interlinked,[93] as well as those of Tiwanaku and the Inka.[94] Archaeological research on the Inka from a provincial perspective has concentrated on selected regions, such as the Huanca or Mantaro valleys,[95] the Titicaca region in Bolivia and Peru, southern Peru in general,[96] the provincial perspective *within* the "heartland,"[97] or even "household-level and site-based non-palace contexts," as in the case of Quave.[98]

The structural links, e.g., in terms of dependency relationships between the Wari and Inka states, that are important in explaining the rapid rise of the Inka have also been studied in archaeology. For instance, Covey draws attention to Pikillaqta, a large archaeological Wari site south of Cusco that was probably constructed with the labor of Wari colonists (i.e., *mitimaes*) and local populations in the Cusco region.[99] Bill Sillar, Emily Dean, and Amelia Pérez Trujillo studied "labor camps" in Raqchi, an

92 R. Alan Covey, *How the Incas Built Their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010): 5, 7–8; Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 234.

93 Lau, "On the Horizon": 194.

94 In an earlier article, Isbell and Schreiber discussed the question of whether Wari was a state (William H. Isbell and Katharina J. Schreiber, "Was Huari a State?" *American Antiquity* 43, no. 3 [1978]: 372–89). Sillar describes Wari as an empire of the Middle Horizon, contrasting it with the Tiwanaku "culture" that had the "multi-ethnic city" (John Wayne Janusek, *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*, Critical Perspectives in Identity, Memory, and the Built Environment [New York: Routledge, 2004]: 404–30) of the same name as its center (Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 231–33; Janusek, *Identity and Power*, quoted Isbell and Schreiber, "Was Huari a State": 233). While "the Wari exploited the labour of conquered groups for agricultural production" (Katharina Schreiber, "The Wari Empire of Middle Horizon Peru. The Epistemological Challenge of Documenting an Empire Without Documentary Evidence," in *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, ed. Susan E. Alcock [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001]: 70–92, quoted in Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 233), "the city of Tiwanaku supplemented its own *puna* area resources by establishing 'colonies' or diaspora communities" (Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?": 233). Both Wari and Tiwanaku were important predecessors of the Inka state.

95 Terence N. D'Altroy and Timothy K. Earle, "Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy," *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (1985): 187–206; Terence N. D'Altroy, *The Incas* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

96 Catherine J. Julien, *Hatunqolla: A View of Inca Rule from the Lake Titicaca Region* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1983); Charles Stanish, *Post-Tiwanaku Regional Economies in the Otora Valley, Southern Peru* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Charles Stanish, "Nonmarket Imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: The Inka Occupation of the Titicaca Basin," *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 3 (1997): 195–216; Charles Stanish, "Regional Research on the Inca," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 3 (2001): 213–41; Charles Stanish, *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

97 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*.

98 Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 3.

99 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 7.

important Inka sanctuary and former Wari site south of Cusco.[100] Following Covey, Quave[101] suggests an analogy to the Inka state "in the pre-Inka states," including with respect to *mitimaes*. In addition, before it was established as an Inka enclave, Cochabamba was already a Tiwanaku colony or diasporic community settled by *mitimaes* during the Middle Horizon.[102]

The conclusions that can be drawn from these findings suggest a strong connection between the emergence, formation, and consolidation of the state through conquest, first by the Wari and then by the Inka state, that paved the way for globalizing periods and structures. One such structure was the appearance and dissemination of state-institutionalized *mitimaes* to reinforce state-building efforts. A range of studies on Inka state formation in the context of political economy indicates that *mitimaes* especially were involved in these contexts.[103] Most approaches from the 1980s through today can be situated within the heterogeneous field of economic anthropology. They focus on political economy as a framework, as well as on state ideology and control and on the concept of energy (coming from ecological anthropology). They also combine an emphasis on state-building and surplus production of goods by *mitimaes* with concepts of staple and wealth finance and the conversion of a staple economy into a wealth economy.[104]

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100 The suggestion "that the capture of these Wari and Tiwanaku sites and their development as Inka cult sites contributed to the motivation for, and justification of, Inka expansion" (Bill Sillar, Emily Dean, and Amelia Pérez Trujillo, "My State or Yours? Wari 'Labor Camps' and the Inka Cult of Viracocha at Raqchi, Cuzco, Peru," *Latin American Antiquity* 24, no. 1 [2013]: 23) is very inspiring. Nevertheless, the assumption "that the restricted movement and rigid organization of the enclosures at Raqchi, Pikillacta, and Azangaro echo the labor camps that the Allies, Germans, and Japanese all used to coerce labor from prisoners during the Second World War" (Sillar, Dean, and Trujillo, "My State or Yours?": 43) must be rejected as an unacceptable, even dangerous, historical comparison.

101 Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 51.

102 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 192; Janusek and Kolata (John Wayne Janusek and Alan L. Kolata, "Top-Down or Bottom-Up: Rural Settlement and Raised Field Agriculture in the Lake Titicaca Basin, Bolivia," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 23 [2004]: 423) compared another Tiwanaku colony, Moquegua, with the enclaves of *mitimaes* during the Inka Horizon (Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 51).

103 E.g., D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 190; Terence D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy in the Inka Empire," in *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, ed. Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, Monographs in Economic Anthropology 11 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994): 191, 205; Terry Y. LeVine, "The Study of Storage Systems. Introduction," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 17; La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23, 30; Ana María Lorandi, "El Control del Estado en las Fronteras del Imperio. Los Mitimaes y la Alteración de las Estructuras Étnicas Originarias," in *La Arqueología y la Etnohistoria: Un Encuentro Andino*, ed. John R. Topic (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2009): 320; Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 50.

104 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy"; R. Alan Covey, "Intermediate Elites in the Inka Heartland, A.D. 1000–1500," in *Intermediate Elites in Pre-Columbian States and Empires*, ed. Christina M. Elson and R. Alan Covey (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006): 112–35, quoted in Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*: 352. The market versus non-market discussion must be mentioned but cannot be further elaborated here (see in anthropology John V. Murra, *La organización económica del*

Within that context, Terence N. D'Altroy and Timothy K. Earle have suggested that *mobilization* could be a key concept to describe the Inka state, thus contributing to a debate over "redistributive versus mobilization economy."[105] They proposed

> that *mobilization* more accurately describes the system of finance used to obtain goods from both the subsistence producers and the local elites than does the more general term redistribution. [. . .] In most current analyses of the Inka political economy, the costs and economic constraints of such mass mobilization of goods are often overlooked.[106]

The central problem was to control "the economy and hence the dependent population," with one consequence being the importance of storage.[107] While they make no further mention of social dependency, nor do they analyze the term, both authors stress the mobilization of goods – which makes sense within the concept of staple and wealth finance. It is my intention here to connect "mobilization" with dependency and therefore with the institution of *mitimaes* as a form of strong asymmetric dependency, despite the fact that this institution possibly provided privileges. That is, I would like to interpret mobilization *as* dependency[108] (see part seven below) within the concept of the "fragile state," as will be discussed in the following part of this article.

6 The Inka State as a "Fragile State"

From the 2000s, approaches to ancient states have concentrated on more general questions regarding historically and empirically informed state-building processes in global history, with the idea that a number of case studies can provide characteristics for modelling state-building processes in general. As a result, the models of an "early state" or a "fragile state" emerged.[109] Interestingly, in the volume *On the Evolution of Fragility*,[110]

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estado Inca, trans. Daniel R. Wagner [Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1978]; Roswith Hartmann, "Märkte im alten Peru" [Phd diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1968]; in archaeology, Arthur A. Demarest and Geoffrey W. Conrad, eds., *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations*, School of American Research Advanced Seminar [Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press, 1992]; Charles Stanish, *Ancient Andean Political Economy* [Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992]; LeVine, "Introduction"; D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy"; Quave, *Labor and Domestic Economy*; Sillar, "Globalization without Markets?").

105 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy."

106 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 190.

107 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 192.

108 It is important to understand mobilization in distinction to mobility in order to make the connection to dependency clearer. See part seven.

109 Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*; Yoffee, "Introducing the Conference"; Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions."

110 Norman Yoffee, ed., *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms* (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019).

authors writing about regions such as East Africa, Afro-Eurasia, and the Indian Ocean stress the concept of the world-system, but those referring to the Americas do not.[111] As mentioned previously, I refer to the concepts of "fragility" and "vulnerability" because they present an opportunity to reconsider socioeconomic relationships as asymmetric dependencies from a *glocalized* world-systems perspective. These terms will be explicated in following.

Today, it is unanimously recognized that Tawantinsuyu was a state that grew rapidly through conquest[112] and whose dynamics were interrupted by the Spanish conquest. But what is new about the concept of the Inka state as "fragile" is that Tawantinsuyu was a conquest state itself. Little by little, Tawantinsuyu comprised a "wide range of socio-political orders," within which a centralized state was only one actor.[113] Even if its "institutions and high-ranking rulers may have claimed absolute authority [. . .], in large parts of the territory of the Inka empire only outposts of the state existed."[114] Therefore, the Inka state can be imagined as "a vast fractal political landscape" that integrated different polities. While Inka core territories and outposts included dispersed administrative centers, *tambos* (road stations), roads, sanctuaries, agricultural terraces, aqueducts, and canal networks, the extremely diverse social organizations in the Andes were frequently stateless communities based on kin relations.[115] This corresponds to the success of the Inka, which implied basically the structures of kin-based Andean communities, *mincca* and *ayllu*, which enabled the state *mita*.[116]

These different, yet integrated societies[117] with a "conciliar political organization"[118] were connected through the mobilization of people for labor extraction and goods to fulfil obligations of reciprocity between them, with the Inka state as its core.

111 E.g., Patricia A. McAnany, "Fragile Authority in Monumental Time. Political Experimental in the Classic Maya Lowlands," in *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, ed. Norman Yoffee (Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2019): 47–59 on the Classic Maya lowlands; Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions" on Andean states.

112 Pease, *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú*; Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 110.

113 Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 12–13.

114 Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 13.

115 Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 13; on sanctuaries, see Sillar, Dean, and Trujillo, "My State or Yours?".

116 See part 3.

117 A situation which corresponds to the "early state," see Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*.

118 Patricia J. Netherly, "Out of Many, One: The Organization of Rule in the North Coast Polities," in *The Northern Dynasties: Kingship and Statecraft in Chimor*, ed. Michael E. Moseley and Alana Cordy-Collins (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1990): 461–88, quoted in Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 14–16; on the term "middle-level elite," see D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 189.

The "constructive interaction between state and local governance"[119] guaranteed the efficient mobilization of people.[120] In the Inka state, it is the combination of rulers and institutions from the communal or local sphere and the wider Inka state, especially *mitayos* and *mitimaes*, that allows us to analyze these findings from a world-systems perspective. The mobilization and resettlement of thousands of *mitimaes* from multiple local spheres to work on state projects, such as maize cultivation, road building, and craft production, formed the basis of the Inka state's expansion in the fifteenth century.[121]

The "embeddedness" of asymmetric dependencies in Inka society can be understood by applying the "mode of production" approach, as suggested by Darrell La Lone,[122] a proponent of a world-systems perspective for the Inka state. Mode of production refers "to 'the basic logic revealed in the processes of the mobilization of social labor, the production of the material requisites of life, and the reproduction of social institutions which enable material production and accumulation to be accomplished' (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1991, 3)."[123] With this in mind, the "early" and "fragile state" approaches permit a comparative view from a world-systems perspective, which can be complemented by the earlier notion of Tawantinsuyu as a complicated and extended net of relations.[124] "The rise and expansion of Andean states produced a mosaic of core/periphery hierarchical relations."[125] In a "fragile state," i.e., in the context of central (global) and local relationships between the respective (mid-level elite) rulers and their people in production and reproduction, a historically established practice had to be maintained. It was perpetuated by means that can be summarized as symmetric and/or asymmetric reciprocity in sociopolitical and economic relations within communities and between them on different levels where dependencies were realized. Thus, the institution of *mitimaes* served Inka rulers as a mechanism for controlling the population and work in an exchange structure characterized by "asymmetric reciprocity."[126]

119 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 19.

120 Patricia J. Netherly, "Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru" (PhD diss., Cornell University 1977), quoted in D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 15–16.

121 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 18.

122 La Lone, "Andean World-System."

123 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 21.

124 Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 116. A careful conceptual framing that starts from the "mode of production," like that exemplified here, prevents anachronisms, for instance when discussing Inka imperialism. This approach has consequences for the overall interpretation not only of the Inka state and its institutions, but also of global, local, and cross-temporal understandings of the state, dependency versus "freedom," prosperity, poverty, prestige, work, and other concepts (e.g., Di Hu and Kylie E. Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige: Archaeological Realities of Unfree Laborers under Inka Imperialism," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 59, no. 2 [2020]: 1–34).

125 Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions": 18.

126 Stanish, "Nonmarket Imperialism": 200.

This situation makes clear that state violence, respect, or consent,[127] as well as coerced mobilization of population groups, hierarchies, and associated agencies, cannot be understood independently of the relationships and institutions rooted and "embedded" at a community or local level. It was the institution of *mitimaes* that most concertedly undercut the borders of social entities on a community or local level through mobilization of social labor for the Inka state as part of state formation and "explosive expansion."[128] As La Lone states, the "success of the Inka state in mobilizing labor was the most obvious legacy of the empire," as attested by its impressive infrastructure like roads, agriculture terraces, administrative centers, and storage facilities.[129] The close connection between *mitimaes*, mobilization, and dependency was sustained and maintained by Inka infrastructure, especially transport and storage facilities, which will be analyzed in the next section.

7 Emergence of the *Mitimaes* State Institution and Infrastructure for Mobilization as Dependency

As stated above, the institution of *mitimaes*, together with *yanacona* and the *camayoc*, were an integral part of Andean societies. All three categories constituted particular social relationships on the community level and were embedded in both community (local/provincial) and central (global) levels of the Inka state with the aim of mobilizing labor for the state.[130] Despite their deep societal roots, however, the three existed in contrast with the *hatun runa* and the *mitayos*, organized in kin-based household groups and connected to local levels of society. *Mitayos* were obliged to provide *mita* labor service by rotation as mediated by the local rulers, whereas the other social groups on the state level were linked directly to the Inka.[131]

The three male status categories of *mitima*, *yanacona*, and *camayoc*, "not three contrasting categories of men,"[132] could overlap.[133] Men could be everything together, a combination of two or only one category.[134] The labor of women was also appropriated by the Inka state, not in their capacity as heads of households, but as specialists in weaving and brewing *chicha* (maize beer). As *acllacuna* or "chosen women," they

127 See Pease, "La formación del Tawantinsuyu": 111.

128 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23; Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 5, 7–8.

129 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23; see Stanish, "Nonmarket Imperialism": 211. It was also a legacy in the sense that Spanish colonizers adopted this mode of labor mobilization and continued it very successfully.

130 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions"; LeVine, "Introduction": 17.

131 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions."

132 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96.

133 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96; see Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*.

134 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96.

were gathered in special houses, called *aclla huasi*, to perform their labor obligations: "Which status or statuses are mentioned [in written sources, KN], may depend on the context of discourse."[135] Rowe emphasizes that "it is a mistake to see the difference as one of degree of servility. No one was 'free' in the Inka State. No man could choose his place of residence, occupation, or civil status [. . .]."[136] The difference between status categories "was not more or less freedom but more or less access to honor and privilege," the source of which was the Inka government.[137] This view is completely contrary to one that sees dependency as the absence of freedom or distinguishes "free" from "unfree" labor (or "corvée labor" from unfree labor).[138] The obligation to work applied to all who depended on a master, "patriarch," or ruler, whether or not they were in bondage.[139] Accordingly, the status of (strong asymmetric) dependency in Inka society, not its degree, was directly related to the honor and privilege to be transferred by the Inka ruler to his subjects. In fact, this shows that there are no degrees of dependency.[140] As outlined in part five, *mobilization* is proposed as a key concept to understand the economy of the Inka state as mobilization economy.[141] While D'Altroy and Earle stress the mobilization of goods, I will be complementing the concept by mobilizing labor, as the prerequisite for the mobilization of goods, and connecting it with dependency.[142] This labor was performed by people, *mitimaes*, the most mobile group created by the Inka state. The institution of *mitimaes*, which obscures further, overlapping categories, must be regarded as a form of strong asymmetric dependency, despite the possible privileges that the institution entailed.

135 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 96.

136 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

137 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 97.

138 Hu and Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige."

139 Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 12.

140 I owe this reference to the editors of the volume. In contrast, Hu and Quave argue that the "privileges that the Inka supposedly gave the mitmaqkuna (*mitimaes*, KN) andyanakuna (*yanacona*) were a combination of material benefits, such as luxury prestige goods, and social benefits, such as increased freedoms" (Hu and Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige": 2), but without referring to Rowe or considering the concept of "freedom" at all.

141 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy." Bell and Taylor (Martin Bell and John Taylor, "Conclusion: Emerging Research Themes," in *Population Mobility and Indigenous Peoples in Australasia and North America*, ed. John Taylor and Martin Bell [London: Routledge, 2004]: 266, quoted in Miguel Alexiades, ed., *Mobility and Migration in Indigenous Amazonia: Contemporary Ethnoecological Perspectives* [New York: Berghahn Books, 2013]: 4) underlined that mobility, a "means to ends in space," refers to all forms of territorial movement by people. "These movements take place at different spatial and temporal scales and reflect a wide range of underlying factors and motivations" (Alexiades, *Mobility and Migration*: 4). One main distinction is seen between individual mobility and collective movements, including permanent movements or migration (Alexiades, *Mobility and Migration*: 4). Mobilization, on the other hand, is seen here as an intended and directed movement of population groups and goods in the context of power relations. In this power relationship, these population groups are in a dependent position on the state.

142 I do not follow the characterization of the economy of the Inka state as a mobilization economy.

As this relationship – mobilization/dependency and honor/privilege – became a new structural element that developed within the context of Inka state formation and expansion through conquest, we must examine how it became entangled with the social, economic, and political structures of the evolving state. In particular, the development of these structures was intended to strengthen the state's productive, social, and political basis. Therefore, the state had to distribute its administrators and rulers on different levels, as we have seen in the model of the "early" and "fragile state." Inka armies on long-term campaigns, which reached across the region and as far north as present-day Ecuador,[143] had to be provided with staple goods.

As the need for an even greater agricultural surplus exceeded the limits of community and local structures, the only possible way of meeting it was to appropriate labor and to intensify agricultural production through new forms of landownership. Whereas previous surplus production had been based on skimming off surplus product from households and communities through *mita* labor services based on reciprocity and redistribution,[144] new, intensive forms of agriculture had to take place outside household and other community structures. One result was the creation of state farms,[145] as noted in part two. The farms had to be cultivated by laborers who, in turn, had to be taken from their kin-groups and other local social organizations, but were nevertheless loyal to the Inka: their work thus consolidated new conquests through agriculture. One of the new categories of laborers ("new" at least at the state level) were the *mitimaes*.

But before this process could be realized, cultivable land, which in newly conquered territories was designated to become state and Inka rulers' land,[146] had to be appropriated from the communities. In anticipation of the intensive production of staple goods, land appropriation was accompanied by the construction of new storage systems, which were integrated in turn into a larger infrastructure network (roads, road stations, warehouses, administrative centers). The easiest way to facilitate these changes under the umbrella of the community-rooted *mitimaes* institution, especially in the most fertile areas, was to expel the whole local population and resettle the region with *mitimaes* from very different parts of the Inka sphere of influence.[147] A key factor was that *mitimaes* were "a new retainer class with no ethnic affiliation[148] and [. . .]

143 See La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

144 D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 190. On the long-standing discussion of land ownership in the pre-Hispanic Andes, see Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas*: 26. The scenario presented here still constitutes the most plausible interpretation. "Human energy" (or labor force in certain relations of dependence) determined the quality of land ownership.

145 Murra, *Inka State*; D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy": 188; D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy": 191.

146 D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy": 189.

147 See La Lone, "Andean World-System": 30.

148 The Inka combined resettlement politics with a specific "ethnic policy," which also can be denominated a "system of difference" that was part of creating a "imperial culture" and can be related

direct obligation to the Inka elite [which] was an important means by which the empire began to undermine traditional equations of kin-based reciprocity."[149] "Retainer" (*Bediensteter*, *Gefolgsmann*) is a very problematic term in this context, because it is much too general on a descriptive level and does not characterize the status of dependency in detail. Nevertheless, it has been in use since early research in ethnohistory,[150] demonstrating another deficit in prior analysis of strong asymmetric dependency.

Based on the case of Cochabamba, it is possible to describe the strongest form of dependency by mobilization ("making strangers") as *mobilization as dependency*, a process which decisively severed local and regional affiliations. Therefore, *mitimaes* can be considered a category of strong asymmetrical dependency in the context of state strategies to establish two new forms of land ownership: farms belonging to the state or to rulers as to any other individuals. This enabled the construction of novel storage facilities. In conquered territories, *mitimaes* "were assigned lands to provision themselves in the regions to which they were assigned."[151] The place where this approach was implemented most radically was Cochabamba,[152] where it was accompanied by the construction of around 4,000 *qollqas* for storing agricultural products, mainly maize. In applying a world-systems perspective to Cochabamba, La Lone underlines that in "this very large and fertile valley we find another world-upheaval."[153] An indispensable part of this radical transformation were *mitimaes*, which became the most dependent group in the context of state construction.

to "unfree labor" (Hu and Quave, "Prosperity and Prestige": 4). In their interpretation, Hu and Quave are drawing on intersectional Black feminist and Marxist thought ("Prosperity and Prestige": 4). On the discussion of "ethnic" affiliation, see Karoline Noack, "Die Einheimischen, die Fremden und die Furcht: Umsiedlungspolitik im Inka-Staat," in *Erzwungene Exile: Umsiedlung und Vertreibung in der Vormoderne (500 bis 1850)*, ed. Thomas Ertl (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2017): 107–12; and Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales.'"

149 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 196.

150 I.e., Murra, *Inka State*; Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions"; Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*. The term recalls the Spanish term *criado perpetuo* used by the chronicler Cieza de León in reference to *yana* and *mitimaes*. *Criado* (retainer) has many and different layers of significance in various socio-economic contexts.

151 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 196. "Although later students may occasionally confuse the similar sounding mit'a with mitmaq [*mitimaes*, KN], the distinction seems quite clear in the lawsuits [of the sixteenth century, KN]: those on mit'a service were not granted lands, while mitmaq were allocated land" (La Lone, "Andean World-System": 30).

152 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 196, 206, 213; D'Altroy, "Public and Private Economy": 191; La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

153 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

8 Outline of the Case Study: Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia

Cochabamba[154] represents the most remarkable and explicit case that bundles all the elements of the process of consolidating and expanding a "fragile state": creation of an extended economic base in the form of state farms for intensified agriculture across a huge, depopulated, newly appropriated territory. The work was performed by uprooted, mobilized social labor, by "strangers" no longer bound by kinship or locality; in addition, it was facilitated by the implementation and maintenance of a new state infrastructure, with around 4,000 *qollqas* in an area of more than 200 hectares.[155] This is the highest number of deposits among the known storage centers in the territories of the former Inka state. They formed part of a network of agriculture terraces, roads, way stations (*tambos*), and administrative centers that enabled mobilization not only of people, but also of goods.

This archaeological-ethnohistorical project on the mobilization and production strategies of the Inka directed towards the Cochabamba Valley aims to understand the entangled mobilization/dependency of social groups of people, described in different labor categories, and the centralized maize production for the "fragile" Inka state in a particular moment of state consolidation and expansion shortly before the Spanish conquest. The project intends to provide the necessary link between political economy, paying attention to social groups in asymmetric dependencies, and cultural processes in the Cochabamba Valley both at the center and at the local level, i.e., in a *glocal* context.[156]

During the reign of the last Inka ruler before the Spanish conquest, Huayna Capac (ca. 1491–1527), the central valley of Cochabamba experienced massive population replacements through the mobilization and settlement of 14,000 *mitimaes* and their families from all over the Inka territories, both from the surrounding highland provinces, but also from as far away as from Cusco, the Peruvian north and south coast, and Chile, to work on the newly created Inka state farms. The *mitimaes* were allocated land for subsistence production, while the original population groups, the Cota and the Chuy, were sent to the eastern peripheries of the Inka sphere on the east Andean slopes of the rainforest. The state was principally interested in the fertile valley bottom for the production of surplus staple foodstuffs for further conquests, including more than

154 The following paragraph is based on Olga Gabelmann and Karoline Noack, "The Archaeological Complex of the Inca Qollqas of Quillacollo and Colcapirhua in View of a Late Horizon Panorama of the Valleys of Cochabamba, Bolivia" (unpublished manuscript, 2020).

155 David Pereira Herrera, "Kharalaus Pampa: Tambo Incaico en Quillacollo," *Cuadernos de Investigación. INIAM. Serie Arqueología* 1 (1982): 99–104.

156 Archaeologist Olga Gabelmann and anthropologist Karoline Noack. The project, entitled "Balancing the center and the local: mobilization and production strategies of the Inka and early colonial state in Cochabamba, Bolivia," has been launched in 2022.

2,000 km away in present-day Ecuador. In no other area of the vast Inka Empire did such gigantic capacity exist for maize storage as in Cochabamba. The western part of the central valley of Cochabamba in particular played an important role in the economic, political, and social organization of the empire. Maize was cultivated nearby in an area that Spanish documents from the sixteenth century record as having included more than 20 large fields with irrigation canals a short distance from the *qollqa* sites, allocated to the Inka himself, his captains, and other rulers and officeholders. The new and intense cultivation of maize in Cochabamba under Inka rule is also to be seen in a glocal context. This raises the question of maize's social role at the time, because the foodstuff seems to have been used in the region in rather limited ways until the Middle Horizon.

Although Inka storage centers are also known from other parts of the Andes along the *qhapaq ñan* ("imperial road") in present-day Peru,[157] there are decisive differences here. These centers are much smaller, so they apparently housed supplies for the local population rather than for the state itself. Most notably, the original populations in places like Huánuco Pampa and Hatun Xauxa (Chupaychu, Wamali, and Wanka) in the north central and central Andes were politically integrated into the Inka state system,[158] in contrast to the situation in Cochabamba, far to the southeast of the Inka heartland. This demonstrates the economic and political potential of the Cochabamba Valley for the Inka state and reveals that it was "another world-upheaval,"[159] i.e., a scene of highly diverse social and cultural, central and local dynamics, specifically with respect to the institution of *mitimaes*.[160] This scenario aligns with the hypothesis of this paper that the

157 LeVine, "Introduction." Other examples are the Vilcanota Valley (James Snead, "Imperial Infrastructure and the Inka State Storage System," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992]: 62–106), Hatun Xauxa in the Upper Mantaro Valley (D'Altroy and Earle, "Inka Political Economy"), Huánuco Pampa (Craig Morris, "Huánuco Pampa: Nuevas evidencias sobre el urbanismo inca," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 44 [1978]: 139–52; Craig Morris and Donald E. Thompson, *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland* [London: Thames and Hudson, 1985]; Monica Barnes, "Almacenaje en Huánuco Pampa: Una Reevaluación," in *Memoria XVII Congreso Peruano del Hombre y la Cultura Andina y Amazonica Alfredo Torrero Fernandez de Cordoba, 22–27 de agosto de 2011*, ed. Filomeno Zubieta Núñez [Huacho: Universidad Nacional José Faustino Sánchez Carrión, 2012]: 100–120), and Huamachuco (John R. Topic and Coreen E. Chiswell, "Inka Storage in Huamachuco," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992]: 206–33).

158 Terence N. D'Altroy and Christine A. Hastorf, "The Distribution and Contents of Inca State Storehouses in the Xauxa Region of Peru," *American Antiquity* 49, no. 2 (1984): 334–49.

159 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

160 A similar example in the Abancay estate (Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, "Colonias de mitmas múltiples en Abancay, siglos XV y XVI. Una información inédita de 1575 para la etnohistoria andina," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 39 [1973]: 225–99) seems to confirm that installation of "multi-ethnic" state estates was an instrument to combat internal uprisings and border conflicts during the decline of the Inka state (János Gyarmati and András Varga, *The Chacaras of War: An Inka State Estate in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia* [Budapest: Museum of Ethnography, 1999]: 97).

institution of *mitimaes* guaranteed the fragile balance between central state actors and local rulers: it debilitated local groups by penetrating them and enhancing the central state at the same time.

The analysis of the changing patterns of land ownership and use in the Cochabamba Valley to be carried out by the project, linked to the specific organization of settlements and higher-level units, forms of labor, and the transport of goods by the *mitimaes*, will allow us to understand the consolidation and expansion of the Inka state, caused by its global dynamics and strategies by integrating "disparate people brought together through the long-distance flow of goods, ideas, and individuals"[161] in the valley. The valley was the space where these global flows of goods, ideas, and people and the local responses met. Here, central actors and local practices, imaginations, structures and institutions (social groups, rulers and officials on different levels, institutionalized and subsistence land, settlement patterns and communities) interacted, leading to the creation of new entities, i.e., new centers (like the Cochabamba Valley), defined by multi-layered interdependence, within the "fragile" state. Attention will be drawn to settlement and land-use changes in the valley and to archaeological evidence regarding different functions of the settlements under investigation. We do not yet know how the new settlements were organized in spatial, political, cultural, or social terms and how were they related to labor categories. Settlement patterns can provide hints regarding social labor categories: there are only few settlements known to have been the home of *mitimaes*. *Mitimaes* worked close to the *qollqas*, according to indications from colonial documents.[162] One possible settlement near Inka state fields is the contemporary village of Sipe Sipe,[163] as are the sites of Sorata and Payacollo.[164] Nevertheless, these sites would not have been big enough to host 14,000 *mitimaes* and their families. Thus, it is unclear whether these *mitimaes* were all permanent settlers or temporary workers (*mitayos*), who were not allocated cultivable land,[165] or even a combination of both. How were working groups organized during an agricultural year for transporting products to the *qollqas* and its final destinations? How did the Inka organize control? The questions raised here will be answered by archival and archaeological research. Archaeological evidence should still be present in the Cochabamba Valley. On this basis, a picture of the Inka state at the time of its strongest consolidation will be drawn.

161 Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 13; see above.

162 See Nathan Wachtel, "The 'Mitimas' of the Cochabamba Valley: The Colonization Policy of Huayna Capac," in *The Inca and Aztec States, 1400–1800: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982): 199–235.

163 Gyarmati and Varga, *The Chacaras of War*.

164 Pereira Herrera, "Payacollo. Chacras Asignadas por el Tawantinsuyu a Plateros Icallungas en el Valle de Cochabamba. Los Tiempos, Cochabamba" (unpublished manuscript, 1987).

165 Gyarmati and Varga, *The Chacaras of War*: 33–35.

The Spanish conquest produced new waves of mobilization, resettlement, and, of course, new asymmetric dependencies. During the sixteenth century, the central valley of Cochabamba was populated by a mixture of peoples who had settled there prior to Inka occupation and then returned after Spanish conquest, plus groups of *mitimaes* who had remained. Other groups who denominated themselves *mitimaes* (in contrast to *mitayos*) returned home, while still others struggled to stay where they had been resettled by the Inka.[166] The overlapping and changing significance of labor categories complicates the picture. This situation triggered a series of lawsuits over land between the rulers of different indigenous groups and the Spaniards, as well as between local rulers or among the Spaniards themselves. But it is these lawsuits, together with archaeological research, that can also shed light on the distribution of different populations, settlement structures, and patterns of landownership in pre-Hispanic times.

9 Conclusion

The phrase "fragility of stones," which La Lone[167] coined to refer to the fact that a number of weaknesses are apparent behind the monumental façade of Inka architecture, can be seen as a metaphor for the concept of the "fragile state."[168] However, the "fragile state" is not only associated with weakness; rather, its "fragile" traits also explain its strength. Through expansionary "bursts of interaction" in the context of globalization processes,[169] the "fragile state" reorganized social geography.[170] What makes Cochabamba such a real and glocal "world upheaval"[171] within the "fragile" Inka state?

It has become clear that the strategies of the "fragile" Inka state, as a conquering and increasingly established polity, were most radically implemented in Cochabamba. In Cochabamba, *mitimaes* turned out to be *the* institution for mobilizing uprooted social labor,[172] "perhaps the most dramatic achievement of the Inka state"[173] and one

166 María de las Mercedes del Río, *Etnicidad, territorialidad y colonialismo en los Andes: Tradición y cambio entre los Soras de los siglos XVI y XVII (Bolivia)* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos, 2005); Jeremy Ravi Mumford, "Litigation as Ethnography in Sixteenth-Century Peru: Polo de Ondegardo and the Mitimaes," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 5–40; Mumford, *Vertical Empire*; Jeremy Ravi Mumford, "Las llamas de Tapacarí: un documento judicial de un alcalde de indios en la Audiencia de Charcas, 1580," *Histórica* 40, no. 2 (2016): 171–85.

167 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 34.

168 Yoffee, "Introducing the Conference"; Dillehay and Wernke, "Vulnerable Social Institutions."

169 Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations": 12.

170 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 34.

171 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 31.

172 La Lone's term "mobilization of social labor" must be complemented by the "uprooted" quality of the laborers, as I propose here.

173 La Lone, "Andean World-System": 23.

that changed local and provincial modes of production and reproduction. It is already apparent that the *mitimaes* of Cochabamba represent a completely different iteration of that category. The institution changed but the designation remained the same. This was part of the strategy of domination of the Inka and later the Spanish, but also part of the problem. Of course, it was not the institution of *mitimaes* alone that effectively changed the Andean world; instead, it was the combination of new, uprooted, mobilized social labor and newly conquered, expropriated territories that allowed a stockpiling of surplus staple goods to supply the military and – although it may seem contradictory – to strengthen the "fragile" Inka state more generally.

For this reason, I consider the *mobilization* of social labor – the creation of new social and political entities by uprooting populations and resettling them on expropriated land designated for intensified agriculture – as an asymmetric form of dependency.[174] Therefore, in this context, dependency refers to the relation between uprooted, "foreign" social labor and state agents constituting the conciliar political elite embedded in the "mode of production" as understood by La Lone.[175] Labor extorted from state's or ruler's field, spurred by an increasing demand for workers who were no longer ethnically, socially, culturally, or politically integrated above the level of small household groups, was to be employed in spaces that were also no longer ethnically, socially, culturally, or politically homogeneous. The limits of dependency were forms of reproduction, which in the case of *mitimaes* were secured through allocation of communities' expropriated land for their and subsequent generations' subsistence – land which they alone held.

The central valley of Cochabamba, with its state and ruler-owned farms, was the hotspot of "an ongoing division of labour"[176] in the Inka state, which aggravated dependencies of the mobilized population groups but did not reinforce the political and cultural unity of the Inka state in Cochabamba. Rather, a world-systems perspective allows us to perceive the overlapping processes in the central valley of Cochabamba, as well as within the "different yet integrated" Inka state as a whole,[177] of competition between populations of different geographic origin in unequal power relations on state farms, in storage, and in administrative and cult centers on the one hand; and of differentiation, labor division, and interdependence among the same units on the other. It involved continuous processes of labor division and specialization, especially in new production enclaves like Cochabamba that were under the rule of a political elite as fragile as it was complex.

174 Of course, these included other phenomena besides the *mitimaes*, although they are the most prominent. For further discussion, see Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland*: 215.

175 La Lone, "Andean World-System."

176 Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*: 345.

177 Schneider, "Was There a Precapitalist World-System," quoted in Peregrine, "Introduction": 2; see Yoffee, *Myths of the Archaic State*.

Mobilization/dependency – as two sides of the same coin – became the core and motor of Inka state formation and expansion at the same time, such that "the huge volume of provincial storage complexes bears witness to the integration of local staple production [rather than of the people themselves, KN] to sustain the empire."[178] Mobilization/dependency in the dynamic, interconnected production and distribution of goods became the crucial, entangled feature that shaped socioeconomic relationships in the Inka state as strong asymmetric dependencies. For this reason, the Inka state can be understood as a "mobilizing state."

Factors defining the position of the slave present the socio-institutional framework as changing "modes of production," a world-system of global conquest, subjugation, and exploitation that follows the logic of a capitalist economy. This kind of dependency works as long as dependent peoples fulfill productive or functional tasks in the society to which they belong. According to Meillassoux, alienation does not represent the slave's transcendental state; it only comes into play when, for whatever reason, he or she can no longer perform those productive tasks in the society in which he or she finds him/herself. Then, institutions such as raiding for captives or slave markets begin evolving, facilitating the "depersonalizing operations" to which slaves were subjected.[179] This situation did not exist in the Inka state, however; one may well ask whether, had the Inka state not been conquered, the institution of *mitimaes* or "strangers/foreigners,"[180] which "exclusively undercut provincial loyalties,"[181] could have been considered a first step toward those "depersonalizing operations" for which foreignness was a prerequisite.[182] During the first half-century after 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.

The *glocalization* perspective, an integral part of globalizing processes[183] in the "fragile state," allows us to connect modern world-systems to pre-Hispanic ones. Through multilayered interactions between the local and the global, multiple centers and changing peripheries became culturally and economically integrated and fragmentated simultaneously. As mobilization/dependency co-created the integrated-

178 Covey, *Incas Built Their Heartland:* 213; see LeVine, "Introduction": 3–4, 16.

179 Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 13.

180 See Noack, "'. . . los mitimaes temían a los naturales.'"

181 Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions": 93.

182 Meillassoux, *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*: 13, 89.

183 Hodos, "Globalization": 7.

fragmented "spaces of long-distance flows,"[184] cultural landscapes linked people, objects, ideas, and institutions and restricted them at the same time, forcing them into new spaces of power – that is, into new "centers," of which one was the valley of Cochabamba.

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184 Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Jennings, "Distinguishing Past Globalizations".

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Daniel Hershenzon

Slavery and Religious Violence in the Early Modern Mediterranean: A Regional Perspective

1 Introduction

On an unknown date in the late eighteenth century, probably in 1785 (the year of the Spanish-Algerian peace agreement) or in 1791 (the ratification of the agreement), three Algerian slaves, the leaders of the community of the Muslim arsenal slaves of Cartagena (Murcia), Spain, and Alfonso de Albuquerque, the marine general commander, walked together to the neighborhood of Santa Lucia to the slaves' "mosque."[1] There, they officially relinquished their rights to the structure. They continued walking together to the slaves' cemetery, again relinquishing the slaves' right over it, this time on condition that local freed Muslims living in the city (excluding converts to Christianity) could continue using the cemetery. This property transfer raises a number of questions, which our source, authored in 1955 by Eduardo Cañabate Navarro, the official chronicler of the city of Cartagena, does not answer.

Archival documents shed light on the earlier history of this "mosque," which begins on December 6, 1733, when Faxia (also spelled Jaxia and Xaxia), a free Muslim and resident of Cartagena, bought a house in the city from Doña Juana de Navarrete, an unmarried resident of Murcia. The house was located in the city center on Los Cuatro Santos Street, close to the parochial church. A few months later, in front of another notary in Cartagena, Faxia obtained a copy of her bill of sale. She also announced that she had purchased the house – to which everybody soon referred as a "hospital-mosque" – on behalf of the Muslim arsenal slaves with money from their collective saving fund so that it would serve them as a shelter and a charity hospital for the poor.[2]

1 Unfortunately, our source does not provide us with a precise date, see: Eduardo Cañabate Navarro, "El castillo de los moros y sus antecedentes históricos," Archivo Municipal de Cartagena 6 (1955): no. 7256.

2 "Caudal que de común tienen los dichos moros esclavos," AGS, SMA, Leg. 709, copy of a notarial record from 4.5.1734.

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During the eighteenth century, Cartagena's population boomed and with it the number of slaves and freed slaves, the large majority of whom were from the Maghrib. This demographic trend was tightly linked to the establishment of the arsenal between 1732 and 1782. Indeed, the life span of the hospital-mosque overlaps with the period during which the arsenal was built. Between 1750 and 1770, there were always around 1,000 Muslim slaves in the arsenal, but in the following decades the number dropped to no more than two to three hundred.[3] To put this figure in context, in 1756, the city's general population was 28,467 and it kept growing, hitting 50,000 in 1799.[4] Muslim slaves formed a significant portion of the population.

The rising numbers of slaves and the establishment of the hospital-mosque must have heightened the residents' anxieties. At some point in the second half of the 1730s, residents and magistrates broke in, smashing the mosque lamp and burning the prayer mats.[5] They sought to shut the mosque down, but to no avail. Over time they grudgingly came to accept it. In fact, for a good forty years the episcopal and municipal authorities defended the hospital-mosque. In 1755, the municipality negotiated with the slaves the swap of the house Faxia had bought for a newly erected building in the city's outskirts. Fifteen years later, in the fall of 1770, under inquisitorial and then royal pressure, the hospital-mosque was demolished. However, in response to an Algerian threat to retaliate against Christians held captive in Algiers, the arsenal officers recommended to the king that the structure be rebuilt. The king accepted the recommendation and on July 9, 1774, the slaves received their new funeral house.

The story of the hospital-mosque includes all the elements this article explores – slaves claiming religious privilege they deemed theirs, local authorities violating the slaves' expectations, word about the event traveling across the sea, and the dey of Algiers issuing a threat that resulted in the Spanish concession of the contested privilege to the slaves. By exploring this and other seventeenth-century cases centered on Islamic cemeteries and the burial of Muslim slaves in Spain, this article advances two arguments. The first concerns religious violence exerted upon slaves – more specifically, forced baptisms or the desecration of slaves' bodies – and its regional effects. I

3 Maximiliano Barrio Gozalo, "La mano de obra esclava en el arsenal de Cartagena a mediados del setecientos," *Investigaciones históricas. Época moderna y contemporánea* 17 (1997): 79–100.

4 Rafael Torres Sánchez, "La esclavitud en Cartagena en los siglos XVII y XVIII," *Contrastes: Revista de historia moderna* 2 (1986): 81–101.

5 The attack is mentioned in a document summarizing the grievance of the Algerian dey on the matter, see: Archivo Histórico Nacional (hereafter AHN), Inquisition, Leg. 3733, fol. 301, undated. The document only indicates that Alonso de Zorilla, the administrator of the Trinitarian hospital in Algiers, sent his account, which details the dey's grievance, on September 8, without providing the year. However, given that de Zorilla served as the hospital administrator from December 1734 until his death on July 5, 1740, the Inquisition must have received this account at some point between September 1735 and September 1739. See Alonso Porres, "Los hospitales trinitarios de Argel y Túnez," *Hispania Sacra* 48 (1996): 639–717, here 688–89.

argue that these eruptions of violence, which seem to mark and reinforce the religious Christian-Muslim divide, were in fact indicative of assumptions regarding slaves' rights shared by both Christian and Muslim slaves and rulers. The second argument regards the long terms effects of such dynamics. I argue that in the long run, violations of these privileges led to their codification. In other words, negative reciprocity – namely, a dynamic of violent challenge and riposte on a Mediterranean scale – was transformed over time into positive reciprocity in the form of regulation of slaves' religious privilege geared to prevent violence.[6]

The implications of these arguments go beyond the specificity of this aspect of slavery in the western Mediterranean. The case of violence against slaves suggests that in order to understand the broader history of slavery of Maghribis in Iberia and Iberians in the Maghrib, we need to study them as part of the same connected history and approach them from a regional perspective.[7] In recent years, scholars have turned to study processes and connections across political borders conditioned and shaped by dynamics that derive from tensions between the local and the global. Scholars of slavery have contributed much to this growing body of scholarship, and the stimulating conference organized by the editors of this volume offers a superb example of this corpus. While this perspective has been extremely productive, its stress on the local and the global excludes the possibility that connected political constellations could be shaped by a third intermediate scale, that of the region.[8] This is the case of the Mediterranean, in which ever-changing empires, city-states, and other political formations have been entangled over the *longue durée*. Studying slavery in the western Mediterranean from a regional perspective means taking into account one of the scales with which slaves and slave owners framed their own lives, and implies exploring the ways in which the traffic of humans was shaped by the region, and in turn reshaped it. More specifically, this perspective entails examining how slavery densified, or to the contrary disintegrated, practices, movement, and relations in the Mediterranean, thus reconstructing how the region gained or lost its palpability for slaves and enslavers living around its shores.

The presence of state-authorized Islamic burial plots and an Islamic hospital-mosque in Spain goes against two Spanish historiographical truisms. According to the first, Islam vanished in Spain after the expulsion of the Moriscos (Spain's forcefully

6 On the logic of challenge and riposte, see Pierre Bourdieu, "The Sentiment of Honor in Kabyle Society," in *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, ed. John G. Peristiany (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966): 191–241. On negative reciprocity: Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1972).

7 Sanjay Subramanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia," in *Beyond Binary Histories, Re-Imagining Euroasia to c. 1830*, ed. Victor Lieberman (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999): 289–316.

8 For an illuminating analysis of such a process in the twentieth-century central Mediterranean and its theorization, see Naor Ben-Yehoyada, *The Mediterranean Incarnate: Region Formation Between Sicily and Tunisia Since World War II* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017): 20–21.

converted Muslims and their descendants) between 1609 and 1614.[9] According to the second, by the eighteenth century slavery became a colonial problem rather than a peninsular one.[10] These Islamic institutions prove how problematic these narratives are. The debates over their existence thus raise a number of questions. The first regards their nature and existence – was there an Islamic hospital-mosque in eighteenth-century Cartagena? Did Muslim slaves have their own cemeteries in a number of Spanish Mediterranean port cities? Secondly, and importantly, what were the conditions that enabled the establishment and existence of such institutions and how exceptional were they? To explore these questions, this article begins by looking at how a host of actors viewed the hospital-mosque of the arsenal slaves in Cartagena and how they sought to mobilize it for contrasting ends. I then proceed to discuss the conditions that enabled the hospital-mosque – the presence of communities of Maghribi slaves in Iberia and the presence of similar Christian communities in the Maghrib. The discussion highlights how slave communities in the Maghrib were influenced by events happening to slaves in bonded communities in Iberia and vice versa.

One caveat is that I will be employing the terms "captive" and "slave" interchangeably. I do so for two reasons. First, the sources often employ these terms interchangeably. Second, in the early modern western Mediterranean many captives labored as slaves while waiting for the ransom to arrive. On the other hand, a number of slaves, who after years in slavery gave up on the prospects of their being ransomed, suddenly succeeded in arranging their ransom. In the western half of the Middle Sea, "captivity" and "slavery" were dimensions in the life of bonded individuals rather than exclusive conditions.[11]

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9 For recent notable exceptions, see Trevor Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los ojos (siglos XV-XVIII): Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada* (Madrid: Iberoamericana-Vervuert, 2015); Enrique Soria Mesa, "Los moriscos que se quedaron. La permanencia de la población de origen islámico en la España moderna (Reino de Granada, siglos XVII-XVIII)," *Vínculos de historia* 1 (2012): 205–30; and Bernard Vincent, "Musulmanes y conversión en España en el siglo XVII," in *El rio morisco*, ed. Bernard Vincent (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2006): 75–88.

10 Tamar Herzog, "How Did Early-Modern Slaves in Spain Disappear? The Antecedents," *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 3 (2012): 1–7. The claim that slavery disappeared is heard not only in the Spanish case, but also more broadly in the European one. Thus, the *Cambridge World History of Slavery* moves from slavery in medieval Europe to slavery in Europe's colonies, skipping early modern Europe. See David Eltis and Stanely L. Engerman, *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011) and David Eltis et al, *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 4, *AD 1804–AD 2016* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). Similarly, an excellent recent collection of articles on slavery in Spain and Latin America betrays the same perspective. The chapters in the section on eighteenth-century slavery focus exclusively on Spain's colonies. See Aurelia Martín Casares, ed., *Esclavitudes Hispánicas (Siglos XV al XXI): Horizontes socio-culturales* (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2014).

11 Cf. Michel Fontenay, "Esclaves et/ou captifs: Préciser les concepts," in *Le commerce des captifs: Les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en Méditerranée, XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Wolfgang Kaiser (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008): 15–24. On the distinction in Roman, Christian, and

2 What We Talk About When We Talk About a Hospital-Mosque

Did a slave mosque really operate for decades out in the open in eighteenth-century Cartagena? Answering the question is difficult for at least two reasons. The first lies in our expectations for an answer in neat, exclusive terms – "yes" or "no." However, for Muslims, any space can serve for ritual prayer, "hence the saying of the prophet that he had been given the whole world as a *masdjid*" (mosque).[12] Indeed, even a cemetery, like the one the Muslim arsenal slaves of Cartagena had, could serve as a place for prayer, and thus be thought of as a mosque, too.[13] More specifically, hospitals in the Ottoman world often served multiple functions beyond the admission and care of medical patients. Many of these institutions had a space preserved for a mosque, and their staff included muezzins and imams in addition to launderers.[14] The floor plan of the third and last incarnation of the mosque designed in 1774 by the arsenal military engineer hints at these functions. The engineer designated functions to each of the rooms and spaces in his plan – an entry hall, kitchen, patio with a well and drain, two storage rooms for wood and working tools, and an ablution room ("lavatorio"). Only one room was described as "for whatever end." The latter, the largest together with the ablution room, must have been planned to and served for prayer. This clearly was not a congregational mosque, the main mosque of an Islamic neighborhood or city, which hosted the special Friday noon prayers. However, the slaves performed there acts of worship, which from their perspective meant the place was in effect a mosque, too.

The second difficulty in answering the question stems from the fact that the individuals, groups, and institutions that generated our data either tried to shut the hospital-mosque down or protect its existence grudgingly or wholeheartedly. In fact, the house was articulated differently according to the institutional domains in which it

Jewish traditions, see Andrés Díaz Borrás, *El miedo al Mediterráneo: La caridad popular valenciana y la redención de cautivos bajo poder musulmán 1323–1539* (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, InstitucioÓn MilaÓ y Fontanals, Departamento de Estudios Medievales, 2001): 5–18. Algerian sources use the word "slave" (*'abd*) exclusively to refer to blacks. Enslaved European captives were referred to as "captive" (*asîr*), "Christian" (*naçrâni*), or "European" (*'llj*); see Lemounar Merouche, *Recherches sur l'Algérie à l'époque ottoman*, vol. 1, *Monnaies, prix et revenus, 1520–1830* (Paris: Bouchene, 2002): 211; Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589–1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005): 114–15; Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor, eds., *Ransom Slavery Along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007): xiv.

12 Joshua Pedersen, R.A. Kern and Ernst Diez, "Mosque," in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of Islam*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2214-871X_ei1_COM_0155.

13 Pedersen, Kern and Diez, "Mosque."

14 Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, "Charity and Hospitality: Hospitals in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *Poverty and Charity in Middle Eastern Contexts*, ed. Michael Bonner, Mine Ener and Amy Singer (New York: State University of New York Press, 2003): 121–44, here 131.

was debated – the municipal council, local notaries' desk, marine, inquisitorial, and royal administration, or the Algerian Beylick government. The first extant mention of the institution was devoid of ambiguity. In 1734, a few months after Faxia purchased the house, she met a notary in Cartagena and declared that it would serve as a shelter and a charity hospital for the poor. If she assumed or knew it would later serve the inmates for prayer too, she did not share this information with either the seller or notary.

The idea of a mosque was first introduced at some point in the second half of the 1730s when Algerian Dey Ibrahim ben Ramdan referred to it as a "mosque" in a grievance against the Cartagenero residents who attacked the building.[15] The dey described a set of objects and activities without clearly articulating the relations among them: "The mosque which the Moors have bought at their expense and which was granted them by the bishop (*diocesano*) for the burial of [their dead] was confiscated, its lamp was broken, its prayer mats were burnt, and the [slaves] were from celebrating their rites and from burying their dead."[16] The indistinctive listing of "mosque," "lamp and prayer mats," "burial space," and "rites" betrays the dey's understanding of the overlap between prayer and burial, and thus his lack of a sense of urgency to articulate the nature of the house in exclusive terms. Similarly, in their negotiations in 1754–1755 over the swap of the first house, residents, slaves, notaries, and municipal authorities comfortably referred to the establishment as either "a little hospital" (*hospitalito*) or "a hospital house or a mosque" (*Casa Hospital o Mesquita*). To the degree that these documents reflect the power dynamic between the slaves and the city's leading elite, the barter was consensual and satisfied the slaves' needs. In this sense, the use of the word "mosque" at this stage was not meant to mobilize opposition against the establishment. The slaves did not deny that the place served for prayer, and the double nature of the house was a fact accepted by all.

From the perspective of the court in Madrid, the conjunction of the signifiers "mosque" and "hospital" made no sense, creating an unbearable ambiguity. We see this when we look at the attempts of the marine state secretary to figure out what was happening in Cartagena and his irritation with what he perceived as ambiguity. In his response to the query of the marine state secretary in 1757, the marine general intendant of Cartagena described the mosque-hospital as a shelter, a charity hospital for poor Muslims, and a space for ablution. When the structure hosted no-one and there were no cadavers to purify and bury, the place was closed. Unsatisfied by the information the general intendant provided, the state secretary wrote: "a house

15 AHA, Inquisición, Leg. 3733, Fol. 301.

16 "Se había quitado a los Moros la Mezquita que tenían comprada a su costa y se les había concedido por aquel diocesano para sus entierros quebrándole la lámpara, quemándoles las estenas, y privandoles de hacer sus ceremonias y entierros de sus difuntos," AHA, Inquisición, Leg. 3733, Fol. 301.

which your honor calls once a mosque, and other times a hospital [. . .] well, what the noun 'hospital' designates is very different from a 'mosque'."[17]

This instance seems to have been the last time when the terms "hospital" and "mosque" served descriptively. From this point on, their use or avoidance was evocative and meant to generate or prevent action. This becomes clear when we read the inquisitorial account on the hospital-mosque composed in 1769. According to the inquisitorial author, the "mosque" had a live-in muezzin reciting the *adhan*, the call for worship, from a room on the second floor: believers convened twice a day, left their shoes downstairs, walked up the entrance steps barefoot, kissed the steps, and prayed loudly in a large hall adorned with a lamp with three wicks and floors covered by prayer reed mats.[18] This account stressed the public nature of the mosque, framed as offensive in order to move the king to shut it down.

In contrast to the inquisitorial perspective, the Cartagena marine administrators, who sought to maintain the relations as peaceful as possible with Algiers, tended to undermine the mosque-like aspect of the slaves' house. To appease Algiers after the demolition of the second incarnation of the hospital-mosque in 1770, these administrators advocated for the rebuilding of a funeral house for the slaves. In their correspondence with Madrid and the Inquisition on the matter, they described the contentious institution as "the little hospital of the Moors commonly called mosque" or the house "the common people call mosque."[19] In other words, they suggested that while the place might have been called a mosque, it was not necessarily one. The king's permission to rebuild a funerary facility for the slaves, backed up by the Inquisition, echoes this position. The king conditioned his consent to rebuild a funeral house on never using the word "mosque" to describe it: "And so that the name mosque will not prevail – a name which the Moors unavoidably might use among themselves to refer to the house – special care should be taken not to give [the house] that designation in any oral or written order or in any document in which there might be a mention of [the house] . . . "[20] The king and inquisitors cared more about form and appearances than about content, more about names than about actions. The royal order implied acceptance of non-public religious rites, while strictly prohibiting any references that might point out either these rites or their acceptance in effect.

17 "Una casa, que una vez llama VS Mezquita, y otras Hospital [. . .] pues el que indica el nombre de Hospital es mui distinto del de Mezquita," see: AGS, MSA, Leg. 709, 9.7.1757, Julián Manuel de Arriaga y Ribera to Francisco Barrero.

18 22.9.1769, AGS, MSA, Leg. 709.

19 "El Hospitalito de los Moros, vulgarmente nombrado Mezquita," Governor Carlos Reggio 3.11.1770, AGS, SMA, Leg. 709, and "el vulgo la llamaba Mezquita," Joseph de Roxas, interim commander general 12.7.1774, AGS, SMA, Leg. 709.

20 "Y para que no prevalezca el nombre de Mezquita que los Moros darán acaso entre si a la casa sin que pueda evitarse [. . .] se tenga especial cuidado de no darla tal denominación en ninguna orden verbal o por escrito, ni en ningún documento en que pueda ofrecerse hacer mención de ella," 23,4,1774, AGS, SMA, 709.

What was the nature of the slaves' hospital-mosque then? Everybody agreed that the slaves prepared their dead for burial in their hospital-mosque. When one of the arsenal slaves died, his comrades, accompanied by six to eight armed guards, carried the body to the hospital-mosque. There, the slaves washed the body, shaved it, and wrapped it in funerary shrouds. Then, they carried it to their cemetery, buried it, and offered funerary prayers.[21] Not only was there a consensus about this, but everybody also approved it without hesitation – after all, even slaves had to bury their dead, and nobody was interested in decaying bodies spreading disease. Whatever the slaves practiced at the hospital-mosque beyond ablution rites, if anything at all, turned it into a contentious institution. We identified three stances on the matter: those who could not care less about the name given to the slaves' house or how the slaves used it (slaves, locals, arsenal officers, and Algerians), those who demanded a clear-cut answer – a "mosque" or "a hospital" (marine state secretary), and those who took advantage of the second half of the hyphenated name "hospital-mosque" to bring about its closure (inquisition and king). Currently, the documentation at our disposal does not lend itself to penetrating the hospital-mosque's walls and discovering how exactly the slaves used it.

3 What Conditions Enabled a Hospital-Mosque in Early Modern Spain?

In contrast to this impasse, the records disclose that the conditions that enabled the establishment of such a contentious institution at the heart of one of eighteenth-century Spain's central ports, more than a century after the expulsion of the Moriscos between 1609 and 1614, were the presence of Christian slave communities in the Maghrib that enjoyed matching privileges. The existence of these parallel Christian bonded communities in the Maghrib provided Maghribi authorities with leverage to secure certain privileges for Maghribi subjects enslaved in Spain. To better understand the nature of this entanglement, we need to scale up our exploration and examine the affair from a regional perspective. More specifically, we need to examine the Maghribi slave community of Cartagena and the connections and relations its members maintained with their communities of origin.

21 Beyond the information provided by the sources, this reconstruction is based on the Islamic ideal funerary form. See Leor Halevi, *Muhammad's Grave: Death Rites and the Making of Islamic Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 64–74, 159–60, and 168–77. It is likely that funerary practices in Algiers and Morocco differed from this ideal: indeed, it is even more likely given the exceptional circumstances that the slave practice was further distanced from that ideal.

The presence of Maghribi slaves and slave communities in early modern and, more specifically, eighteenth-century Spain is a forgotten fact.[22] Their existence was one of the common accidents of the Mediterranean practice of captive taking and enslavement. In the western half of the sea, Maghribis captured and enslaved Iberians (but also Portuguese, French, and Italians), and the latter captured and enslaved Maghribis.[23] This enslavement differed in at least three ways from both Atlantic slavery and the slavery of sub-Saharan Africans in the Mediterranean. First, Christians and Muslims knew each other on the basis of *longue durée* violent and peaceful exchanges. Second, the short distance separating Iberia from the Maghrib meant that as slaves Christians and Muslims could maintain contact with their kin and communities by sending letters and oral messages. Finally, a number of these slaves obtained release through compensation, exchange, or flight, options unavailable for sub-Saharan slaves in the Mediterranean and in the Atlantic. Thus, the slavery of Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean was shaped by the history and geography of the region, and in turn, reshaped the region.

Mediterranean slave communities were not simple extensions of the slaves' home community, but rather new political, social, and religious configurations. For example, the community of the arsenal slaves of Cartagena was not based exclusively on political lines. Most of its members came from Morocco and Algiers, but there were members from Tunis, Tripoli, and Istanbul. Formally speaking, not all members were Muslims, as a small number of slaves had converted to Christianity.[24] The boundaries of slave communities stretched across the sea between the Maghrib and Iberia. This happened because ransom, a policy geared to separate Christians from Muslims, unintentionally and unexpectedly intensified the links between Christian and Muslim Mediterranean communities. Since ransom required the exchange of information, slave owners who bought their slaves to profit off their ransom encouraged their "investments" to contact family members, inform them about their place of captivity, and ask them to collect money to pay the ransom fee. The majority of this circulation was motivated by masters and slaves' desire to orchestrate ransom, but even slaves

22 See footnote 10 above.

23 On Majorcans corsairs, see Natividad Planas, "Pratiques de pouvoir au sein d'une société frontalière: Le voisinage du Royaume de Majorque et ses îles adjacentes avec les terres d'Islam au XVIIe siècle" (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2000); on Valencians, see Vicente Graullera Sanz, "La esclavitud en Valencia en los siglos XVI y XVII (causas de caída en cautiverio)," in *Primer congreso de historia del país valenciano, celebrado en Valencia del 14 al 18 de abril de 1971*, vol. 3, *Edad moderna* (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1976): 239–50. On corsairs from Cartagena, see José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez and Vicente Montojo Montojo, *Entre el lucro y la defensa: Las relaciones entre la monarquía y la sociedad mercantil cartagenera: Comerciantes y corsarios en el siglo XVII* (Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X El Sabio, 1998). Piracy, however, was not exclusively organized along religious lines, see Planas, "Pratiques de pouvoir," and Joshua White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Legal Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

24 AGS, MSA, 709.

who gave up on the prospects of obtaining their freedom engaged in this epistolary exchange. They informed their relatives about their lives, and reported about other enslaved community members who died or converted during captivity.[25] The circulation of letters and information was predicated upon the constant mobility of captured, redeemed, and fleeing slaves, merchants, and friars, all of whom at least on occasion carried letters from slaves to kin across the sea. For example, on January 9, 1735, a British ship that arrived in Algiers from Cadiz carried on its deck two runaway Turkish slaves, who carried with them many letters from Muslims enslaved in Cadiz.[26] In circulating information about themselves and about others, captives functioned as their communities' new gatekeepers, declaring who was in and who was out. This circulation allowed captives to both grease and maintain kinship ties with their relatives across the sea, and become their communities' new fringes. These spatially reconfigured communities were not face-to-face nor imagined ones: rather, they were constituted through social claims embedded in texts and oral news that ideally produced co-presence and contemporaneity.

Another regionalizing effect of slavery was that religious and political authorities extended their reach via this epistolary exchange and gained a foothold in hostile territory. This happened because whenever the arsenal slaves of Cartagena felt that what they perceived as their religious privilege was violated and their legal possession was at risk, they immediately wrote home reporting the problem. The privileges they had in mind were only articulated at the moment of their violation and during the exchange that ensued. Christian and Muslim slaves in the Mediterranean expected not to be converted or baptized by force, be allowed to bury their dead according to their rite, and have the legal authorities in the place of captivity prevent the desecration of cadavers of dead slaves. A number of the letters carried by the aforementioned runway Turkish slaves who arrived in Algiers in 1735 concerned what the slaves thought were violations of the privileges they had deemed theirs. Upon the reception of such reports, Moroccan governors and Algerian pashas issued threats demanding Spain amend the situation.

The same dynamic emerges in the case of the hospital-mosque of Cartagena. In the second half of the 1730s, the Algerian Dey Ibrahim ben Ramdan was informed that the residents and magistrates of Cartagena damaged the mosque-hospital and harassed the Muslim slaves who used it. In response, the dey made a threat. If the Muslims were not allowed to use the mosque-hospital, the dey would shut down the Christian churches and hospital in Algiers.[27] This was a serious threat, as there were a

25 For a discussion of various forms of information captives produced and circulated, their routes, and their social and political effects, see Daniel Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Communication and Commerce in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2008): 93–162.

26 2.18.1735, AGS, SMA, leg. 701.

27 AHA, Inquisición, Leg. 3733, Fol. 301.

number of churches in the prisons of captives in Algiers and a Trinitarian hospital at the time.[28] In 1761, Dey Baba Ali sent the Spanish authorities a long list of grievances regarding the Algerians enslaved in Cartagena.[29] The first and most revealing was that Christians had appropriated the plot the Muslims used as a cemetery.[30] The incident, which discloses that in addition to the hospital-mosque, the king's slaves had a cemetery of their own, demonstrate this dynamic of challenge and riposte on a Mediterranean scale. Should the Muslim not receive it back, Baba Ali threatened, he would shut down the churches in Algiers. Finally, a number of similar threats were issued by Dey Muhammad ben Othman between 1770 and 1774.[31] The dey was responding to the demolition of the second house, pressuring the arsenal authorities to provide the slaves with an alternative structure outside the arsenal. This back and forth shows how slavery, captivity, and ransom extended the power of Maghribi institutions into Spain, allowing them to exert power not only over their subjects, but also over the Christians that enslaved them.

The continual interventions of Algerian deys enabled the existence of a hospital-mosque in Cartagena. On December 31, 1765, Diego de Rojas y Contreras, bishop of Cartagena and president of the council, expressed this stance clearly in his reply to the marine intendant who complained about the slaves' hospital-mosque. Shutting down the hospital-mosque, the bishop explained, "offers some difficulty, because of the fear of what the Moors could do with the Catholic churches that there are in [North] Africa."[32] Likewise, in internal correspondence that preceded the demolition of the second hospital-mosque, the arsenal officers recommended to frame the demolition as a security concern in order to limit the reaction of Algiers. Indeed, the Inquisition accepted the recommendation, offered the slaves monetary compensation for the house (which the slaves refused to accept, insisting on an alternative structure), and demolished a few houses adjacent to the hospital-mosque to make the story more credible.[33] Despite these measures, Algiers threatened to retaliate, and soon the

28 On the religious establishments of Christian captives in the Maghrib, see Ellen Friedman, "Trinitarian Hospitals in Algiers: An Early Example of Health Care for Prisoners of War," *Catholic Historical Review* 66 (1980): 551–64; Porres Alonso, "Los hospitales trinitarios de Argel y Túnez, *Hispania* Sacra 48 (1996): 639–717"; and Clara Ilham Álvarez Dopico, "The Catholic Consecration of an Islamic House: The St. John de Matha Trinitarian Hospital in Tunis," in *Sacred Precincts: The Religious Architecture of Non-Muslim Communities across the Islamic World*, ed. Mohammad Gharipour (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 291–309.

29 This point is important. Not all grievances regarded religious privileges, and some focused more broadly on slaves' living conditions, such as chaining, the nature of labors they had to carry out, and mistreatment by their owners.

30 16.8.1761, AGS, SMA, Leg. 705.

31 AGS, MSA, Leg. 709, 2.11.1772.

32 "Por el recelo de lo que pudieron hacer los Moros, con las Yglesias Catholicas, que hay en África," AGS, MSA, Leg. 709, 31.12.1765.

33 AGS, MSA, Leg. 709, 9.8.1770.

arsenal officers pleaded with the king to build a new funerary facility for the slaves, a suggestion he accepted.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Muslim slave cemeteries and spaces for prayer became common in European port cities in the Mediterranean. Malta and Livorno had mosques or spaces for prayer, and Marseille, Tolon, and a number of Italian cities provided their Muslim slaves with burial plots.[34] Did Spain, with its particular long-term history of entanglements with the Magherbi world and the expulsion of Spain's Muslims and their descendants (the Moriscos), follow the model of other cities in the European Mediterranean? More specifically, how common were spaces used for prayer, funerary rites, and burial in early modern Spain? If we broaden our perspective to include the seventeenth century, we find a number of incidents of heated debate over the proper burial of Muslim slaves in Spain. During the seventeenth century, Algiers submitted at least four grievances about the desecration of slaves' bodies (and many more on broader issues such as labor conditions and fair execution of ransom agreements). In 1629, Algiers complained about burning slaves' cadavers, in 1658 about the same in Malaga, in 1663 about the same in Sanlúcar de Barrameda, and then once again in 1696.[35] These grievances were always accompanied by threats of retaliation, which in some cases were executed. These dynamics of challenge and riposte on a Mediterranean scale often began locally when a slave owner or local official mistreated slaves or led to or allowed the desecration of their cadavers. The slaves or their friends sent the word about the event back home. In response, local rulers contacted their counterparts and demanded that the situation be amended, otherwise they would retaliate.

These cases allow us to formulate the following hypothesis about the regionalizing effects of religious violence exerted upon slaves, or rather about how such violence shaped the region in which it occurred. In the early modern Mediterranean, negative reciprocity was transformed into a positive one. Over time, religious violence and threats against slaves led to the securing of what Muslims and Christians perceived as slaves' religious privilege. We see this when we look at the Spanish responses to the grievances just mentioned. If the royal responses to the first incidents were local, reproaching the

34 On Marseille and Tolon, see Régis Bertrand, "Les cimetières des 'esclaves turcs' des arsenaux de Marseille et de Toulon au XVIII[e] siècle," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée* 99–100 (2002): 205–17. On Malta, see Ma'cûncizâde Mustafa Efendi, *Le captif de Malte. Récit autobiographique d'un cadi ottoman* (Toulouse: Anacharsis, 2019): 42, 53. On Livorno, see Cesare Santus and Guillaume Calafat, "Les avatars du 'Turc': Esclaves et commerçants musulmans en Toscane (1600–1750)," in *Les Musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe. Tome 1: Une intégration invisible*, ed. Jocelyne Dakhlia and Bernard Vincent (Paris: Albin Michel, 2011): 493. On other Italian cities, see Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: Galeotti, vu' cumprà, domestici* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999): 241–52.

35 AGS, Estado, Leg. 3444, fols. 107, 112, 2.6.1631; AGS, Estado, Leg. 2675, 10.22.1658; Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (hereafter ACA), Consejo de Aragón, Leg. 607, fol. 33, January 1663; AHN, Estado, Leg. 670, 5.1696. For a detailed discussion of this dynamics, see Hershenzon, *The Captive Sea*: 118–39.

authorities in Malaga in 1658 and in San Lúcar in 1663, by the end of the century, in 1696, the Spanish monarch ordered the governors of all Spanish territories in which Muslim slaves lived to provide them with cemeteries – "in all cities and towns inside and outside of Spain."[36] The degree to which local governors obeyed the injunction remains unclear, and yet the order is indicative of what appears to have been a trend that eventually resulted in the return of Muslim cemeteries and funerary rituals to Spain.[37]

4 Conclusion

The dynamic that slowly led to the establishment of Islamic institutions in Christian Spain, as well as Christian institutions in the Maghrib, was regional. It was shaped by the historical and geographical specificity of the region, and it had regionalizing effects, slowly integrating the Maghrib and Iberia. The region in this case was not merely a category of analysis, but also one of practice. The presence of multiple communities of Christian and Muslim slaves across the western Mediterranean meant that Iberia for Maghribis and the Maghrib for Iberians became part of their social and affective horizon, even if feared and hated. The intensity of information flow was such that the people living around the sea were sometimes intimately aware of the lives of those living across it. For Mediterraneans, the region was not a distant concept but rather a familiar spatiotemporal construct, indeed a lived reality.

Abbreviations

ACA Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Consejo de Aragón
AHN Archivo Histórico Nacional

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36 ACA, Consejo de Aragón, Leg. 672, fol. 39, 8.7.1696.

37 The Majorcan viceroy confirmed the acceptance of the order and reported that the vice regal criers would spread it, see ACA, Consejo de Aragón, Leg. 965, 9.23.1696.

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Gül Şen

Between Two Spaces: Enslavement and Labor in the Early Modern Ottoman Navy

1 Introduction

Ottoman maritime labor, or more specifically the rowing force, consisted of paid rowers, war captives, convicts, and other categories of laborers, whose numbers and percentage differed from galley to galley. Irrespective of their voluntary or enforced recruitment and their legal distinctions, many aspects of their living conditions were almost identical. They were all engaged in what was probably the hardest and most dangerous work in the Ottoman navy. When we compare various forms of asymmetrical dependencies and other forms of unfree labor in the Ottoman realm, galley slavery and unfree maritime labor share a number of distinctive characteristics: galley slaves (*forṣa*)[1] were "state slaves" (*mīrī esīr* or *gebrān-i mīrī*) rather than domestic slaves in elite households; rowers were anonymous parts of a work force, in contrast to *kul*s, or sultan's servitors, who might attain prestigious positions in the military or administrative strata. Furthermore, unfree maritime labor was probably the only exclusively male area (apart from the Janissary corps, a kind of military bondage) in which asymmetrical dependencies prevailed. This phenomenon was not specifically Ottoman, as it was a common practice among Mediterranean powers, used in the Republic of Venice (a longtime naval rival of the Ottoman Empire), the Spanish Empire, the Kingdom of France, and the Papal States. A strong reciprocity can be observed in all naval practices, from warfare to the treatment of war captives. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, three constellations of developments caused an extreme surge in the demand for oarsmen and their coerced deployment: the Mediterranean became a battle ground; the use of oar-propelled warships became prominent (first, in galleys);[2] and technology changed with the shift from one rower per oar to many rowers on a single oar.[3]

1 The term *forsa* also appears as *forṣa* or *forṣā* in Ottoman Turkish narrative sources. In the following, I have used the transliteration system of the *Islam Ansiklopedisi* for Ottoman Turkish; for the Arabic names of Hijra months, I adhere to the *IJMES* transliteration system. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated. I am indebted to Ehud R. Toledano for his invaluable comments on an earlier version of this chapter.

2 The main types of large rowing warships included galleys (*ḳadırga*): bastarda (*baştarda*): and maona (*mavuna*). Smaller galliot (*ḳalyata*): frigate (*fırḳata*): and sailing ships were only employed for support services, such as the transport of naval artillery. From the second half of the seventeenth century, sailing ships such as galleons (*ḳalyon*) and barques (*barça*) gradually replaced oar-propelled ships.

3 On effectiveness of galleys and speed under oars, see John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974): 57–84.

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In this chapter, I focus on galley slavery from the viewpoint of unfree labor, using a micro-spatial approach to gain a global perspective and to correspond with other studies in this volume. I examine how the Ottoman state mobilized its resources to meet the high demand for manning ships during times of war. In the first two sections, I introduce two key terms that constitute this article's theoretical basis and define the semantics of unfree labor. In sections three to seven, I explore the stages of recruitment and organization and so reveal similarities in the practices of other Mediterranean powers.

2 Theoretical Remarks

Unfree labor can be understood as part of the multilayered system of Ottoman enslavement.[4] Although their approach relates to the situation in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Marcel van der Linden's and Magaly Rodríguez García's work is also useful for analyzing this phenomenon in the early modern eastern Mediterranean. They identify a crucial issue in the study of labor: while a significant amount of research has already been done on two kinds of labor, namely, the most "free" (wage labor) and the most "unfree" (chattel slavery) labor, these two forms constitute only the extreme poles of a wide range of varieties. Much less attention has been paid to these other types of unpaid labor.[5] From this vantage point, the system of Ottoman enslavement and unfree labor can only be understood by paying attention to varieties of asymmetrical dependencies between these two most extreme binaries. For example, "wage labor" did not necessarily mean "free labor," although, originally, free labor was defined as non-slave labor.[6] The terms enslavement and unfree labor are not synonymous; in contrast to

4 For a recent discussion of enslavement, slavery, and slaves in the Ottoman context, see Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, "Slavery is Not Slavery: On Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire – Introduction," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 11–17; Michael Zeuske provides a broader context and comprehensive discussion in his textbook on the history of slavery: see Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019): 191.

5 Marcel van der Linden and Magaly Rodríguez García, "Introduction," in *On Coerced Labor: Work and Compulsion after Chattel Slavery*, ed. Marcel van der Linden and Rodríguez García (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 1–2. For further discussions, see also Carolyn Brown and Marcel van der Linden, "Shifting Boundaries between Free and Unfree Labor: Introduction," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 78 (2010): 4–11. In historical terms, free labor was defined as non-slave labor; however, some critics claim that non-slave labor does not necessarily mean that this kind of labor is automatically free labor because non-slave laborers are still influenced by legal and economic restrictions in many countries. Stanley L. Engerman, "Introduction," in *Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999): 2.

6 Engerman, "Introduction": 2.

unfree labor, enslavement not only relates to labor, but also includes other issues, such as the extent to which the slave depended on his or her enslaver legally and socially. Hence, a slave's work could be much more independent than that of a forced laborer. Yet, despite these differences, both forced laborers and slaves resisted their dependency in similar ways.[7]

We have to keep in mind that the social or cultural setting in the Mediterranean and Ottoman world generated different forms of unfree labor that cannot be explained by a single term. This makes it difficult to develop a distinct definition for an analytical framework suitable for premodern realities and practices in the Mediterranean. The approach of grading enslavement on a continuum, as suggested by Ehud R. Toledano,[8] does constitute a useful analytical framework. In a similar way, Jan Lucassen's categorization of three kinds of productive unfree labor and enslavement in prior to the twentieth century corresponds to the characteristics of unfree labor in the Ottoman Empire.[9] (1) To a limited extent, unfree labor was used in the domestic, agricultural, and trade and crafts sectors. (2) On a larger scale, unfree labor was used in mines and on plantations, and (3) in service of the state, for example in the army or the navy. For the Ottoman case, I combine the second and third categories, since mines were entirely owned by the state. In addition to these categories, the Ottoman imperial palace was the largest household and slave-owning institution. There are only a few studies that address slave and unfree labor in Ottoman society in general,[10] and we still lack a full picture of its use in the Ottoman fleet and naval bases.[11] İdris

7 Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto, "Einführung," in *Sklaverei und Zwangsarbeit zwischen Akzeptanz und Widerstand*, ed. Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2011): ix.

8 Ehud R. Toledano, "The Concept of Slavery in Ottoman and Other Muslim Societies: Dichotomy or Continuum?" in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa: A Comparative Study*, ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London: Kegan Paul International, 2000): 159–76.

9 Jan Lucassen, "Free and Unfree Labour Before the Twentieth Century: A Brief Overview," in *Free and Unfree Labour: The Debate Continues*, ed. Tom Brass and Marcel van der Linden (Bern: Lang, 1997): 47–48.

10 For the premodern period, see Halil İnalcık, "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, ed. Halil İnalcık (London: Variorum, 1985): 25–52; Konstantinos Moustakas, "Slave Labour in the Early Ottoman Rural Economy: Regional Variations in the Balkans during the 15th Century," in *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination: Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey*, ed. Marios Hadjianastasis (Leiden: Brill, 2015): 29–43. On labor recruitment mechanisms and maritime labor, see Suraiya Faroqhi, "Labor Recruitment and Control in the Ottoman Empire (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)," in *Manufacturing in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, 1500–1950*, ed. Donald Quataert (Albany: State University New York Press, 1994): 13–57. For the late Ottoman period, among his many publications, see M. Erdem Kabadayı, "Unfreie Arbeit in den staatlichen Fabriken im Istanbul des 19. Jh," in *Unfreie Arbeit. Ökonomische und kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven*, ed. M. Erdem Kabadayı and Tobias Reichardt (Hildesheim: Olms Verlag, 2007). See further Donald Quataert, "Labor History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700–1922," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (2001): 93–109.

11 Among the extant literature on the French navy and labor organization in the early modern period, Paul W. Bamford's study is of particular interest, since he provides a much material on the

Bostan's monograph is the sole comprehensive study on the general administration and organization of labor during the seventeenth century.[12]

The second theoretical basis of my study is the "micro-spatial approach," which places the analysis in a global perspective.[13] For this, I draw on the approach of Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen, who argue that a micro-spatial approach emphasizes the importance of spatial aspects in writing history and the means by which time and space create spatiality; in addition, it enables us to challenge the binary division between the "local" and "global."[14] The micro-spatial approach is based on the idea of a simultaneity of various spaces that are also entangled with each other. De Vito and Gerritsen argue that this method goes beyond local boundaries and relates various contexts by examining the movements and dissemination of people, objects, and beliefs. Thus, this micro-historical approach may enable us to avoid restricting our focus to certain geographical spaces and help us develop independent local units. A micro-spatial history requires the coordination of research efforts across regional, cultural, and linguistic boundaries.[15]

The third theoretical aspect is military labor. This issue is still controversial for military and labor historians: while the former do not consider labor in a military context, the latter do not consider the military as a labor force and their activities are not thought of as "work." There is only one edited volume which is comparative and covers both research areas: *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500–2000*. I confine myself to quote Marcel van der Linden's definition of work as it relates to military labor:

> Work is the purposeful production of useful objects or services. Thus, work is a purposive activity, and work creates objects or services that are useful to the people for whom the work is done. That makes participation in military activities just as much a labour process as any other, even if many civilians do not regard it as a "useful activity" and have no use for it.[16]

Drawing on these theoretical considerations, I discuss the phenomenon of unfree labor for the Ottoman navy with its main base and naval arsenal at Galata in Istanbul

problems of administering and organizing the galley fleet in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Paul W. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973).

12 İdris Bostan, *Osmanlı Bahriye Teşkilâtı: XVII Yüzyılda Tersâne-i Âmire* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1991).

13 For a theoretical discussion of global enslavement in various "models," see Ehud R. Toledano, "Models of Global Enslavement," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 31–51.

14 Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen's introduction, "Micro-Spatial Histories of Labour: Towards a New Global History," in *Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labour*, ed. Christian De Vito and Anne Gerritsen (Cham: Palgrave, 2018): 4.

15 De Vito and Gerritsen, "Micro-Spatial Histories": 9–15.

16 Marcel van der Linden, "Preface," in *Fighting for a Living: A Comparative Study of Military Labour 1500–2000*, ed. Jan Erich Zürcher (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2013): 9–10.

in order to understand how a closer look at this specific micro-space may give us a global perspective in relation to the other case studies on enslavement in this volume.

3 Ottoman Semantics of Unfree Labor

The spectrum of administrative terms concerning slaves and unfree labor destined to become oarsmen is relatively clear and provides insight into different forms of organization. The key term generally used in official documents and registers is *mīrī esīrler* or *gebrān-ı mīrī and üserā*, meaning "war captives/state slaves." Thus, both terms refer to the legal status of captive persons. In documents and chronicles, we also find the more specific term *forṣa* (pl. *forṣalar*), meaning "galley slaves" or "war captives who were put to oars." *Mīrī kürekçi* (state rower) is used as a general term for all oarsmen in state galleys. For both *kürek maḥkūmu* and *kürek mücrīmi* (convicted to oars), a specific punishment is indicated, and in some cases the more specific term *küreğe maḥkūm ḥarāmī* (a bandit sentenced to oars) is employed. So, a rower was a *kürekçi*, a *forṣa*, a *mīrī esīr*, or a *mīrī forṣa*. The *mühimme* registers do not particularly emphasize slave status, but in the Kadi registers for Galata for 1615–20 they are referred to as "non-Muslim unfree galley slaves" (*memlūk forṣa keferesi*) or "unfree galley slaves" (*forṣa memlūkü*).[17] Their geographic origins are indicated in some cases, as in the *mühimme* for 966–68/1558–60, who are referred to as being "convicted to oars from Galipoli" (*Gelibolılı kürek maḥkūmu*) or "convicted to oars from Skopje" (Üsküblü *kürek maḥkūmu*).[18] However, ethnic markers, such as *Russiyye* (Ukrainian) or *Nemçe* (Austrian), are absent. Labor is defined in phrases such as "putting to the oars" (*küreğe ḳoymaḳ/ḳoşmaḳ*), "being put to the oars" (*küreğe verilmek/ḳoşılmak*),[19] and "sending to row" (*kürek çekmek üzere vaż' oluna*).[20] Being conscripted in lieu of fulfilling tax obligation is indicated in most cases as "collecting oarsmen" (*kürekçi iḫrācı*),[21] and slave labor is apparent in the phrase "to man the ships with state slaves" (*mīrī esīr ile gemi donatmak*).[22] Certainly, the *mühimme* registers distinguish between three main categories of oarsmen: state slaves, convicts,

17 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Galata Mahkemesi 46 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1024–1029/M. 1615–1620)* ed. Coşkun Yılmaz. (Istanbul: İSAM, 2012) [hereafter *Galata Mahkemesi* 46]: 52a–1.

18 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 630.

19 For example, *Mühimme Defteri* 7: 85, 417, 2324; *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 209.

20 This and similar phrases can be seen in the hundreds of entries of the Convict Registers of the Naval Arsenal. For example, *Bāb-ı Defteri, Baş Muhasebe Kalemi, Tersane Zindanları* [hereafter D. BŞM. TRZ], Defter no. 15749: 1–7. I am indebted to Joshua M. White, who has kindly provided me with three registers from the early eighteenth century.

21 For the years 951–952/1544–45, see *Mühimme Defteri E-12321*: 58, 436, 538. For the year 973/1565–66, see *Mühimme Defteri* 5: 328, 1903. For the years 975–976/1567–69, *Mühimme Defteri* 7: 795, 2608, and for 978–979/1570–72, see *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 24, 995.

22 *Mühimme Defteri* 7: 636.

and those who were conscripted in lieu of tax obligations.[23] From the eighteenth century onwards, however, the term *kürek* designates not just the service on the oars in a narrow sense, but also hard labor or imprisonment with hard labor in service of the navy, as will be discussed further below.

4 The Organization of Recruitment

Maritime labor was vital to the maintenance of a functioning navy, and therefore to the Ottoman state's sovereignty on land and sea. Moreover, the navy was operated by the state via its central administration: this gave it an advantage over many other European navies, which were at that time often run by private companies.[24] Thus, the Ottoman system of centrally organizing the recruitment of labor proved to be more efficient than that of its adversaries. As the activities of the Ottoman navy varied significantly by season, crew members, including oarsmen, were particularly in demand before upcoming campaigns. The *Tersāne-i ʿĀmire* (Imperial Naval Arsenal) only maintained a limited number of permanent laborers, although they expanded their manpower in times of intense naval activity.[25] Located on the Golden Horn, the Imperial Naval Arsenal was the main naval base and shipyard: it had a hospital, a prison (called *bagno* in Italian and *bagne* in French), and other facilities. The Ottomans had other shipyards along the Black Sea, the Aegean, and the Mediterranean coast. However, the Imperial Naval Arsenal (the micro-space on which my study is focused) was the center of the empire's naval operations, where the state organized labor for the navy. In terms of its indispensable function and size, the *Tersāne-i ʿĀmire* in Istanbul was comparable to the *Arsenale di Venezia* of the Republic of Venice or *L'Arsenal des galères* in Marseille and Toulon.[26]

If we take a quick look at the three most common types of rowing ships and the size of their crews in the seventeenth century, we can imagine, roughly, how a rowing warship was manned. A galley consisted of 300 men (of whom 196 were rowers), a *maona* had 600 men (of whom 364 were rowers), and the *bastarda* type of rowing vessel had 800 men. A fleet with 40 galleys and 6 *maona* would employ

23 Here, I refer to the practice of collective tax obligations, not to individual debts. For more detail, see chapter 4.1.

24 For the Ottoman navy and its history, see Daniel Panzac, *La marine ottomane: De l'apogée à la chute de l'Empire (1572–1923)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2009).

25 Faroqhi, "Labor Recruitment and Control": 26.

26 The term "arsenal" derives from the Arabic *dār al-ṣināʿa* (house of manufacturing). While it was commonly used in the Mediterranean area, the Turkish *tersāne* (or the older variation *tersāḫāne*) was derived from the designation of this institution in the Genoese dialect. See Henry and Renée Kahane and Andreas Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin* (Urbana: University of Illionois Press, 1958): 428–30.

16,400 men, 10,500 rowers and 5,300 armed men:[27] so, the rowers made up the majority in each ship. During the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, the Ottoman fleet consisted of 220 rowing ships, while the Holy League had 206 galleys.[28] The Ottoman shipyards employed many workers in diverse fields: my focus here is exclusively on rowing manpower aboard ships. With regard to the numbers of galley slaves, according to İdris Bostan, the number of "state slaves" who worked as galley slaves was at its lowest (3%) in 1604, and highest (27%) in 1661–62, relative to the total number of rowers.[29] By contrast, Salvatore Bono mentions that a particularly large number of Muslim galley slaves worked on the galleys of the knights of the Tuscan Order of St Stephen in 1617; more than 60% (1,165 out of 1,888) of their oarsmen were Muslim prisoners of war, the highest percentage of Muslim slaves in any European fleet.[30]

Tab. 1: State-Organized Forms of Labor Recruitment.

Officials Involved	Form of Recruitment	Sanctions
Captains	General equipment and manning of vessels	Demotion, order to oars
Crimean khans	Slaving raids, tribute	Imperial disfavor
Provincial governors	Obligation to provide vessels and oarsmen to the navy	Demotion, dismissal from office
Kadis and/or their deputies	Local registration, conscription, and dispatch; mostly fulfilling tax obligations	Dismissal from office, exile

Before discussing the various mechanisms of recruitment, it is worthwhile to examine the role of the officials in charge of recruiting the labor force (Tab. 1). Several entries in *mühimme*s suggest that this was a delicate task for officials, especially those like kadis or local governors, who were less senior than the admiral. For instance, the kadi of Sozopol (Süzebolı)[31] was obliged to provide five galleys to the fleet, but failed to meet his duty. Because of this failure, he received a new order threatening punishment

27 These numbers are given by Kātib Çelebi in his prominent *Tuhfet el-kibār fī asfār el-biḥār* (*The Gift to Dignitaries Concerning Naval Warfare*): however, they vary slightly according to different sources. See Katib Çelebi, *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr*, ed. İdris Bostan (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2018): 82.

28 Helmut Pemsel, *Seeherrschaft: Eine maritime Weltgeschichte von den Anfängen bis 1850*, vol. 1 (Bonn: Bernard & Graefe Verlag, 1995): 151–52.

29 Bostan, *Bahriye Teşkilatı*: 210, 200.

30 Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren*: 149.

31 A coastal town on the Black Sea, today in Bulgaria.

if the aforesaid galleys were not immediately delivered to Istanbul. The same order was sent to the kadis of Samsun,[32] Varna,[33] Sivas,[34] and Amasra,[35] who must have also failed to meet the navy's demands.[36] The standard formulation in orders to the kadis to dispatch rowers from local communities – a method that I discuss below – was as follows: "You must urgently dispatch the rowers which [you] were ordered to supply from your district of authority, [as they are] required by my imperial fleet and you must deliver them to the specified destinations before Nowruz."[37] The repeated dispatch of this order shows that kadis could not always comply with this obviously difficult task. The tone of the repeated imperial orders to the kadis concerned reveals the increasing level of pressure and threat of sanctions:

> [As soon as this order arrives], do not procrastinate or delay for a moment or an hour but immediately dispatch the number of rowers that were ordered from the individual sub-districts and deliver [them] to the locations specified for each of you, whether to *maḥrūse-i İstanbul* [the well-protected Istanbul] or to Rhodes. You must flawlessly deliver [them] to the locations that were specified in my previous order. No excuses will be accepted under any circumstances if you do not meet the deadline or the specified numbers, [do not give] explanations like 'they must have run away on the way.' Be assured that you will not only be removed from office, but [you will also be] punished. Therefore, hasten your efforts and do not delay a minute in [fulfilling this order] diligently.[38]

Obviously, under contemporary circumstances of mobility the transport of recruits from the town of conscription to the indicated shipyards caused much trouble to the kadis in charge. Despite being closely guarded during journey, many recruits found the opportunity to run away, as many register entries indicate. Otherwise, all other proceedings seem to have been implemented according to the orders. Only one document mentions some criminals in the vicinity of Silivri, the European coastal neighborhood of Istanbul, who presented themselves as officials in charge of recruitment and retained locals to summon "men needed for the oars" (*küreğe adem lāzımdur*). Since the community also provided the wages of the recruits, these criminals took the money and slipped away.[39]

32 A coastal town on the Black Sea, today in Turkey.
33 A port city on the Black Sea coast in Bulgaria.
34 A central Anatolian city.
35 A port city on the Black Sea in Turkey.
36 *Tanrıvermiş, „72 Numaralı Mühimme"*: 322; also 185 on the dismissal of the governor of Rhodes.
37 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 42. For the Ottomans, Nowruz (*nevrūz*; new year) started on March 21.
38 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 42. Also see 769.
39 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 479.

4.1 Free Recruitment of Oarsmen

4.1.1 Tax Obligations of the Service Units (*Ocaklık*)

The *ocaklık* system was the most comprehensive mechanism for mobilizing resources in various areas across the Ottoman realm. Local communities, i.e., the administrative subdivisions of provinces, districts (*sancaḳ*), sub-districts (*ḳażā*), and villages, could be exempted from their tax obligations by providing certain types of service in certain areas.[40] As for maritime labor, a register of rowers recruited in Galipoli shows that in order to satisfy manpower needed by the naval base, this kind of recruitment system was already being applied in 1475 (this was the earliest documented case of recruitment in lieu of tax obligations). An imperial decree determined the administrative units obliged to supply certain numbers of rowers in exchange for relieving them of the taxes on Muslim subjects (*avārız*) or non-Muslim subjects (*cizye*).[41] These rowers were paid with money collected from a fixed number of households obliged to provide the salaries of rowers.[42] According to a register of rowers (*kürekçi defteri*) from 891/1486, 14,542 rowers were recruited from three provinces of the empire (Anatolia, Rumelia, and Rūm). It is not clear what proportion were Muslims as opposed to non-Muslims.[43] The main responsibility lay with the kadis and their deputies (*na'ib*), who were commissioned to recruit men in local communities. Such a community was then registered as a surety, essentially guaranteeing that the recruits would not escape on the way to Istanbul; if they did, the community would have to put forward the rowers' salary a second time. Sometimes, individual rowers had individual sureties. It was common for new recruits to escape with many months' advance salaries. Arriving at the arsenal in monitored transport, a check was undertaken. In the event of a discrepancy in the documentation, the kadi responsible and his deputy were called to account for it: recruits might be fugitives, ill, or disabled; in place of one registered name, another individual might have shown up.

This labor recruitment category is designated in the sources by the term "collecting rowers" (*kürekçi iḫrācı*) or "delivering rowers" (*kürekçi irsāli*), and frequently appears in the *mühimme* registers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[44] Over the course of time, the *avārız* rowers constituted the majority of galley crews. However,

40 On the system of *ocaklık* ("service villages"): see Gábor Ágoston, *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 118–21.

41 İdris Bostan, "Osmanlı Donanmasında Kürekçi Temini ve 958 (1551) Tarihli 59–76: Kürekçi Defterleri," in *Beylikten Imparatorluğa Osmanlı Denizciliği*, ed. İdris Bostan (İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008): 60–61. Note that an *avārız* household is unusual in that it can consist of many households. See Ömer Lütfi Balkan, "Avarız," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (1989): 15–16.

42 Bostan, "Kürekçi Temini": 6.

43 Bostan, "Kürekçi Temini": 61–62.

44 For example, the register for 973/1565–66 contains similar entries. See *Mühimme Defteri* 5.

this practice was not applied on a systematic basis across the empire, which is why a lack of oarsmen seems to have been a recurring problem over the centuries. Rowing in lieu of tax can only conditionally be considered "free recruitment," since it was coerced. Even if we consider this form of recruitment a sort of obligation of the empire's protected subjects, there is evidence that the boundaries between this form of free labor and forced labor were porous. It was quite possible that many forms of unfree labor eventually led to other forms of dependency. For example, a certain Aḥmed was recruited from the village of Burgazlı in the district of Bafra[45] and was sent to prison for several crimes he committed locally. He managed to escape in 1571 and enlisted as a rower. During the transfer, however, he not only disobeyed instructions, but also incited his fellow recruits and attacked the kadi of Bafra with a knife. Ahmed again escaped, but was caught and dispatched to the arsenal. An order dated Dhū al-Qaʿda 15, 978/April 10, 1571, and addressed to the grand admiral sentenced him to oars for perpetuity: "According to my order, you should record the mentioned [Ahmed] in the register of convicts and employ him by putting him to the oars for life."[46]

4.1.2 Volunteers

Voluntarily enlisted oarsmen (*ḫod-girifte*) with paid salaries were a permanent feature in the Ottoman fleet and supplemented the recruits conscripted in lieu of taxes. An order (20 Dhū al-Ḥijja 978/May 15, 1571) to the kadi of Iznikmid commands that the kadi register and dispatch "those able young men who would be interested in being rowers with wages" (*yarar yiğitlerden akçe ile kürekçi olmağa safālu olanları*) from his administrative unit to Istanbul. The intendant of Galata (*Ġalaṭa emīni*) sent fifty thousand *akçe*[47] for this.[48] According to an order from the same year to the kadi of Sinob, a port city on the Black Sea coast, salaried volunteers were to be recruited if the rowers from communities and convicts did not suffice. Since the Black Sea squadron needed to urgently join the imperial fleet that was already at sea, craftsmen and rowing positions had to be filled. If the number of rowers was insufficient, convicts were to be deployed; if there was still a lack of rowers, the kadi was to recruit volunteers among the population (*reʿayādan*) for 800 *akçe*.[49] In another case, the kadi was ordered to send volunteers and convicts:

45 A town on the Black Sea in Turkey.

46 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 614: *Mezbūrı emrüm üzre mücrimler defterine ḳaydetdirüb ebedi küreğe ḳoyıb istiḥdām ėtdüresiñ*.

47 The standard coin of the Ottoman monetary economy. On its history, see Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

48 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 473.

49 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 318.

> [. . .] if there are men available who voluntarily serve at the oars (*küreğe gitmegi iḫtiyār ėder ʿādem*) for 900–1000 *akçe* according to the existing custom and law, you should register them and dispatch them to my *südde-i saʿādet* ['threshold of felicity,' Istanbul] so that they can be paid and employed on the vessels. Further, if there are prisoners whose offenses are evident, you should dispatch them, too.[50]

This category should be treated with caution, since some of them caused considerable security problems. In a petition from the kadi of Gallipoli sent to Istanbul on Jumādā al-Ūlā 17, 967/February 14, 1560, the author complains that bandits from the mountainous region of Kazdağı (*Kazdağınuñ harāmī levendleri*)[51] – in the Aegean region – had mingled with conscripted rowers marching from Anatolia to Rumelia (apparently for the squadron on the Danube), set up ambushes on the roads, and posed a danger to public security. Responding to the petition, an order was issued for the officials in charge to only allow the men listed in the register to march with them, in order to prevent these groups of bandits (*levend tā'ifesi*) from hiding among them by pretending to be rowers.[52] As for the treatment of volunteers on the galleys, they were certainly shackled during the battles, like their unfree colleagues. However, they did not have to be guarded permanently and could be used as soldiers for operations on land.[53]

4.2 Forced Recruitment

The seasonal demand for rowers for the growing fleet, which mostly consisted of rowing vessels, could not be satisfied by paid volunteers and recruits in lieu of taxes. This scarcity of rowers prompted the development of alternative strategies for the recruitment of oarsmen. This kind of recruitment included taking captives from naval battles and from privateering, hiring, purchasing, raiding, taking tribute from Crimean khans, impressment, and convicts.

4.2.1 War Captives

Prisoners of war, as defined by contemporary legal standards of international law, were the most common source of forced labor. The high demand for rowers required

50 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 479.

51 A century later, the Kazdağı region became a source for military recruitment. See Jane Hathaway, *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 62.

52 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 783.

53 Thomas Freller, "Reinhold Lubenau und das Osmanische Reich in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 74, no. 1–2 (2015): 138.

the use of war captives, although they were subject to peace and exchange agreements. Numerous sea and land battles resulted in the captivity of thousands of combatants and non-combatants. There were, however, legal norms regarding enslavement; namely, only those individuals fighting on the enemy side in a war could be enslaved. It was a violation of Ottoman law to enslave – by taking captives or hostages – anyone from countries with which the Ottoman Empire was not currently in a declared war. Non-Muslims living in the Ottoman Empire, i.e., its own subjects, were also protected from being enslaved. In addition, for all prisoners of war a ransoming mechanism was legally and practically in place.[54] The Ottomans had regulated the labor performed by war captives (at land and at sea) as early as the fourteenth century by establishing a system of specific taxation called *pencik resmi*. According to this regulation, one-fifth of war captives were allotted for state services, such as *mīrī esir*, *gebrān-ı mīrī*, or *üserā*, and the rest were shared among the officers and soldiers, according to their rank, as spoils of war. In return, those who received war captives were compelled to pay taxes for each one. Since the values of slaves and war captives were fixed according to their gender, age, and physical features, it was easy to calculate what a new enslaver had to pay to the state for his new slaves.[55] An order from Sultan Bayezid II dated 1511, the *pençik* register of the Cyprus campaign 1570–71, and other documents show an elaborate categorization of human spoils that included newborns and toddlers up to three years old (*shīrḫor*), children between three and eight years old (*beççe*), boys between eight and twelve years old (*ġulāmçe*), boys at the age of puberty (*ġulām*), young men at the age of puberty (*sakallı*, or bearded), and elders (*pīr*). Female captives were categorized as little girls (*duḫterek*), girls (*duḫter*), young women (*cāriye* or *māriye*), women with children (*ümm-ü veled*), elderly women (*ʿacūze*), and women of a very advanced age (*fertūte*).[56] Each category was taxed differently, and *pencik* taxation was an effective source of income for the state treasury. For example, the 15,854 war captives from the Cyprus campaign yielded the state 1,786,678 *aḳçe*.[57]

It should be emphasized that not all war captives automatically became state slaves: the process of recording war captives in the *pencik* registers determined which captives became state slaves to be dispatched to the Naval Arsenal for hard labor, which officials who served in battle would receive captives and how many, and how much *pencik* tax these recipients had to pay to the state. State slaves were

54 For regulations for war captives, see Y. Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and Its Demise, 1800–1909* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996): 29–30.

55 Cemal Çetin, *Sultanın Esirleri: İstanbul'da Bir Esir Kampı (1715)* (Konya: Palet, 2015): 68–69; Will Smiley, *From Slaves to Prisoners of War: The Ottoman Empire, Russia, and the International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 34.

56 Abdülkadir Özcan, "Pencik," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 34 (2007): 227; Zübeyde Güneş-Yağcı "Kıbrıs'ın Fethi ve Ele Geçirilen Esirler," in *Tarihte Kıbrıs (İlkçağlardan 1960'a Kadar)*: ed. Osman Köse, vol. 1 (Bursa: Akdeniz Karpaz Üniversitesi, 2017): 315; Çetin, *Sultanın Esirleri*: 70–71.

57 Güneş-Yağcı, "Kıbrıs'ın Fethi": 309.

immediately sent to the prison of the Naval Arsenal (*Tersāne zindānı*), where they were held together with convicts sentenced to *kürek*. It is difficult to know the exact number of state slaves in this prison, as their numbers varied according to the periods and records.[58] For example, some documents of the Arsenal prison on the distribution of bread to the *üserā-yı mīrī* (without further indication of whether they were convicts or war captives) provide information on the number of inmates detained there on the respective day.[59]

4.2.2 Privateering and Piracy

During the seventeenth century, when Mediterranean powers were losing their absolute control over the sea, privateering and piracy plagued trade there, afflicting both maritime shipping and coastal towns. In both privateering and piracy, perpetrators aimed to profit from human trafficking by capturing all kind of ships, either by taking ransom money from those they abducted or just by selling them, in particular those who were able to row.[60] There was a clear distinction between pirates and privateers. The former acted illegally: they decided for themselves which ships to capture, what booty to take, and how to use it. The latter, who performed the same acts, were commissioned by states. Furthermore, privateers were prohibited from attacking the vessels or territories of states that had official agreements (*ʿahdnāme*) with the sovereign they served.[61]

For privateering, the Ottoman authority usually commissioned North African Muslim privateers/corsairs from the "Barbary states" of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli, which had been tributary provinces of the Ottoman Empire since the sixteenth century and continued the practice of privateering into the nineteenth century. Among

58 Zübeyde Güneş-Yağcı and Esra Nalbant, "İstanbul Tersane Zindanı," in *Osmanlı Istanbulu IV, Sempozyum Bildirileri*, ed. Feridun M. Emecen, Ali Akyıldız and Emrah Safa Gürkan (Istanbul: Istanbul 29 Mayıs Üniversitesi, 2016): 95.

59 For example, a document notes the number of 376 inmates on Ramaḍān 13, 1154/November 22, 1741; 364 on November 23, and 389 on November 24. D. BŞM. TRZ, 5-239, no. 3–5.

60 On the topic, see Salvatore Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer: Seekrieg, Handel und Sklaverei vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, trans. Achim Wurm (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2009); Molly Green, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Joshua M. White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017). The abduction of coastal inhabitants by Ottoman privateers was the background for Cervantes' *Novela Ejemplar* in the short story "The Generous Lover." Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, *The Exemplary Novels of Cervantes*, trans. Walter K. Kelly (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2015).

61 On the *ʿahdnāme*s issued by the Ottoman state to the European powers, see Maria Pia Pedani, *The Ottoman-Venetian Border 15th–18th Centuries*, trans. Mariateresa Sala (Venice: Edizioni Ca'Foscari, 2017): especially 30–32.

the most famous corsairs of the sixteenth century were the brothers Hayreddin Barbarossa (also called Ḫiżr Reis) and Oruç Reis (also called Barbarossa; he was a galley slave of the Knights Hospitaller on Rhodes for three years). They were later appointed grand admirals of the Ottoman navy and turned the Mediterranean into an "Ottoman lake," especially through the victory over an allied Catholic fleet in the Battle of Preveza. Although in the sixteenth century the corsairs were (to a certain extent) acting as agents of the state, in the seventeenth century their wanton actions became a serious problem not only for their military and political adversaries, but also for maritime trade and the inhabitants of coastal villages in general.[62] During the previous century, the prominent polyhistorian Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī (d. 1600) complained about these privateers, explaining how they made their careers first by plundering with small boats, then obtaining small frigates, and finally building galleys:

> They tie up the non-Muslim [tax-paying] sailors, subjects of the Ottoman state and put them to working the oars. At first, they think they have but acquired galley slaves, then as they attack whatever vessels transporting day laborers that strike their fancy, they set off on the pursuit of wealth.[63]

4.2.3 Raiding and Tribute: The Case of Crimea

As tribute, Circassian dignitaries were expected to provide slaves captured during raids on the Crimean khans, who in turn dispatched them (along with their own captives) to Istanbul.[64] There are no extant figures on the percentage of these captives among the unfree laborers in the arsenal, but their number must have been considerable in view of the great demand for laborers in the shipyard. In one instance, the Ottoman historian Muṣṭafā Naīʿmā (d. 1716) mentions in his chronicle that 100,000 slaves were brought to Istanbul from Circassia after a single raid in 1621. Stephan Gerlach (d. 1612), an envoy of the Holy Roman Empire in Constantinople from 1573 to 1578, wrote a travel account in which he describes Poles that were sold like sheep: "The Poles and Russians imprisoned by the Tatars are being sold today, and have been sold for many days, by bulk. The majority are peasants,

62 Greene, *Catholic Pirates*: 13.

63 [Muṣṭafā ʿĀlī], *The Ottoman Gentleman of the Sixteenth Century: Mustafa Āli's Mevaʿiduʿn-nefāʿis fī ḳavāʿidiʾl-mecālis: Tables of Delicacies Concerning the Rules of Social Gatherings*, trans. Douglas S. Brookes (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003): 34.

64 For slave supply to the Crimean rulers, see Natalia Królikowska-Jedlińska, "The Role of Circassian Slaves in the Foreign and Domestic Policy of the Crimean Khanate in the Early Modern Period," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 355–369; for enslavement in the Crimea, see, Zübeyde Güneş-Yağcı, "Kırım Tereke Defterleri Üzerine Bazı Mülahazalar," *Cihannüma* 6 (2020): 17–45; Fırat Yaşa, "Kırım Hanlığı'nda Köleliğin Sosyal ve Mali Boyutları," *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 13 (2014): 657–69.

children, women, many boys and maidens, virgins, hardly any elderly people, but many rustic people."[65]

4.2.4 Hiring

When the Ottomans had difficulties finding enough men for the navy, the Imperial Arsenal hired slaves from wealthy households and slave traders. This must have been a lucrative business for the heads of wealthy households.[66] Some inventory registers at the Istanbul court confirm that certain households (most likely those of the highest-ranking vezirs) had at their disposal a large number of enslaved persons who could have been hired out to the Naval Arsenal at any time. Court decision no. 139 concerns the *forṣa*s in the estate (*tereke*) inherited by the son of the late Memi Pasha b. Abdullah (on whose exact rank we lack information). The physical features (*eşḳāli*), individual skills (*evṣāf*), and names of non-Muslim galley slaves (*memlūk forṣa keferesi*) were listed in the inventory register (*muḥallefāt*) of the aforesaid pasha:

> forty-three galley slaves of Ukrainian origin (*Rūsiyyetü'l-asl forṣa memlūkü*), twenty galley slaves of Moldavian origin (*Boğdaniyyü l-aṣl forṣa memlūkü*), sixteen galley slaves of Hungarian origin (*Macariyyü l-aṣl forṣa memlūkü*), ten galley slaves of Frankish origin (*Efrenciyyü l-aṣl forṣa memlūkü*), two galley slaves of Austrian origin (*Nemçeviyyü l-aṣl forṣa*), each [valued] at seven thousand aspers (*akçe*), and one galley slave of Croatian origin [valued] at five thousand three hundred sixteen aspers, in total ninety-two slaves.[67]

Aside from the terminology used here (*forṣa*), this passage indicates that these slaves were employed as rowers. The issue of feeding these 92 slaves must have been one reason their owners considered it lucrative to hire them out to the Naval Arsenal, even though 92 men may appear to be insignificant in view of the thousands of slaves employed by a governor general.[68] Emrah Safa Gürkan mentions the example of Uluç

65 Stephan Gerlach, *Tage-Buch, der von zween glorwürdigsten Römischen Käysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens, höchstseeligster Gedächtnüß, an die Ottomannische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten, und durch den wohlgebohrnen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad . . . mit würcklicher Erhalt – und Verlängerung deß Friedens, zwischen dem Ottomanischen und Römischen Käyserthum . . . glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschafft: Auß denen Gerlachischen . . . nachgelassenen Schrifften, herfür gegeben durch seinen Enckel S. Gerlachium* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Savid Zunners, 1674): 492.

66 For the practice of hiring men from slave traders, see İnalcık "Servile Labor": 25–52.

67 *Galata Mahkemesi* 46: 52a–1. Memi Pasha's inheritance mentions 164 galley slaves: "aforementioned 164 *forṣa* with a value of 1,148.000 *akçe.* Additionally 53a: "90 *forṣa* in the Imperial Fleet in Mediterranean" with a value of 500,000 *akçe*.

68 For example, Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha had 1,000 slaves in his household. See Mustafa Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014): 186. In any case, we must assume that the employment of such a large number of slaves was most likely very rare, and only occurred in Istanbul and in some of the largest provinces.

(later called "Kılıç") ʿĀli Pasha (d. 1587),[69] the former governor general of Algeria, who, with 3,000 slaves in his household, moved to Istanbul in order to take the office of grand admiral. Gürkan points out the difficulties he faced in feeding this number of slaves. Even though he employed six hundred of them (surely the ones with technical expertise) in the Naval Arsenal for 10 *akçe* per day, he still had to feed the rest of these "three thousand mouths" from his own pocket. When this financial burden became too heavy, he eventually provoked the Ottomans to undertake a naval war against their Catholic adversaries. According to Gürkan, Uluç ʿĀli conquered Tunis in 1569 without any official order or authorization: his actual motive was to fill his coffers and feed his slaves.[70] Gerlach refers to "7,000 to 8,000" captives that Uluç ʿĀli had taken at sea, in addition to "thousands" of slaves he already owned in Algiers.[71] Nonetheless, Uluç ʿĀli was first of all a loyal subject of the sultan and by his actions eventually promoted Ottoman interests.

4.2.5 Purchase

The process of acquiring oarsmen by purchasing slaves was by far the most established method; however, there is no systematic study of this topic, and therefore our knowledge is very limited. Certainly, a number of slave markets across the Ottoman domain provided slaves who were purchased for the Imperial Naval Arsenal.[72] Sales in the slave markets provided a large number of men. The sixteenth-century observer Johann Wild (d. after 1619), who was enslaved in Hungary and sold to Istanbul, and who can be regarded as a reliable author, describes a common scene at the market when he narrates his own sale under the caption "How the captive Hans Wild and other boys were brought to the market and sold there" in chapter 37 of his captivity narrative:

> On the fourth day, two of the servants of the chief of the palace gatekeepers brought us to the marketplace where valuable fabrics and other goods are displayed for sale. There, we were handed over to a man who was referred to as a broker by the Turks. The broker took us by the hand, showed us around, and invited bids on us. The other Turks bid on us and after three hours the business finally came to an end. In their tradition, it is customary for an article of commerce to be offered to the last man. The one who gives the most wins the bid [as in an auction]. That is the case for everything that is displayed for sale: captives, horses, goods, and such like. Before the man who wanted to buy me counted the money, he had a look at my hands, arms, and teeth, at my body and my head in order to see that I had no physical deficiencies. They do this with

69 He was an Italian renegade who had been captured by North African corsairs and had served as a galley slave before starting his own naval career. For his biography, see İdris Bostan, "Kılıç Ali Paşa," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 25 (2002): 411–12.

70 Emrah Safa Gürkan, "Batı Akdeniz'de Osmanlı Korsanlığı ve Gaza Meselesi," *Kebikeç* 33 (2012): 190–91.

71 Gerlach, *Tage-Buch*: 494.

72 For an example on 100 slaves who were urgently bought to the ships in 1690, see Smiley, *From Slaves to Prisoners of War*: 43.

> everyone, men and women, so that they are not cheated. If they are pleased with the person, they count the money, pay, and take their purchase with them. This is how I was sold for the fifth time in one and a half years, this time for 60 ducats.[73]

Some entries in the *mühimme* registers show that rowers were to be purchased in case of emergencies: the officials in charge of the transport of the conscripted rowers were ordered to replace runaways in this way, in order not to lose time.[74] Given that the slave market in Istanbul was the largest and provided the most slaves for purchase, it is clear that the officials of the Naval Arsenal made use of this market.[75] The slave markets were of interest to other Mediterranean navies as well: in order to meet the need for oarsmen, captains and fleet admirals anchored their ships in ports along the way and went to the slave markets to find new laborers. For instance, slave markets with seemingly endless supplies of laborers could be found in Leghorn, Messina, Malta, and Crete.[76]

4.2.6 Deployment of Soldiers as Oarsmen

In the event that a squadron still could not fulfill its need for rowers, soldiers originally commanded to man a fortress could be dispatched to the navy for service on the galleys. An order (dated Jumādā al-Ūlā 12, 967/February 9, 1560) requested that the district governors (sing. *sancaḳ beyi*) of Aydın and Ṣaruḫān (today Manisa) dispatch a sufficient number of fortress soldiers (*hisār erleri*) to Mehmed Bey, who needed rowers. The order, however, indicated that it should be implemented in such a way that the fortresses would not be deprived of all their personnel.[77]

4.2.7 Impressment

Impressment was officially deemed illegal, but was frequently employed, as is well-known particularly with respect to the British Royal Navy in the eighteenth century[78]

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73 [Johann Wild], *Johann Wild: Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen Anno 1604*, ed. Georg A. Narciß (Stuttgart: Steingrüben Verlag, 1964): 89–90. For his biography, see Viktor Hantzsch. "Wild, Johannes," *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd120141620.html [accessed 06.03.2023].

74 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 168.

75 For the slave market in Istanbul, see Zübeyde Güneş-Yağcı, "Slave Traders (Esirciler) in the Ottoman Istanbul," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 331–34.

76 Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren*: 150–51.

77 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 761.

78 J. Ross Dancy highlights the fact that skilled and experienced seamen in particular were pressed. See J. Ross Dancy, *The Myth of the Press Gang: Volunteers, Impressment and the Naval Manpower Problem in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015): 152–54.

and earlier.[79] The same holds true for officials in charge of the Ottoman Imperial Arsenal. With the scant research we have on the Ottoman navy, we know little about this recruitment method. It seems that it was mostly vagabonds from outside Istanbul who were forced into the navy.[80] Daniel Panzac argues that *ḫod-girifte* volunteers were victims, just the Ottoman equivalent of contemporary English press gangs.[81] However, this issue requires further research, since the term was officially used in many state orders concerning the recruitment of oarsmen.

A further aspect of labor organization that still needs to be explored is the question of how the recruited laborers were transported. Transportation to the destination where the labor was needed was a vital aspect of the organization of labor. We know little about rowers and slaves in general. For example, in the seventeenth century, we know that state slaves captured as prisoners of war from Central Europe were transported by carriages to Ottoman domains.[82] According to some *mühimme* entries, specific "slave ships" (*esīr gemileri*) were used for transport.[83] In an order (Rajab 8, 967/ April 4, 1560) in the *Mühimme 3*, Hasan Pasha, governor general of Algiers, requested the dispatch of ships in order to transport captives/slaves (*esīrler*) to Istanbul. A reply stated that a captain named Ḥācı Maḳṣūd would arrive to transport those slaves: Hasan Pasha was ordered to register the number of slaves and to send the sealed register as well.

4.2.8 Convicts

From the mid-sixteenth century well into the eighteenth century, criminals were condemned by the Ottoman courts to service at the Naval Arsenal.[84] Due to the ongoing lack of rowers in galleys, the *kürek* (a sentence of rowing, or hard labor in general) as penal servitude became a state resource, or recruitment mechanism, firstly to provide

79 Edward Barlow, who sailed the seas for almost half a century (from 1659 to 1703): reports these practices in his journal for the Royal Navy. See Marcus Rediker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014): especially 39.

80 Gül Şen, "Galley Slaves and Agency: The Driving Force of the Ottoman Fleet," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 146–147; Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, "Medical Treatment in the Ottoman Navy in the Early Modern Period," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 50, no. 4 (2000): 555.

81 Panzac, *La marine ottoman*: 73.

82 Güneş-Yağcı, "Kıbrıs'ın Fethi": 308 n. 31.

83 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 924.

84 İdris Bostan, "Osmanlı Donanmasında Kürekçi Temin": 60; Mehmet İpşirli, "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12 (1982): 206–7. The study of Fariba Zarinebaf provides a unique glimpse into eighteenth-century Ottoman practices in the case of Istanbul. See Fariba Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

the urgently needed manpower for rowing, and from the eighteenth century onwards, when the galleys were put out of service, for hard labor in the navy and the arsenal. The recruitment of laborers by sentencing was not only an Ottoman solution, as it was practiced by other sea powers in a large-scale fashion. The Spanish courts sent convicts (*presidarios*) to the galleys in the same period,[85] while the French navy relied on convicts kept in the *bagne*s (prisons) of Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, and Lorient. Among those convicts sentenced to oars were small-time criminals, but also Protestant Huguenots condemned as followers of the so-called "Reformed religion."[86] Of the thousands of convicts in the French galleys, only the memoirs of Jean Marteilhe remain.[87]

In the Ottoman context, aside from felons such as murderers, it seems that all kinds of misdemeanors could lead to this specific punishment. For instance, an order (dated 29 Muḥarram 967/October 31, 1559) obliged the kadi of Maġnisa (today Manisa) to send a certain Meḥmed to Istanbul in order to sentence him to the oars (*küreğe ḳoşmak içün bu canibe gönderesün*). Meḥmed had built a henhouse on the wall shared with the mosque and incorporated the historical cemetery into his garden by surrounding it with a wall. He then assaulted his neighbor Ḥācı Aḥmed, who had attempted to reprimand him, and even injured the bailiff sent to summon him to court.[88] Hosting certain kinds of entertainment without the consent of the authorities could lead to perpetrators being sentenced to oars. An entry dated Shawwāl 20, 970/June 12, 1563, reports the following case: a certain Ferḥād from the village of Aydın complained about Oruç b. Ḥüseyn (from the same village), who lit Ferḥād's stable on fire and seduced Ferḥād's female slave. Oruç denied the accusations, whereupon the villagers were questioned. They stated that Ferḥād was a troublemaker without a proper occupation, so he was sentenced to oars and sent to the island of Lesbos (Midillü).[89] The registers show that the need for oarsmen and the deployment of convicts sharply increased after the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, because of the huge loss of oarsmen killed or liberated by the enemy.

For the early eighteenth century, Fariba Zarinebaf states that penal servitude in the galleys was applied as a punishment for all kinds of crimes: this clearly indicates that there was an increasing need for rowers and a rising crime rate. Various

85 Ruth Pike, "Penal Servitude in the Spanish Empire: Presidio Labor in the Eighteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 58, no. 1 (1978): 21–30.

86 André Zysberg, "Galley Rowers in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *Deviants and the Abandoned in French Society: Selections from the Annales Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, vol. 4, ed. Robert Forster and Orest Ranum (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978): 83–110.

87 Jean Marteilhe, *Mémoires d'un protestant condamné aux Galères de France pour cause de Religion: écrits par lui-même: ouvrage dans lequel, outre le récit des souffrances de l'auteur depuis 1700 jusqu'en 1713, on trouvera diverses particularités curieuses, relatives à l'histoire de ce temps-là*. I have used the German translation of this fascinating first-person narrative: Jean Marteilhe, *Galeerensträfling unter dem Sonnenkönig: Memoiren*, trans. Hermann Adelberg (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1989).

88 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 472.

89 For this entry, see İpşirli, "Kürek Cezası": 222.

punishments, such as fines and flogging, were replaced by forced labor in the galleys.[90] Although penal servitude was limited to a certain period of time, in a remarkable number of cases criminals were sentenced to the oars/hard labor for life, as expressed in phrases such as "in order to row for one's lifetime" (*müʿebbed kürek çekmek üzere*). A register entitled "The Convict Register of the Imperial Naval Arsenal" (*defter-i mücrimān-ı der-zindān-ı an tersāne-i āmire*) and dated Ramaḍān 1, 1116/December 28, 1704, lists a number of entries concerning those who had committed crimes of banditry or rebellion. In accordance with the generally tough approach taken by the Ottoman state against bandits and rebels as disturbers of the public peace, these convicts were excluded from any possible amnesty. An entry dated 5 Muḥarram 1115/May 21, 1703, states that a bandit sentenced to "perpetual rowing" should not be freed even if the sultan was to pardon him (*fermān daḫī ṣadr olsa ıtlaḳ olınmaya*).[91] This life sentence was applied not only in relation to servitude on war ships, but also for service on special ships that transported stone, as the entry dated Rabīʿ al-Awwāl 7, 1115/July 21, 1703, shows.[92]

5 Seasonal Indentured Labor

Apart from active service at sea, rowers were also employed in two other locations: in the arsenal and outside the arsenal area. In prison, they lived together with the newly arrived war prisoners and convicts sentenced to the oars. During his visit to the arsenal prison, Gerlach describes the interior of the walls where prisoners produced sails and other equipment for galleys.[93] Outside the prison, they were put to hard labor, i.e., to repair ships or to public works, mostly construction jobs throughout the city;

90 Zarinebaf, *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul*: 165. Zarinebaf's findings have recently been confirmed by Bornstein-Makovetsky's study on Jewish convicts in the Imperial Naval Arsenal. See Leah Bornstein-Makovetsky, "Sentencing Jews to work on Ottoman Naval Ships and in Forced Labor at the Imperial Arsenal from the Early 16th Century to 1839," in *Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica* 19,No 1 (2020): 421–42.

91 D. BŞM. TRZ, 15749: 2.

92 D. BŞM. TRZ, 15749: 2. The sentence "to the oars" (*kürek cezası*) continued to exist in penal law until the days of the national assembly in Ankara, though it was only symbolic. In a decree issued by the Ankara government, an offender sentenced to the oars (*küreğe mahkum*) for seven and a half years for bodily injury and homicide in 1912 was pardoned. Jumādā al-Ākhira 2, 1339/February 11, 1921. See *Ceride-i Resmiye* [Official gazette] no. 5 dated Jumādā al-Ākhira 27, 1339/March 8, 1921, 4. During the Tanzimat reforms, the penal law of 1274/1858 "Men'i irtikāb Kanunnamesi" designated "kürek" as hard labor for crime of theft (according to art. 19 and 21). Ahmet Akgündüz, "1274/1858 Tarihli Ceza Kanunnamesinin Hukuki Kaynakları, Tatbik Şekli ve Men-i İrtikâb Kanunnamesi," in *Belleten* 199 (1987): 153–93. Convicts sentenced to *kürek* would have their feet put in chains during work. Pakalın, *Tarih Deyimleri*: 342.

93 Gerlach, *Tagebuch*: 493.

sometimes, they were employed in the sultan's palaces.[94] The most well-known construction project on which the slaves of the navy worked was the Süleymaniye mosque and soup kitchen in Istanbul. Based on the construction registers, Ömer Lütfi Barkan has determined that slave labor amounted to only five percent of the total labor of the whole construction project.[95]

Although the identity of these slaves is not clear and we do not know what kind of organization the galley slaves worked in, those who were listed in the registers in a different way, and those who were considered the *gebrān* (slave) of the ship captains (e.g., "wage of the workers: slaves of the mentioned captain of the ships," *ücret-i ırgadān ʿan gebrān-ı sefīnehā-i rüesāy-ı mezkūrın*) were galley slaves. Another indicator that the *gebrān* workers were *forsa* (galley slaves) can be found in the registration of guards with the title *vādīyān* (prison guards) on some days. We cannot be certain that these guards were always with the slave laborers on the construction project; however, it is clear that guards were sometimes present.[96] These slave workers were also paid, like the free, mostly Christian workers, between three to six *akçe* per day.[97] The seventeenth-century world traveler Evliyā Çelebi (d. 1682) also describes, albeit in an exaggerated style, the *forsa*s who worked on the construction of the Süleymaniye mosque: "For three full years, 3,000 shackled *forsa*s dug up the soil deep in the earth and Taurus, carrier of the globe, listened to the pickaxes of the diggers deep in the earth."[98] Slaves not only worked on construction sites in Istanbul, but also in other locations. At the new fortress in Candia, where construction started in April 1650, beside the soldiers and janissaries, 150 captives also worked in the lime kilns.[99]

94 However, according to Hakan Erdem, the number of state slaves working in the palace was restricted so that only six captives could be employed in the Old Palace and twelve in the New Palace at the same time. See Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire*: 30.

95 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami ve İmareti İnşaatı*, vol. 1 (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1972): 93; on renting out the slaves by the arsenal's administrators, see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Slavery in the Ottoman World: A Literature Survey* (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017): 29–31.

96 Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami*: 133.

97 Barkan, *Süleymaniye Cami*: 137. The daily wage of an unskilled construction worker in Istanbul in the sixteenth century was between five and six *akçe*. See Pamuk, *Monetary History*: 67.

98 Evliyâ Çelebi b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003): 149: "Üç sene kâmil üç bin pây-beste forsa pâyzen temelin ka'r-ı zemîne endirüp kûhkenlerin darb-ı tîşeleri sadâsın ka'r-ı zemînde hamele-i dünyâ olan sevr istimâ' ederdi."

99 Elias Kolovos, "A Town for the Besiegers: Social Life and Marriage in Ottoman Candia outside Candia (1650–1669)," in *The Eastern Mediterranean under Ottoman Rule: Crete 1645–1840*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2009): 105.

6 Maintaining the Labor Force

In terms of maintaining the labor force, we consider the living conditions aboard galleys, including the provision of food, clothing, medical treatment, and the rest. The supply of food and clothing is best documented. The main provision, rusks (*beksimat*/*beksimet*), is the subject of many state orders addressing the officials in charge; its production and transport are frequently reported in the *mühimme* registers since this was a state duty.[100] Other supplies are indicated with the phrase "provisions" (*zāhire*) that may include grains for cooking, such as lentils, rice, and wheat, as well as olive oil and vinegar.[101] Furthermore, the quantity of provision for the daily needs of each crew member and oarsman were regulated. According to Kātib Çelebi, each sailor and rower received one-half *okka* of rusk per day, as ordained by the state.[102] Synchronic rowing involved great physical effort and was very exhausting; therefore, it is questionable whether and to what extent the daily provision sufficed.[103] We do know that they were allowed to cook any provisions they bought.[104]

We know even less about the medical care of galley oarsmen (aboard or in the arsenal prison). Miri Shefer-Mossensohn gives the example of a certain Hasan, who was appointed as surgeon to the arsenal prison in spring 1694. Shefer-Mossensohn points out that the Imperial Arsenal offered medical treatment to captives and criminals in the prison, who had to be healthy to be employed as oarsmen in the upcoming naval season.[105] It was not possible to include a medical practitioner aboard the galleys, largely because of the extremely limited space and overcrowding. We first see a physician aboard a *patrona* galleon (a large sailing ship) in 1693 and 1695, as part of a crew of 550 men and employed with a daily wage of 40 *akçe*.[106]

An official order[107] from the sixteenth century demonstrates that thirteen sick convict rowers were handed over to Dārende Yorgi, the custodian[108] of Izmir, for treatment and recovery. However, they escaped from their confinement. Thereafter,

100 For example, see *Mühimme Defteri* 6: 68 on the need for state rowers (*miri kürekci*) on galleys for the defense of Rhodes; *Mühimme Defteri* 82: 214.

101 *Mühimme Defteri* 12: 23; 777; Cezar, *Levendler*: 126–27.

102 Katib Çelebi, *Tuhfet*. On rusk and its production, see Bostan, *Tersâne-i Âmire*: 244–50.

103 On food and clothing, see Bono, *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer*: 157–158; on food in the corsair galleys, see Emrah Safa Gürkan, *Sultanın Korsanları: Osmanlı Akdenizi'nde Gazâ, Yağma ve Esaret, 1500–1700* (Istanbul: Kronik, 2018): 219–27.

104 Bostan, *Tersâne-i Âmire*, 250, referring to Wratislaw.

105 Shefer-Mossensohn, "Medical Treatment": 552–54.

106 See the table on crews in Bostan, *Tersâne-i Âmire*: 184–186 (table xliv).

107 *Mühimme Defteri* 3: 113.

108 The "custodian of non-Muslim subjects" (*kefere kethüdāsı*) had the same responsibilities as the "city custodian" (*şehir kethüdāsı*). Both worked in city centers where the number of tax-paying subjects was probably increasing: the custodians acted as mediators between the state and the locals. See Şenol Çelik, "Şehir Kethüdâsı," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 38 (2010): 451–53.

an order was addressed to all Anatolian kadis to find the fugitives and deliver them to the governor of Rhodes so they could be returned to service on the galleys. The issue of rest is the least known aspect of being a galley rower. The image of continually rowing to the point of death is the creation of the popular imagination of galley slavery, not only in fiction, but also in first-person narratives of former galley slaves in Europe.[109] In Agatha Christie's famous crime novel *4:50 from Paddington*, a protagonist comments about his housekeeper: "We've worked her like a galley slave."[110] In movies such as *Ben Hur* and *The Sea Hawk*, Hollywood popularized the image of the oarsman as a miserable wretch toiling below deck while loaded down with heavy chains, an image that has persisted in satirical depictions and cartoons (Fig. 1). In reality, galleys put to sea only for a short period (in spring and summer, when weather permitted); once aboard, slaves were made to row only when necessary, in combat or during still periods. Wenceslaw Wratislaw, a former capitve, remembers that even during a journey, he and his comrades "rested one, two, three, or more days by the

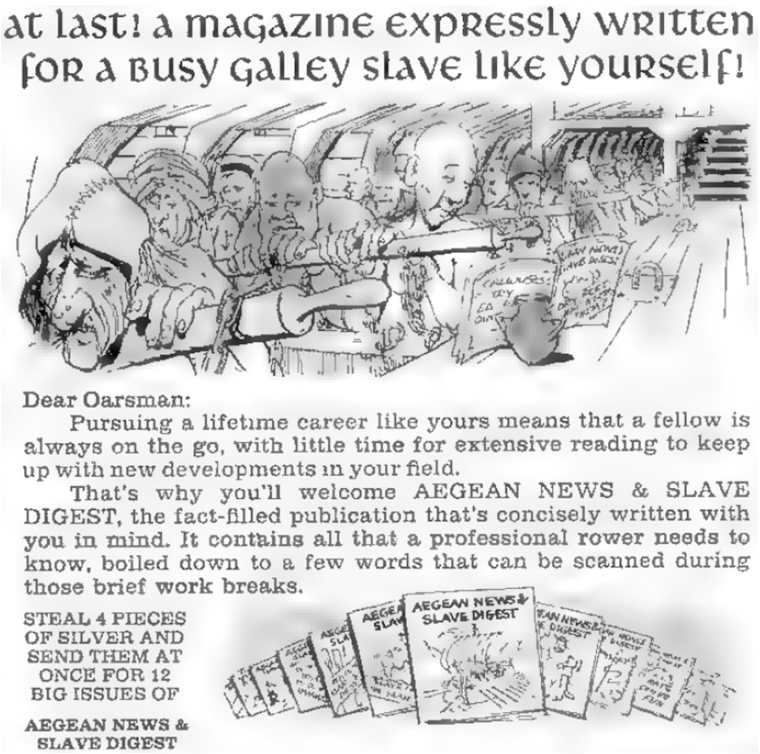

Fig. 1: "If Junkmail had Always Existed," *MAD Magazine* 232, July 1982.

109 Şen, "Galley Slaves": 131, 138.

110 Agatha Christie, *4:50 from Paddington* (Glasgow: Omnia Books, 2002): 226.

shore [. . .]"[111] Thus, being a galley slave did not mean that one was mercilessly worked to death; cases are recorded showing that oarsmen reached old age (see also the section on manumission).

Regarding food, drink, and medical treatment, the treatment of slaves might more appropriately be compared to the living conditions of the poor of Istanbul. Was the situation on the galleys indeed worse than that of day laborers or carriers? We know that those in early modern European cities suffered from poor hygiene and malnutrition, such that living conditions on galleys may not have seemed particularly unhealthy. Moreover, studies indicate that the food supply in the navy was not necessarily worse than that in the city. Ruth Pike's study on penal servitude in early modern Spain points out that prisoners from the royal jails sometimes submitted petitions to be transferred to galleys, where they expected better conditions.[112]

7 Keeping Manpower at Work

With regard to the question of how unfree laborers were kept working, the first assumption might be physical force. However, physical compulsion alone could not ensure that laborers continued working. Incentives, allowances, and wages may have played a role in motivating coerced laborers to work, whereas disciplinary measures were the strategy most frequently applied to keep men at work in the galleys.

7.1 Incentives and Wages

Laborers' incentives can be related to further reasons, such as pride, local loyalty, recognition, and community service, to use Marcel van der Linden's labels.[113] Unfortunately, it is difficult to detect these kinds of incentives in our sources, although conscripted oarsmen must have worked for some of these reasons, given the tax obligations of their communities. In the Ottoman Malta Register, several entries record the actions of individuals rewarded for good service or acts of bravery during the Malta campaign: "Halil, son of Ömer, who was an oarsman from the sub-district (*ḳażā*) of Koçhisar, rendered outstanding services by holing the wall of

111 Wenceslas Wratislaw, *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz*, trans. Albert Henry Wratislaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 140.

112 Pike, "Penal Servitute": 21–40.

113 Marcel van der Linden, "Dissecting Coerced Labor," in *On Coerced Labor: Work and Compulsion after Chattel Slavery*, ed. Marcel van der Linden and Magaly Rodríguez García (Leiden: Brill, 2016): 308 Figure 13.2.

the Santarma fortress during the siege."[114] The entry for Thursday, Dhū al-Qaʿda 22, 972/June 21, 1565, states that Halil, the son of Ömer, an oarsman from the sub-district of Koçhisar,[115] "had rendered outstanding services" by breaking a hole into the wall of the Santarma fortress during the siege. Because of this service, it was decreed that Halil should receive a military fief[116] of 3,000 *akçe*. However, the oarsman Halil obviously did not receive his award, and according to the entry for Dhū al-Qaʿda 25, 972/June 24, 1565, he complained to the authorities. He told them that a certain Şahrah (whose position we do not know), who owned a fief in the district of Menteşe,[117] had drowned at sea. Therefore, Halil requested that he be awarded Şahrah's fief. The entry states that his request was accepted.[118] Since these few individuals were specifically identified as "oarsman," and not only as "soldiers" as in the case of other awardees, we can assume that they were employed for combat during the siege.

Slaves who were purchased were paid like voluntary rowers, or sometimes even more.[119] As noted in some of the entries above, this wage was likely to have been between 800 and 1,000 *akçe* during the sixteenth century. According to the finance registers (*muḥāsebe defterleri*) of the Imperial Arsenal from 1602 to 1698, the payment of voluntary rowers varied between 1,700 and 6,000 *aḳçe*. The *forsa*s, however, were paid one-half *aḳçe* per day in 1603–4 and two *aḳçe* per day in 1621–22.[120] Their status as slaves (i.e., because they were *forsa*s) did not prevent them from receiving a small financial payment. Therefore, payment in cash cannot be a criterion by which to differentiate between free and unfree labor.

7.2 Coercion, Discipline, and Surveillance

The issue of coercion, which may be the best known aspect of unfree labor, is described vividly in a number of personal narratives. Coercion was applied, in particular, during critical moments when it was necessary to row the galley during a battle or combat encounter. Wratislaw describes the following situation:

114 Arnold Cassola, *The 1565 Ottoman Malta Campaign Register* (Malta: Bank of Valletta/Publishers Enterprises Group, 1998): 23 (page number of the register): also see the appendix entitled "Turkish Troops Who Distinguished Themselves for Good Service or Acts of Bravery During the Malta Campaign": 368.

115 Today Şereflikoçhisar, a district of Ankara province.

116 The military fief called a *timar* was the smallest unit of the land tenure and tax revenue system.

117 As Aegean district of Muğla province.

118 "Halil, an oarsman, rendered outstanding services in the conquest of the Santarma fortress." Cassola, *Malta Campaign Register*: 33 (this is the page number of the register). In the appendix, he is erroneously listed as a second oarsman (with the same name): although in fact it is only another appearance of the same person in the register, see 368.

119 Bostan, *Tersâne-i Âmire*: 212–13.

120 Bostan, *Tersâne-i Âmire*: 210 n. 202.

> We were conducted on board the galley, or large war-boat, under the care of a vigilant guard, and Achmet, the reis, or captain, who commanded on board the vessel, a Christian born in Italy, but who had now become a Turk, immediately received us and ordered us all to be chained to oars. The vessel was tolerably large, and in it five prisoners sat on a bench, pulling together at a single oar. It is incredible how great the misery of rowing in the galleys is; no work in the world can be harder: for they chain each prisoner by one foot under his seat, leaving him so far free to move that he can get on the bench and pull the oar. When they are rowing, it is impossible, on account of the great heat, to pull otherwise than naked, without any upper clothing, and with nothing on the whole body but a pair of linen trousers.[121]

Coercion was exerted by various forms of discipline and constraint, such as whipping and fettering. The treatment and discipline of oarsmen differed according to their legal status, whether they were convicts, slaves, or freemen. To comprehend the whole picture, we must consider coercion and physical violence in their contemporary context, at a time when the idea of human rights did not yet exist. How was violence defined in the premodern period? Was flogging on the galleys regarded as a particularly brutal and shocking form of violence? Physical coercion was generally applied as a control and disciplinary measure and was widespread in early modern social life.[122] The galley was a space in which extremely asymmetrical relationships were affirmed by strict discipline; severe corporal punishment was used to maintain the social hierarchy. A contemporaneous description of the mechanisms of unfree labor and social discipline can be found in the diary of Johann Siegmund Wurffbain (d. 1661), who served in the Dutch Moluccas in the seventeenth century and frequently noted the harsh punishments meted out to slaves, soldiers, local subalterns, and deviant individuals.[123] A typical depiction follows:

> On March 24, another wrongdoer was punished. A slave who had stolen nutmegs from a tree was whipped and branded. Likewise, a boatman who had stolen rice from a ship and exchanged it for coconut wine, as well as the slave with whom he had exchanged the goods, was whipped around the neck with two canes filled with rice and coconut wine.[124]

In terms of discipline, Jean Marteilhe's depiction makes clear the necessity of discipline, especially at moments when rowing was critical. The situation was likely similar in other galleys:

> As soon as he [the warden] is given the order to row by the captain, he gives a certain signal on a silver whistle hanging around his neck. The two sub-wardens repeat the signal on their whistles, whereupon the oarsmen, with their oars ready, start to row simultaneously all at once and so precisely that all the 50 oars drop on the water and plunge into the water in a single blow, as if there was only a single oar. They continue in this way without needing another order until, after another

121 Wratislaw, *Adventures*: 138.

122 A notion popularized by Michel Foucault in his study *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1977).

123 Johann Sigmund Wurffbain, *Reise Nach den Molukken und Vorder-Indien 1632–1646* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Joh. Th. de Bry, 1931): 139, 143, 152.

124 Wurffbain, *Reise*: 150: "mit 2. Rohren voll Reiß und Cocus-Wein, umb den Halß gegeisselt."

> whistle gives the signal, they stop rowing. Very much depends on them rowing simultaneously in this way; for when one or another of the oars loses the rhythm and comes up or drops down too early or too late, the oarsmen sitting in front of this very oar bump their head on the oar when they sit down, and likewise, the oarsmen who missed the beat, bump their heads on the oar right behind them. And there is more [danger] than just bumping one's head. The warden strikes them as well, so it is in their own interest to pay particular attention to speed and rhythm. A saying that applies very clearly to someone who is doing hard and exhausting work: 'I am working like a galley slave.' For it is indeed the hardest job that you can imagine.[125]

7.3 Preventing Escape

Several measures were undertaken in order to keep unfree labor on board galleys and in the arsenal prison during the winter season. Surveillance, carried out by supervisors (*vardiyān*), was used rigorously in these spaces. Surveillance was also applied during recruitment, as we know from entries in *mühimme* registers. Most entries include orders to prevent rowers conscripted from villages from running away. Aboard the galleys, despite strict surveillance, escapes were still frequent. A certain Dimitri Mestene, who was a galley slave (*mīrī forsa kürekçilerden Dimitri Mestene nām efrenciyyü l-aṣl esīr*) in the squadron of ʿAlī Bey, the governor of Rhodes, managed to escape and arrived in the district of Teke (modern-day Antalya). A police chief (*subāşı*) recognized the fugitive and surrendered him to the governor of Tripoli, Murād Bey. On 28 Rabīʿ al-Awwāl 972/November 3, 1564, the latter was ordered to dispatch him to Istanbul and ensure that the aforementioned oarsman did not escape on the way there.[126]

8 Organizing Turnover

The *mukātaba/mükātebe* was essentially an agreement applying to the legal limits of enslavement, which was a basis for the organization of unfree labor. Such a contract stipulated that a slave was allowed to pay for his own release after a fixed period of time and/or the fulfillment of terms set in the contract.[127] However, manumission was much more difficult to obtain for slave rowers in the navy than for other enslaved individuals or groups. One reason may have been that rowers were hard to obtain

125 Marteilhe, *Galeerensträfling*: 276–77.

126 *Mühimme Defteri* 6: 168.

127 For the different forms of manumission at the Ottoman courts, see Joshua M. White, "Slavery, Manumission, and Freedom Suits in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 283–318; in the nineteenth century, the government itself paid the manumission fee required by the contract (for example, in the case of the Circassian refugees): see Ehud R. Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression: 1840–1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016): 162–64.

and therefore indispensable; healthy and strong men seem to have had only a small chance of redeeming themselves or acquiring *mukātaba* contracts. Nicole Priesching writes about the situation for the galley slaves of the Papal States and notes that many of them hoped that one day they would be able to pay for their release. One of the several obstacles they faced was the necessity to obtain a medical report confirming that they were unfit to work on the galley.[128]

According to the documents I have been able to identify, manumission "due to advanced age" was the only reason galley slaves were set free. As Nur Sobers-Khan states, we know that the slaves who engaged in *mukātaba* contracts did not have to work as oarsmen. Almost certainly, slaves who had to work as oarsmen were not listed among those employed in *mukātaba* contracts in the court registers of Galata because they did not receive payment for their work and also did not hold out the prospect of a guaranteed manumission.[129] Documents show that slaves employed in a *mukātaba* contract worked as skilled laborers or seamen at the arsenal or that their work was at least partially related to the seafaring sector.[130] I have found entries in the Galata court register no. 15 (a different one from that analyzed by Sobers-Khan) stating that oarsmen were also manumitted. Obviously, they could obtain such a document only due to advanced age:

> The slave called Yuvan Elyo had rowed in the galleys of Rhodes [i.e., in the fleet of the Ottoman governor of Rhodes] for thirty years (*otuz yıl mikdārı Rodos kadırgalarında kürek çeküb*) and served the state faithfully. Now, as he is a frail old man, he was appointed overseer for the state slaves according to the ancient custom. Because of his loyal and righteous service, [he] should be freed after serving for three years beginning in 1 Jumādā al-Ākhira 994/May 20, 1586, and his manumission contract [should be] handed to him.[131]

A manumission was only possible after one served in another function, such as an overseer. In humanitarian terms, however, it seems rather cruel to set a frail old man free and leave him to his fate. The case above is confirmed by a number of entries stating that slaves of the arsenal were employed in surveillance functions as well. In a similar case, a certain Anton v. Bonato, who had served 30 years in the Imperial Arsenal and had become old, was manumitted. The record does not clarify whether this man had ever served as an oarsman.[132] Francesco Gaspari, another state slave in the

128 Nicole Priesching, *Von Menschenfängern und Menschenfischern: Sklaverei und Loskauf im Kirchenstaat des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012): 208.

129 Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014): 162.

130 Sobers-Khan, *Slaves without Shackles*: 164.

131 Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Galata Mahkemesi 15 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1024–1029/M. 1615–1620)* (Istanbul: İSAM, 2012) [hereafter Galata Mahkemesi 15]: 91b–1.

132 *Galata Mahkemesi* 15: 90b–3: "otuz yıl miḳdārı mīrī içün ḫidmet ėtmeğle pīr olmağın."

arsenal, was set free after fulfilling his three-year service.[133] We may consider all other reasons by which oarsmen exited from slavery, but not mechanisms, since these possibilities were based on the existing social order rather than on the employer's decision. These possibilities included conversion, escape, or being ransomed or exchanged.[134] Note that none of these possibilities necessarily led to freedom: rather, they led to a new relationship of asymmetrical dependency.

9 Conclusions

My goal has been to study the phenomenon of unfree labor as it pertains to the Ottoman navy in the early modern period and its place in global history from a micro-spatial approach. I chose Galata as the ideal location, because the Ottoman navy and the Imperial Arsenal, with their shipyards and social facilities, were based there. In the Mediterranean basin, war captivity, enslavement, and unfree labor were common in all the navies of the Mediterranean powers; they all shared the same characteristics. This amounts to a rule of reciprocity: all of these powers responded to the exigencies of naval warfare in the same way. The dramatic increase in the need for rowers at the beginning of the sixteenth century led to an increase in the forcible recruitment of men. Despite their various reasons for working in the navy, the organization and form of labor were similar, particularly in terms of the working conditions of convicts, war captives, and other recruited oarsmen. The distinctive characteristic of unfree labor lies in the fact that for all these groups, the state acted as their common employer. While their legal status differed significantly, the rowers shared the same living conditions.

Dependency and unfree labor were global during the early modern period, afflicting many groups. But from a global perspective, and in view of the fact that life on the galleys entailed existential emergency situations, such as naval combat and storms at sea, the situation of rowers was in some regards the most extreme form of dependency. Looking at Galata in the wider Mediterranean context, both as a space and as a micro hub from a micro-spatial perspective, its connectivity provides many opportunities to take a global history perspective. It was not an isolated or unique place. Even if we focus exclusively on unfree labor, human labor, or recruitment mechanisms, we encounter a number of geographical connections. Among those involved, we must include the entire Mediterranean world (war captives or other recruited manpower were supplied by the Italian states (particularly Venice, Spain, Malta, and France), central and

133 *Galata Mahkemesi* 15: 88b–3: "Mīrī esīrlerden [. . .] efrenciyyü l-aṣl Françesḳo Gaspari Takarfer." On the term *efrencī/ifrinci*, see Sobers-Khan, *Slaves without Shackles*: 84–85. On the employment of slaves as overseers, see further *Galata Mahkemesi* 15: 90b–5.

134 Şen, "Galley Slaves and Agency": 151–58.

eastern Europe (Hungary, Germany), the northern neighbors of the Ottoman state (Russia, Ukraine, the Caucasus), and distant regions of the Ottoman domains (tax recruits from the Balkan provinces). There was significant mobility between inhabitants of these larger geographical areas as well as among local spaces: the arsenal, its prison, the galleys, and the city, where some were employed in the off season.

Amidst these geographical connections and mobility, individuals, as slaves and members of the human workforce, were entangled in various webs of dependency. War captives became slaves, slaves hired by private owners became seasonal laborers, and convicts served as penal serfs in the state's navy. Moreover, officials from the grand admiral to the guards were involved in the management of maritime labor. In the system of large-scale recruitment and forced labor in the Ottoman navy, the state was the main protagonist. In this respect, unfree labor in the early modern period can be considered similar to prisoners of war and forced labor in the twentieth century, such as the gulag of Stalin's Soviet Union and prison camps in Germany during the Nazi regime. All share distinctive characteristics: the state was the main actor that engaged in large-scale recruitment and there was mass mobility, deployment to different spaces, and a war context (i.e., the necessities resulting from warfare). They were not self-sustaining systems; the workforce required continual external replacements.

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Christoph Witzenrath

Negotiating Early Modern Transottoman Slaving Zones: An Arab in Moscow

1 Introduction

The journey of an Arab man from Jerusalem to Moscow in the seventeenth century to raise cash for ransoming his family may well be considered global in a range of senses: it connected two scarcely linked, distant, and growing Eurasian empires, of which one was a great power and the other was on the brink of such status. It referred to other journeys connecting these empires, along with the experiences gained while traveling through these loosely related Transottoman spaces, including possibly Anatolia, the Mediterranean[1] and the Black Sea, certainly the Caucasus area, the River Volga, the adjacent steppe, and inner Muscovy. It was conditional on a broad array of external factors influencing its tenets, outline, and results. As recent studies on global migration remind us, such journeys in premodern conditions were seldom undertaken on the individual judgement of one person but involved decision processes encompassing numerous related people.[2] Often, but not necessarily in the given case, such interlocutors acted as professionals or were sent by the master of the persons they claimed to ransom.[3]

The multiple considerations involved in such a journey call for adequate frameworks of interpretation that are historically informed or, preferably, saturated, and which may spur the meaningful linking of these factors. Questions raised comprise why anyone would expect to gain an advantage in ransoming from undertaking an arduous and costly journey across at least 4,000 kilometers to a distant, northerly kingdom that could hardly be described as remarkably wealthy. They also require relevant approaches to questions of faith, conversion, and political economy, since such factors were involved in the actions leading up to the decision to embark on this journey and in the decisions of the Moscow chancelleries. How were these places linked

1 Assuming he received the recommendation of the patriarch of Constantinople in the city.

2 Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds. *Globalising Migration History: The Eurasian Experience (16th–21st Centuries)*, vol. 3 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2014).

3 Géza Dávid and Pál. Fodor, eds. *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders: Early Fifteenth–Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

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by networks of religion, trade, and politics to produce the outcome of an Arab collecting alms in Moscow, and in what ways and to what extent did they limit his endeavors? Why would the Moscow administration even consider helping an Arab in any way, since as a Greek Orthodox he may or may not have been considered a coreligionist? Approaches giving due consideration to mutual influences of faith, politics, and economy in histories of slaving that decenter from or "provincialize" Europe are few and far between.[4] A recent attempt to formulate such a framework relies particularly on data gained in the medieval Mediterranean and Europe.

2 Slaving and No-Slaving Zones

The theory of slaving zones and no-slaving zones was put forth by Jeffrey Fynn-Paul in 2009. Although it was launched among scholars of slavery, it was from the start concerned with wider questions of empire building and global history.[5] There has been some revision since, but it was welcomed and in its basic assumptions maintained by a growing number of international scholars mainly studying the Greater Mediterranean – including Genoa and the Black Sea, as well as Roma slaves in Romania, medieval Europe, and the colonial world.[6] Despite some generalizing forays, the concept has not yet elicited much work among students of the inner Eurasian and eastern European regions.[7] As a core statement, slaving zones have occurred everywhere in time and space, while at other times the same area or group might be addressed as no-slaving zone. As against essentializing concepts, this highlights the fluid character of enslavement. The theory's main characteristics were originally listed as six columns on which to base conceptual considerations. Subsequently, these were adjusted to some degree in conference proceedings published in 2018. The earlier formulation may be summarized as follows: political organization protects people from enslavement, while political disorganization can have the opposite effect. Secondly, many societies had geographical areas which were "slaving zones," i.e., places from which slaves could be captured or purchased. Thirdly, many societies created "no-slaving zones" that were (theoretically) off limits to

4 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

5 Jeffrey Fynn-Paul, "Empire, Monotheism and Slavery in the Greater Mediterranean Region from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era," *Past & Present* 205 (2009): 3–40.

6 Jeffrey Fynn-Paul, "Empire, Monotheism and Slavery," in *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, ed. Jeffrey Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas (Leiden: Brill, 2018): 336–59.

7 Juliane Schiel, "Sklaven," in *Migrationen im Mittelalter: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 251–65; Fynn-Paul and Pargas, *Slaving Zones*: 2. For medieval Rus prior to 1100, see: Fynn-Paul, "Empire, Monotheism and Slavery": 5, 17, 21, 23.

slaving. Fourthly, non-monotheistic societies had more permeable "no-slaving zones," while monotheistic societies tended to create more absolute bans on the enslavement of co-religionists. Thus, religious boundaries also acted to create slaving zone boundaries. Moreover, slaving zones can represent fractures within a given society. For example, some "classes" of people, such as criminals, the poor, or people of a certain race, creed, or ethnicity, might be legitimate slave targets, while others were off limits. The sixth column states that identity and ideology play key roles in determining the actual boundaries of slaving zones, often just as much or more than political and economic organizations.[8]

One of Fynn-Paul's most original points is that the slaving zones of politically organized states might be more thoroughly exploited than those of politically disorganized states. This is due to the potential to be a "long-term" slaving zone and the increased economic sophistication that might come with political organization, increasing effective demand for slaves taken from the affected slaving zone. For the latter, he nods to Africa and Russia, though largely in the medieval period, as prime examples.[9] Such a theorizing statement allows us to evaluate the historical record more rigorously. The terms thus applied are analytical and less essentializing than the usual ethnic and religious markers of raiders and raided, in which inheres the potential to stigmatize the late born. In an evaluation performed in 2018, identity markers that might render a person eligible for slavery are extended to the point at which the interaction of economic and political interests is openly discussed. "Caribs" are to some degree those whom the Spanish crown designated enslaveable for a certain period and in an area deemed less economically important, after fees were paid by traders and raiders. There were manifold intervening markers of identity between the era of religion and that of race: markers as diverse as citizenship, religion, ethnicity, race, tribal identity, political allegiance, and geographical elements have all been used at various times and places around the globe in order to delineate enslaveable populations. These characteristics are no longer seen as different types of slaveries, but as a continuum of various interlacing forms.

Another clarification of earlier points illustrated by many contributions to this conference is that various power regimes and ideological systems can compete over a given region at a given time, which can cause confusion or competition among slaving zones.[10] This is especially pertinent to the Transottoman region, which contained core areas that developed no-slaving zones, such as the Ottoman or Persian empires, but also contained numerous shatter areas in which the impact of differing empires made

8 Fynn-Paul, "Empire, Monotheism and Slavery": 3–4; Stephan Conermann, Review of *Slaving Zones: Cultural Identities, Ideologies, and Institutions in the Evolution of Global Slavery*, ed. Jeff Fynn-Paul and Damian Alan Pargas, *sehepunkte* 19, no. 1 (2019).

9 Fynn-Paul and Pargas, *Slaving Zones*: 3.

10 Fynn-Paul and Pargas, *Slaving Zones*: 7.

itself felt and mutually competing slaving zones influenced each other.[11] In connected terms, Stanley Engerman and David Eltis in their pathbreaking overview of social dependence have pointed out that eligibility for enslavement is a major neglected issue.[12]

3 The Ottoman Empire and Muscovy – Transottoman Interactions and the History of Slaving

Muscovy and great swathes of eastern Europe entered the Ottoman slaving zone in the fifteenth century as a result of several longstanding trends with varying effects and consequences. The two empires at the western end of the Silk Road, the Ottoman and the Muscovite empires, and their interrelations were to considerable degrees shaped by and for trade and slaving. They were increasingly distinguished by geographically separate trade routes from Europe to Asia. The older, southernly arms of the Silk Road trade terminated in the Ottoman Mediterranean ports. A new, Siberian arm of the Silk Road network opened in the seventeenth century, running from China and India through Nerchinsk, Irkutsk, Tara, and Tobolsk to Moscow: this was recently studied in detail by Erika Monahan.[13] Increased security and communications in these new Siberian outposts swayed well-connected Bukharan transcontinental merchants to move to Tobolsk. They sought to evade the growing internal troubles in Central Asia as a consequence of the long-term dissolution of the Mongol Empire. Meanwhile, Armenian and Indian traders set up in Astrakhan.[14] Growing transcontinental trade was the mid-term outcome of sixteenth-century conquests along and beyond the Volga: the capital of the Volga Tatars, Kazan (1552), Astrakhan near the estuary, and Sibir. Attempts to expand into the Baltic during the Livonian War (1558–83) at first hampered trade but led to opening the Arctic route, collaborating with the Dutch and English via newly-founded Arkhangelsk.[15] However, the main trade artery from northern Europe to the Ottomans led through Poland, a frequent and long-term ally of the former and competitor of

11 Alfred J. Rieber, *The Struggle for the Eurasian Borderlands: From the Rise of Early Modern Empires to the End of the First World War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

12 David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Dependence, Servility, and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 15–21.

13 Erika Monahan, *The Merchants of Siberia: Trade in Early Modern Eurasia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

14 G.L. Penrose, "Inner Asian Influences on the Earliest Russo-Chinese Trade and Diplomatic Contacts," *Russian History/Histoire russe* 19 (1992): 388–92.

15 Nancy Shields Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450–1801* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Muscovy.[16] It is symptomatic that "Khadzhi Ivan" changed between the Ottoman and Muscovite transportation networks at Astrakhan, the intersection of the hajj route from Central Asia to Mecca along the northern Caucasus and Muscovite-Persian waterways.[17]

After the Muscovite conquests, the Ottomans attempted to cut a channel through the isthmus between the Don and Volga. They failed in 1569, since their Crimean Tatar guides led the campaign astray – they had other designs than letting their ostensible suzerain bypass the Caucasus, appear by waterborne transport in force in the northern domains of its adversary, Safavid Iran, and cut out nomadic Tatar intermediaries and Muscovy from the eastern trade.[18] It was not until doom loomed large over Istanbul's long-time ally Poland-Lithuania, threatening the balance of power in western Eurasia, that the Ottomans attacked beyond the Black Sea steppe.[19] The Muscovite-Ottoman war of the 1670s brought a new, uneasy balance that emptied right-bank Ukraine, but allowed Muscovy to people its newly-won steppe possessions beyond the river.[20]

North-south Muscovite-Ottoman trade was alive but limited. The two empires remained separated by the Pontic Steppe and were competitors for the predominantly east-west transcontinental trade on parallel routes. Income flows had changed from the state of affairs when the Mongol Empire had united the Silk Road routes.[21] Transhumant nomads, especially on the Pontic Steppe, were from the sixteenth century onwards often compelled by their meager revenue as herders and increasingly river-based transport to seek additional sources of income, which they found in raiding and highway robbery – the middle and lower Volga were still known for this phenomenon in the later 1500s.[22]

Demand for labor was high in the economically thriving Ottoman Empire and raiding access for nomads to human resources was easy, fast, and ugly. Almost annual slave raids across the steppe, often several per year of various sizes, yielded large

16 Albrecht Fuess, "Handel und Waren," in *Transottomanica: osteuropäisch-osmanisch-persische Mobilitätsdynamiken*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Albrecht Fuess and Stefan Rohdewald (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2019): 105–34.

17 See below.

18 Brian L. Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700*, *Warfare and History* (London: Routledge, 2007); Monahan, *The Merchants of Siberia*; Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450–1801*.

19 Eurasia in this sense denotes the area north of major mountain ranges and west of the Carpathian arc: John LeDonne, "Poltava and the Geopolitics of Western Eurasia," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 31, no. 1–4 (2009–2010): 177–191; Donald Ostrowski, "The End of Muscovy. The Case for ca. 1800," *Slavic Review* 68, no. 2 (2010): 426–38.

20 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society*.

21 On the cities and trade networks of the Golden Horde, see Mark Kramarovsky, "The City and Urban Life in the Golden Horde," in *The History of the Tatars since Ancient Times*, vol. 3, *The Ulus of Jochi (Golden Horde)*, ed. M. Usmanov and R. Khakimov (Kazan: Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tatarstan, 2017): 593–615; and Christoph Witzenrath, Review of *Srednevekovye goroda nižnego Povolž'ja i severnogo Kavkaza*, by Aleksandr Vladimirovič Pačkalov, *sehepunkte* 19, no. 9 (2019).

22 Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450–1801*.

numbers of slaves:[23] eastern Europe from the Caucasus to Poland was second in numbers only to sub-Saharan Africa as a source of slaves. Between the 1470s and 1700, documented port taxes indicate 2–3 million captives sold through northern Black Sea harbors, not counting those killed during hurried marches through the steppe as their captors tried to escape relief forces.[24] Connectivity was central to this nomadic extra income: Muscovite and Ruthenian slaves can be found in numbers in places as far removed as Aleppo, Istanbul, and Bursa, as well as in Central Asia. For most, this was a one-way trip. They did not necessarily remain unwillingly in their new places of residence due to the Ottoman Empire's attraction or the mere power of the holding areas to retain them, although this has proven hard to document in individual cases.[25] Slaves were usually manumitted after a certain number of years, from seven to twelve, and continued to live in the vicinity of their former owner as clients;[26] however, not all benefitted from this custom and some were sold on before manumission. Some slaves reached the heights of the Ottoman hierarchy, epitomized by Hurrem (1500/1506–1558), a slave girl from Ruthenia whom foreigners called Roxelana. She

23 Charles L. Wilkins, "A Demographic Profile of Slaves in Early Ottoman Aleppo," in *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860*, ed. Christoph Witzenrath (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 221–46.

24 Estimates based on various sources confirm the larger picture: Halil İnalcık, ed., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997): 32–37; Alan W. Fisher, "Muscovy and the Black Sea Slave Trade," *Canadian-American Slavic Studies*, 6, no. 4 (1972): 579; A.A. Novosel'skij, *Bor'ba moskovskogo gosudarstva s tatarami v pervoj polovine XVII veka* (Moscow: Izdatel'stva Akademii nauk SSSR, 1948): 436; G.A. Sanin, *Otnosheniia Rossii i Ukrainy s Krymskim Khanstvom v seredine XVII veka* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987): 243; Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Slave Hunting and Slave Redemption as a Business Enterprise: The Northern Black Sea Region in the Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Oriente Moderno* 25, no. 1 (2006): 151; Mikhail Kizilov, "Slave Trade in the Early Modern Crimea from the Perspective of Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Sources," *Journal of Early Modern History* 11, no. 1–2 (2007): 6–7.

25 Ehud R. Toledano, *As If Silent and Absent. Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Ehud R. Toledano, "Enslavement in the Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern Period," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–AD 1804*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 25–46; Brian L. Davies, "The Prisoner's Tale: Russian Captivity Narratives and Changing Muscovite Perceptions of the Ottoman-Tatar Dar-Al-Islam," in *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860*, ed. Christoph Witzenrath (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 279–94; Aleksandr Lavrov, "Captivity, Slavery and Gender: Muscovite Female Captives in the Crimean Khanate and in the Ottoman Empire," in *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860*, ed. Christoph Witzenrath (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 309–19; Aleksandr Lavrov, "Rapatriement, genre et mobilité sociale. La liste des captifs rapatriés de Crimée par Timofej Hotunskij (1649)," *Cahiers du monde russe* 57, no. 2–3 (2016): 667–85.

26 Ehud R. Toledano, "An Empire of Many Households: The Case of Ottoman Enslavement," in *Slaves and Households in the Near East: Papers from the Oriental Institute Seminar held at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 5–6 March 2010*, ed. Laura Culbertson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011): 85–97.

was the first after generations of slave spouses to lawfully marry the sultan. Suleyman the Magnificent, or the Lawgiver in the Ottoman phrasing, broke with tradition, writing love poems in her name. When she became regent to her son after a biting round of Ottoman succession struggles, she had already increased the harem's influence in politics and culture.[27] However, others returned after months, years, or decades – ransomed, fled, or manumitted. Many enjoyed less good fortune and found themselves on galleys as rowers.[28] From Ottoman silver mines no slave returned, according to the records. Nevertheless, far from all miners were slaves and such a fate was not uncommon, let alone in Christian empires.[29] Some were manumitted after a period of years according to contract or paid their own ransom from what they had earned as trade agents of their masters. Others were ransomed by Muscovite envoys, merchants, foreign ambassadors, or intermediary steppe groups, such as Cossacks, through their contacts with Tatars. Some Cossacks on the steppe frontier intermarried with Tatars or mountaineers; others and some Muscovite Tatars returned from slavery to become interpreters for the Muscovite foreign ("ambassador") chancellery.[30] Resulting networks were instrumental in arranging the exchange of captives for ransom, including even boyars.

The peculiar connectivity between the Muscovite and Ottoman empires has been duly noted in the literature. Nancy Kollmann writes about trade and its corollary in the politics of expansion and assembling empire. Land and people are seen in global context, especially the genetic link to the Mongol Empire that the Muscovites and Ottomans shared, but which developed in divergent ways. The main approach to ideology fairly emphasizes broadcasting legitimacy, nevertheless it begs the question from what legitimacy was derived except the dynastic link that broke down at the end of the sixteenth century.[31]

In the traditional story of Muscovy's rise as first described by V.O. Kliuchevskyi, there were four factors contributing to its waxing: Mongol patronage, securing the see of the Orthodox metropolitanate by the 1320s, the dynasty's de facto primogeniture in the face of partible inheritance practiced by its rivals, and, finally, its

27 Leslie Peirce, *Empress of the East: How a European Slave Girl Became Queen of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2017); Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

28 Gül Şen, "Between Two Spaces: Enslavement and Labor in the Early Modern Ottoman Navy," in this volume.

29 Christoph Witzenrath, "Introduction. Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia. An Overview of the Russian and Ottoman Empires and Central Asia," in *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860*, ed. Christoph Witzenrath (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 1–77.

30 Michael Khodarkovsky, *Bitter Choices: Loyalty and Betrayal in the Russian Conquest of the North Caucasus* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011); Brian J. Boeck, "Identity as Commodity. Tournaments of Value in the Tatar Ransom Business," *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 35, n. 3–4 (2008): 259–266; see now: Christoph Witzenrath, *The Russian Empire, Slaving and Liberation, 1480–1725: Trans-Cultural Worldviews in Eurasia*, (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2022): 186–9.

31 On ideology and slavery during Godunov's regency and reign, see Witzenrath (2022).

advantageous position.[32] These factors were important, except for Moscow's placement, which was hardly better than that of its rival Tver.[33] They may be considered the political organization at the heart of an incipient no-slaving zone. Since Lawrence Langer's investigation, it has become harder to overlook, first, the role of internal slaving in the medieval Rus principalities and, second, the setting up of an initial no-slaving zone – although he does not use the label – by Moscow in its as yet limited territories, especially during the period of internal wars in the Golden Horde in the 1360s–70s.[34] Thus, it might be argued that a no-slaving zone and the concomitant detrimental effects on its neighbors might be addressed as the fifth – or fourth – factor of Moscow's rise.

Which traits of the Muscovite Empire align with its creation by devising a no-slaving zone? An early period in the development of the no-slaving zone was the late fourteenth century, when the Mongol Empire disintegrated in fits and increasingly spawned slave raiders feeding human chattel to the burgeoning Muslim economies in the Greater Mediterranean. Initially, this no-slaving zone did not even extend to all Russian Orthodox, which meant that less organized territorial entities, such as the "trampled-over" district of Riazan on the southeastern approaches to the steppe or Kyiv, succumbed to the market forces exerted by regional no-slaving zones. We may surmise that there were several phases in setting up a counter no-slaving zone, as the initial internal Tatar war of the 1360s and 70s gave way to a new phase of consolidation in the early fifteenth century, until the Golden Horde split up in so many smaller hordes and khanates in the middle of the century. Meanwhile, the Ottomans established a new center of power and a new and growing anti-slaving zone in the region. Beyond the often-mentioned effect of close Muscovite-Tatar cooperation in taxing during these phases until the mid-fifteenth century, the Muscovite counter no-slaving zone was likely to indirectly strengthen budding Muscovy vis-à-vis its Orthodox competitors in northeastern Rus. Note that paying taxes to the Tatars was initially not part of establishing an anti-slaving zone, since there were town rebellions over tax rate increases and related debt slavery in the 1260s.[35] Later, Moscow's grand princes received the help of Tatar troops and the rebellious spirit subsided. The initial record of this phase is decidedly mixed, not least due to the unreliability and frequent silence of the sources. Moreover, no-slaving as a protective strategy of dominance was directed more against fellow east Slavic entities and rulers that engaged in enslaving their neighbors.

32 Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450–1801*: 44–53.

33 Mikhail Krom, Review of *The Russian Empire 1450–1801*, by Nancy Shields Kollmann, *Ab Imperio* 4 (2017): 295–302.

34 Lawrence N. Langer, "Slavery in the Appanage Era: Rus' and the Mongols," in *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860*, ed. Christoph Witzenrath (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 145–70.

35 Langer, "Slavery in the Appanage Era."

In a third phase, Muscovy faced a much-enlarged threat as the political fragmentation of its steppe neighbors and erstwhile suzerains progressed – in part and rather typically becoming slaving zones themselves as political organization fragmented and Tatars sold Tatars – and Ottoman and Safavid power, market capitalization, and demand for human resources in the Muslim no-slaving zones was at its height.[36] Muscovy reformulated border policies, pouring in considerable resources that helped to change local and regional population dynamics.[37] However, it also faced a different kind of highly sophisticated no-slaving zone in the Union of Poland-Lithuania, among the wealthiest states in Europe, which combined high rates of enfranchisement with adequate military organization. In the long run, however, the out-migration and rebellion of less privileged Ruthenians (Ukrainians in today's parlance), who were also less secure from Tatar slave raids, helped Moscow to reverse the regional power balance.[38]

In sum, despite minor existing mutual trade links in the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire and Muscovy found themselves at opposing ends of repercussions from evolving routes across Eurasia. New trade links from the Baltic and Arctic Ocean down the Volga to Persia and India and across Siberia to Mongolia and China cut down the caravan trade along established, southerly Silk Roads that reached the Ottomans. Adding to these effects, political troubles in Central Asia both hindered the Ottoman-liaised caravan trade and increased migration pressures in the western steppes. Nomads found new sources of income conducting slave raids. They catered to the Ottoman demand for labor and additions to provincial and capital households of dependents, scarcely curbed by mutual respect and common interests.[39] Moreover, the Crimean khans used these raids to curb budding powers on the steppe rim. Likewise, they occasionally checked the Ottomans by withholding support or providing misleading information. They aimed to prevent any of these powers from growing to such proportions that they might upset the European – and Transottoman – balance of power; the

36 Witzenrath, "Introduction. Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia"; William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Islam and the Abolition of Slavery* (London: Hurst and Company, 2006).

37 Kollmann, *The Russian Empire 1450–1801*.

38 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society on the Black Sea Steppe, 1500–1700*: 84.

39 Zübeyde Güneş-Yağcı, "The Slave Trade in the Crimea in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Black Sea Past, Present and Future*, ed. Gülden Erkut and Stephen Mitchell (London: British Institute at Ankara, 2007): 73–80. Hannah Barker, "Egyptian and Italian Merchants in the Black Sea Slave Trade, 1260–1500" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2014); Fisher, "Muscovy and the Black Sea Slave Trade"; Kołodziejczyk, "Slave Hunting and Slave Redemption"; Danuta Qurini-Popławska, "The Venetian Involvement in the Black Sea Slave Trade (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)," in *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, vol. 5, *Mediterranean Nexus 1100–1700*, ed. Reuven Amitai-Preiss and Christoph Cluse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017): 255–98; Wilkins, "A Demographic Profile of Slaves in Early Ottoman Aleppo."

security of the khan's income and grazing grounds depended on these arrangements.[40] The Muscovite response to these challenges and opportunities was many-tiered. Firstly, they stepped up military construction from the 1570s and the 1630s. Fortresses and connecting fieldworks were built to shut down invasion roads across hundreds, later thousands, of kilometers through the steppes.[41] They became building blocks of Muscovite influence in Eurasia. Moreover, Muscovy used its self-image as New Israel to enhance its symbolical capital, trying to induce a sense of security and compete for influence among the multicultural populations of the steppes and their vicinity.[42]

Less of an economic phenomenon, ransom was symbolically linked to this image and enhanced imperial links by inducing internal and external travel and patronage.[43] The degree to which this soft power worked was not limited to Muscovite populations, but Orthodox clerics ensured that it extended deep into the Ottoman Empire, beyond Moscow's actual influence in terms of hard power and political aims.[44]

4 Khadzhi Ivan

"*Khadzhi* Ivan" appeared in the Chancellery of Foreign Affairs in November 1686. In his petition, he mentions the outstanding reputation of the tsar and the redemption effort:

> I your servant (*rabotnik*) [. . .] who does not own anything to feed himself [. . .] have heard about your great well-known mercifulness towards all Orthodox Christians arriving from neighboring states to your state, [. . .] I came today in a pitiful state to Moscow to collect alms.[45]

40 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Das Krimkhanat als Gleichgewichtsfaktor in Osteuropa (17.–18. Jahrhundert)," in *The Crimean Khanate between East and West (15th–18th Century)*, ed. Denise Klein (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012): 47–59.

41 Matthew P. Romaniello, *The Elusive Empire: Kazan and the Creation of Russia, 1552–1671* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2012); Davies, *Warfare, State and Society*.

42 On the broad use of New Israel imagery, see Joel Raba, "Moscow – the Third Rome or the New Jerusalem," *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 50 (1995): 297–308; Daniel B. Rowland, "Moscow – the Third Rome or the New Israel?" *Russian Review* 55, no. 4 (1996): 591–614. On the imagery's links with preventing slave raids and liberation of slaves, see Christoph Witzenrath, "The Conquest of Kazan' as Place of Remembering the Liberation of Slaves in Sixteenth – and Seventeenth-Century Muscovy," in *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860*, ed. Christoph Witzenrath (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015): 295–308.

43 Christoph Witzenrath, "Rachat ('rédemption'), fortification et diplomatie dans la steppe – la place de l'Empire de Moscou dans la traite des esclaves en Eurasie," in *Les esclavages en Méditerranée: Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, ed. Fabienne P. Guillén (Madrid: Casa de Velaàzquez, 2012): 181–94.

44 Christoph Witzenrath, "Agency in Muscovite Archives: Trans-Ottoman Slaves Negotiating the Moscow Administration," in *New Perspectives on Slavery: The Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2020). On Greek Orthodox clerics appearing in Moscow in the seventeenth century, see Ekkehard Kraft, *Moskaus griechisches Jahrhundert: Russisch-griechische Beziehungen und metabyzantinischer Einfluss 1619–1694* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995).

45 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, l. 1.

This amounts to what today would be called the extension of soft power, although in an area well beyond Moscow's possible aspirations in that period. Those were the years when the regent Sofia and her favorite V.V. Golicyn twice attacked the Crimean Khanate with large armies without even passing the isthmus of Perekop.[46] Secretary Emelian Ukraintsev interrogated Ivan Mikhailov, the "*khadzhi*" who is presented as a "Greek Orthodox Arab from Jerusalem." However, chancellery staff were not certain how to address him: later that year, when he returned, they lapsed to calling him a "Greek."[47] Mikhailov set out to explain how he had entered his pitiful state, starting with a long chain of events: "A non-resident Greek manumitted a female Russian slave in Jerusalem, who thereafter married a Jerusalem Greek. Upon the husband's death, he left two children and his wife decided to convert [to Islam]."[48]

Her owner might have entertained religious motives for this decision. Where the owner originated or where he moved to are both unknown, so it is possible in the vast Ottoman Empire that he left her close to Rus – it is never entirely clear who is meant by "Russian," but usually it is Ruthenian, from today's Ukraine. There are no indications about her decision to marry or whether it was at her own free will or a deal among business partners involving the former owner. Her husband was well established in the local Greek Orthodox community and had their children educated by a fellow believer, Georgii, who happened to be *Khadzhi* Ivan's brother. When the husband died, his wife was either scared or sufficiently acquainted with her new environment to seek conversion to Islam.[49]

It was usually female slaves living in concubinage rearing male heirs for their masters who converted. As converts, they rose to the status of *ümm-ü veled*, a freed mother of an heir and a wife with full rights.[50] However, in this case her original master had manumitted her and she had married a Greek, which meant the usual rights of a widow after he died. In some regard, this status was disadvantageous, and it seems here that this might have been the reason for her conversion. As a Greek Orthodox widow, it was the family of the father who got custody of the child. Therefore, conversion was attractive, as the widow gained custody of her children under Muslim law.[51]

46 Davies, *Warfare, State and Society*.

47 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3470, l. 4.

48 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, l. 2.

49 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, l. 3.

50 R. Brunschvig, "Abd," in *Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1960): 31.

51 Anton Minkov, *Conversion to Islam in the Balkans: Kisve Bahası Petitions and Ottoman Social Life, 1670–1730*, vol. 30 (Leiden: Brill, 2004): 90–91; Ronald C. Jennings, "Women in Early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records – The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 18, no. 1 (1975): 74. I am grateful to Veruschka Wagner for this information. Exchange across the boundaries of research fields was facilitated by the interdisciplinary environment within the Bonn Center of Dependency and Slavery Studies and the Priority Program Transottomanica. See also Elyse Semerdjian, "Armenian Women, Legal Bargaining, and Gendered Politics of Conversion in Seventeenth – and Eighteenth-Century Aleppo," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 12, no. 1 (2016): 2–30.

It is hard to say what motivations were behind this decision, since important pieces of the mosaic are missing and cannot be retrieved from Muscovite or, most likely, Jerusalem archives. There is no indication of the age of the children, so, beyond a mother's right to custody, their best interests are hard to establish. Georgii's reaction to the order of the pasha, however, indicates possible previous disagreement about the children's education or whereabouts. It cannot be excluded, for this reason among others, that the former Ruthenian slave sought conversion for reasons beyond child custody.

In any case, she chose the Ottoman way of life. Or, perhaps, leaving Jerusalem seemed too unsafe and expensive, as another Muscovite woman manumitted in Istanbul paid the full ransom of a fellow male captive to ensure his protection, demanding payment of the debt as soon as they arrived in Moscow.[52] Although women were usually underrepresented among ransomed and returning slaves, as Aleksandr Lavrov has shown, sometimes Tatars provided an escort to Muscovite emissaries, lowering the risk of the journey through the steppe. In such an entourage, there might be hundreds of women deciding to return to Muscovy.[53] While the mother's choice of conversion might indicate a preference for Islam or at least child custody, it was additionally framed by the hardships and costs of return. Since she could not take her children with her, an outcome reconfirmed by subsequent events, her decision seems informed by a multitude of determining factors.

In any case, this decision entailed much disorder and hardship. The Greek teacher was ordered by the pasha to deliver the children to the authorities. Instead, "for reasons of faith" he sent them to a monastery in Nazareth, where they were ordained. Apparently, this act was not questioned as such as the children in the monastery are not mentioned further, though we cannot be sure – they have no role in the subsequent narrative. Ottoman authorities apparently did not interfere with religious institutions. Therefore, it seems that the mother's attempt to regain custody failed. The decision to send the children to the monastery was a different issue altogether. The teacher Georgii avoided punishment for contempt of Muslim laws only by paying a heavy fine of 500 leeuwendaalder (*levki*); payments "went to the pasha and the local Turkish elite (*nachalnye liudi*)."[54]

Ivan Mikhailov stood in for his brother, but could pay up only 300 *levki*.[55] For the rest he went in debt; soon, as he could not muster the sum, his relatives were made

52 Lavrov, "Captivity, Slavery and Gender."

53 Lavrov, "Captivity, Slavery and Gender"; Lavrov, "Rapatriement, genre et mobilité sociale."

54 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, l. 4.

55 The *leeuwendaalder* or lion dollar replaced coins bearing the symbols of the Spanish Empire during the Dutch Rebellion and produced specifically to facilitate export trade. It was authorized to contain 427.16 grains of 0.750 fine silver. As it was lighter than the large denomination coins then in circulation, it was more advantageous for a Dutch merchant to pay a foreign debt in *leeuwendaalders* than in more costly *rijksdaalders*. Thus, the *leeuwendaalder* became the coin of choice for foreign trade. The coin was popular in the Middle East. https://coins.nd.edu/ColCoin/ColCoinIntros/Lion-Dollar.intro.html [accessed 19.12.2019].

debt slaves. He sought redemption money for his wife, brother, sister-in-law, and their two children. Thus, he travelled via Persia and Astrakhan to Moscow to "petition the great Lord."[56] The patriarchs of Jerusalem and Constantinople and the metropolitan of Astrakhan provided recommendations backing his story.[57] Initially, the chancellery under E. Ukraintsev reacted obligingly. *Khadzhi* Ivan was issued 50 rubles from the great cashier.[58] The whole affair unfurled again when he came back to ask to be accepted in the service of the tsar in early October 1687. In his petition, he explained that he had sent all the money collected in alms for ransom to Jerusalem with the abbot of the Sinai monastery. He lived as a beggar in poor accommodation, buying only a kaftan against the cold for himself. Finally, he received the message that his wife had died in captivity. Nothing was left since his house had been lost "due to the Turks." Consequently, he applied for eternal service to the tsar.[59]

At this point, the chancellery required all intelligence available on the man. For the first time, the recommendations of the patriarchs were translated. They read rather generically: "He is a good Christian who fell victim to a Muslim attack [. . .] therefore he turns to all Orthodox Christians for alms, to enable him to ransom his relatives from Muslim hands."[60] The governor of Astrakhan had permitted him to leave for Moscow on August 7, 1686. In Astrakhan, he had collected alms, explaining under interrogation that he had received five rubles, which he needed to pay for travel to Moscow, as well as one and half rubles the local chancellery gave for travel expenses. On arrival in Moscow, he petitioned: "I do not dare to ask for alms in Moscow without the lord's decree."[61] He received the 50 rubles and a begging license to collect further funds for his relatives. In January 1687, *Khadzhi* Ivanov received the begging license. He received

> for ransom and for travel and for daily allowance 50 rubles. With the begging license he collected 29 rubles. The Great Princess [i.e. regent] Sofia Alekseevna consecrated 15 gold *chervonnye* [18 rubles]. Altogether he received 47 rubles. Furthermore, he may collect with this begging license another 26 rubles during the noted period.[62]

In Ukraintsev's draft report, we also learn what Ivan Mikhailov might have benefited from precedent if he was admitted into the tsar's service: "In 1623/1624 the Greek Mikhailo Dmitriev emigrated from Tsargrad [Istanbul], where he had been a handler of gyrfalcons. He received 13 rubles and 40 marten pelts, plus good taffeta and good cloth."[63] Another émigré was a Greek Muslim who received the same items: "In 1672/

56 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, l. 4.
57 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, ll. 5–7.
58 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3248, l. 8.
59 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3470, l. 1.
60 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3470, l. 3.
61 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3470, l. 4.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.

1673 the Muslim Greek Magmet left to serve the Lord [i.e., the tsar]."[64] The final resolution in Mikhailov's case was delivered from the highest command post on 21 October 1687. Vasilii V. Golitsyn, the "close boyar" and the favorite of the regent Sofia, and his brother decided to decline this wish. "*Khadzhi* Ivanov" was to be given two rubles "salary" for unknown reasons and he was to be expelled from Moscow.[65]

Ivan Mikhailov's sojourn to Moscow falls squarely in the period of preparations for the first Crimean campaign headed by Golitsyn in 1687. It is possible that Golitsyn sought to avoid further complications with the Ottomans. This seems to fit the general outline of his policies as he aimed to fulfil his obligations towards Western allies with as little damage to relations with the Ottomans as possible.[66]

Moreover, Mikhailov's loyalty was doubtful: he could demonstrate no preceding services, nor was it certain that he would serve loyally beyond the moment when he might regain his family (there was no corroboration of the claim that his wife had died in captivity). In other cases, the documentation of claims and services helped applicants to attain rather exalted positions.[67] To boot, Ivan Mikhailov had nothing to show that served the interests of the tsar. At this point, suspicion might have grown due to the coincidence with the campaign, since Ivan Mikhailov had changed his mind rather sharply.

Given such complexities, the convert mother might be congratulated for her decision to remain in Ottoman Jerusalem. It would have been presumptuous for her, in the middle of Ottoman and Muscovite campaigns in the steppe and the unfurling Holy Alliance, to attempt to reach Poland or Muscovy if she had wanted to. The market pull of the Ottoman no-slaving zone had brought her in, probably by means of a slave raid and trade from Crimea or other ports along the northern shore of the Black Sea. After manumission, she tried to overcome subsequent dependency in marriage and as a widow by conversion to another internal zone of graded dependency.[68] This may or may not have failed and resulted in separation from her children. It also brought debt slavery to her opponents, who tried to benefit from the Muscovite counter-slaving zone, as it may be called for not actually exerting market forces, but rather achieving more symbolical and integrating effects, although with a similar set of religious rules.

64 Further examples: RGADA, f. 159, no. 3470, ll. 5–7.

65 RGADA, f. 159, no. 3470, l. 8.

66 Lindsay Hughes, "Sophia, Regent of Russia," *History Today* 32, no. 7 (1982): 202–3, 215; Kołodziejczyk, "Das Krimkhanat als Gleichgewichtsfaktor": 53; M. Müller, "Krim-Feldzüge," in *Lexikon der Geschichte Rußlands: Von den Anfängen bis zur Oktober-Revolution*, ed. Hans-Joachim Torke (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985): 216.

67 Cf. the Transottoman career of the translator and former slave Petr Andreianovich Tatarinov, who served the *başterc*ümân, or great dragoman in Western parlance. The dragoman's tasks included diplomacy and politics. After his return, he served as translator in the Muscovite Ambassador Chancellery: *Slavery, Liberation and Loyalty at the Steppe Rim: Tsar, People and Imperial Competition in Eurasia (1552–1725)*, typescript (exp. 2020).

68 Eltis and Engerman. "Dependence, Servility, and Coerced Labor."

The overlap of various slaving zones, especially in the dangerous Ukrainian or Black Sea steppes, meant that Ivan Mikhailov had to keep to a narrow line of trade and travel corridors across trans-imperial spaces. In Moscow, he received but a quarter of the sum needed, though it might have helped that the fate of his family was interlaced with that of the children of a slave from Rus. The reality of the Muscovite counter-slaving zone was always at odds with its soft power and influence. His effort to beg for alms to ransom his family faltered when he learned about the death of his wife. His final attempt to enter the service of the tsar succumbed to a turn in Moscow's foreign policy, which made his Transottoman ransom effort appear suspicious.

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Douglas C. Libby

Family Connections: Slaveholding among African and Afro-descendent Women in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Brazil

The enormous and consequential surge in women's and gender studies over the last few decades inevitably has impacted virtually all fields of history, not least those dealing with enslavement over time and space. Women, of course, were always subject to enslavement and, therefore, to the various psychological, social, cultural, and physical rigor entailed in imposing large scale systems of bondage. More focused investigations, however, have demonstrated that enslaved women could be and often were treated differently than their male counterparts. Such differences can be considered favorable or detrimental to women and scholarly disagreements here are part of a debate that clearly fits within the framework of global enslavement. Less emphasis has been placed on women as slaveholders in their own right – i.e. not as co-owners along with their husbands or partners. Would it be reasonable to assume that women developed distinct patterns of relationships with their chattel, patterns perhaps more imbued with familial paternalism than the rigid patriarchal order identified with slave masters? Again, this question raises issues best addressed in a comparative and global context. It will be argued here that in a fully consolidated slave society such as Brazil's, gender distinctions in slave ownership led to specifically feminine contributions to the prevailing slave society. For example, women, and especially Africans and those of African descent, seemingly encouraged family formation among their chattel, resulting in modest levels of natural increase that played a role in perpetuating small-scale holdings. Given the direct or indirect slave past of so many of these women, it comes as no surprise that they could be relatively generous in granting manumissions. Unexpected, however, is evidence pointing to the intertwining of enslaved families with those of their owners – above all, by way of fictive kinship formed through godparenthood. Could some of the phenomena investigated in the course of this text serve as yardsticks for measuring how gender affected enslavement, slave ownership, and the overall slave culture?

From the inception of women's studies as an important prism through which to study Brazilian slave society scholars noted the inevitable presence of women as slaveholders. Even when focusing on women engaged in street vending or basic urban services slave ownership turned up with relative frequency.[1] Widows generally

1 One of the earliest of such studies examines the city of São Paulo in the nineteenth century. Although relations between mistresses and their slaves are not investigated, the sources reveal that slave ownership was fairly common among small businesswomen. Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *Quotidiano e poder em São Paulo no século XIX* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1984): 25, 49–51, 83–128. Also:

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inherited considerable portions of their husbands' estates that among well off families almost universally included sizable slave holdings. Much emphasis has therefore fallen on women of wealth, partly because they are much more visible and easier to trace in surviving inheritance documentation.[2] An eighteenth-century example of such emphasis is evident in a mythical figure of color, who, thanks to marriage, was propelled into the upper echelons of colonial society. During the prolonged absence of her noble Portuguese husband the renowned mulatto, Chica da Silva, judiciously administered the couple's properties in Brazil, obviously including a large slave labor force.[3] These studies of upper class or parvenu women slaveholders tend to emphasize the relative ease with which their protagonists were able to assume the reigns of managing large estates and slave forces, a complex task usually attributed to men. Yet, no particular effort is made in attempting to discern approaches to dealing with slaves that might be considered, at least to some extent, gender specific.

In recent years, scholars have sought to investigate more thoroughly the notably diverse social make-up of the Brazilian slaveholding "class." To be sure, individuals considered to be white doubtless constituted a majority of slave owners and certainly controlled the largest shares of slave property. Nevertheless, individuals designated as being of color figured prominently as slaveholders and, although they seldom owned more than a few captives, their unwavering support of the slave regime contributed to the remarkable vitality of the institution of slavery in Brazil even as the international abolitionist movement triumphed throughout much of the western world.[4] Indeed, not a few ex-slaves, including African freedmen, became slaveholders in their own right and occasionally amassed considerable fortunes thanks to their acumen and the labor of their chattel. Frank develops a detailed examination of the post-liberation life in the city of Rio de Janeiro of Antônio Dutra who probably arrived in the colonial capital during the 1810s. Dutra was sold as a *Congo* slave, but appears to have gained his freedom during the first half of the decade of 1820 when he had

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Eni de Mesquita Samara, *As mulheres, o poder e a família* (São Paulo: Editora Marco Zero/Secretaria de Estado da Cultura de São Paulo, 1989): 80–86, 105–13.

2 Sandra Lauderdale-Graham, *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 131–145; Miridian Britto Falci, "Parentela, riqueza e poder: três gerações de mulheres," *Gênero* 6, no. 1 (2005): 201–11.

3 Júnia Ferreira Furtado, *Chica da Silva e o contratador dos diamantes: o outro lado do mito* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003).

4 During the entire Brazilian slave regime, small and medium sized holdings of up to twenty bondsmen far outnumbered large plantation style holdings and, in most regions and time periods, also contained a majority of the slave population. Even in the wake of the reallocation of slave labor that followed the termination of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil that configuration of the distribution of slave property remained in place. See: Renato Leite Marcondes, *Diverso e desigual: o Brasil escravista na década de 1870* (São Paulo: FUNEC Editora, 2009): 171–84.

already formed a family.[5] This African freedman went on to become what Frank terms a good example of middling wealth holders in the first half of the nineteenth century. On his death in 1849 this surgeon barber and musician owned thirteen slaves – a rather large holding given its urban setting.[6] The author's compelling narrative of Dutra's experience thus serves to underscore just how profoundly Africans and Afro-Brazilians played a part in perpetuating the slave system at least up to the mid-nineteenth century. Robert Guedes offers a number of similar examples during the same time frame, but located in the interior of the captaincy/province of São Paulo. Guedes' scrupulously researched analysis reveals a reality in which liberation from the bonds of slavery often led to the ownership of slaves and the attendant generational social mobility, including a rather bewildering kaleidoscope of color labelling over the decades.[7]

Although Frank and Guedes squarely elevate middling slaveholders – among them Africans and those of African descent – a social, economic, and political force that can no longer be ignored by scholars of Brazil's slave past, their works largely ignore women as slave holders. The topic of women of intermediate social standing and their slaves remains largely unexplored in the already vast and ever-increasing literature dealing with diverse facets of colonial and nineteenth-century slave society. An exception to this dearth of studies is an excellent Master's Thesis by D.F. Sbravati presented about a decade ago.[8] The thesis deals with women slaveholders in the city of Desterro – the capital of the province of Santa Catarina (and modern day Florianópolis) – during the second half of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the reduced size of the holdings in question, Sbravati convincingly demonstrates the importance of family formation among the slaves, of the sentimental ties that bound together the lives of owners and chattel, and of the role such ties played in guaranteeing a measure of comfort for mistresses as they aged. A fair number of grants of freedom also turn up in the wills and testaments examined. Desterro lay on the periphery of the Brazilian slave system, the final decades of slavery were marked by a greatly diminished presence of slaves in urban centers, and the author's sample is rather small. Just the same, her research has not received the attention it deserves. In pointing to the complex intertwining of mistress/slave and familial relations, Sbravati hits upon a phenomenon that may well highlight certain gender differences in slave ownership and stewardship.

5 The term "Congo" referred to slaves coming from the vast territory defined by the Congo River and its tributaries.

6 Zephyr L. Frank, *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

7 Roberto Guedes, *Egressos do cativeiro: trabalho, família, aliança e mobilidade social (Porto Feliz, São Paulo, c. 1798–c. 1850)* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X/FAPERJ, 2008).

8 Daniela Fernanda Sbravati, "Senhoras de incerta condição: proprietárias de escravos em Desterro na segunda metade do século XIX" (master's thesis, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, 2008).

Interpretations of the slave family have moved well beyond the notion that, above all, family formation served to sustain and keep the peace on large holdings, thus almost exclusively benefitting owners of large plantations linked to the agricultural export sector.[9] Today the slave family is widely acknowledged to have been a fixture throughout the entire period of slavery among holdings of all sizes and dedicated to diverse productive activities.[10] The slave family and community are seen as vital repositories of African traditions and culture and, therefore, the principal locus of autonomous slave social life. Debate often revolves around the varying degrees of owner interference in establishing and maintaining families, on the weight of slave agency in arranging marriages (formal and informal), or in managing daily family affairs. Some of these issues will be taken up later, but the principal focus here is on slaveholding women of color who appear to have promoted family formation among their slaves as well as intimate relations among all members of the households they headed.

Located in southeastern Brazil, the town of São José do Rio das Mortes, early on a gold mining center but increasingly a farm town catering to the demands of an agricultural sector geared to the domestic market, constitutes the focal point of the present investigation. The time frame extends from the late eighteenth century to the early decades of the nineteenth century, although some of data from both before and after this period is also examined. Women of color, both freeborn and ex-slaves, and their slaves are the principal objects of analysis. It will be argued that the experiences of these women, all of whom were marked by past connections to slavery – some immediate, others further in the past – played a decisive role in the ways they dealt with their own slaves, ways that invariably involved family formation and frequently the granting of freedom to both children and their mothers. Whether directly or indirectly, these women had benefitted from acts of manumission and some, if not all, grew up and lived as adults in households that included two or more generations of owners and slaves. Indeed, the apparent economic and social stability of these small or middling slaveholdings seems to have grown out of a constant intermingling of generations of owner and slave families. What emerges is a pattern in which manumissions from the past were reproduced in the present, usually conditioned upon further services that ensured aging owners a fair degree of comfort as they approached the end of their lives.

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9 Manolo Florentino and José Roberto Góes, *A paz das senzalas: famílias escravas e tráfico atlântico, Rio de Janeiro, c. 1790 – c. 1850* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1997). In the antebellum South such benefits included the maintenance and growth of slave forces through natural increase. Robert Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Slavery*, vol. 1 (Boston: Little Brown, 1974): 126–44.

10 Robert W. Slenes, *Na senzala, uma flor: esperanças e recordações na formação da família escrava – Brasil, Sudeste, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999).

Over the past few years this author has been engaged in intersecting data from diverse sources in order to gain a better understanding of daily life in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century São José. One of the principal strands of this approach to social history is family reconstitution, a part of which has allowed for the elaboration of narratives based on the experiences of families of Africans and their descendants during roughly a century and a half of the slave regime in Brazil. The sources include parish registers, nominal list census material, some inheritance records, notarial registers, documents produced by the local municipal council, including fiscal records, as well as papers originating at higher ecclesiastical and civil administrative levels, among others.[11] Perhaps the most noteworthy result of this research effort is the reconstitution of seven generations of a family "founded" by a slave couple originating from West Africa that will be examined shortly.

Let us begin, however, with the story of Rosa, an ex-slave who had probably arrived in São José from West Africa in the 1730s. She stood out as by far the largest slaveholder among all freedmen, freedwomen, and the freeborn of African descent in the parish at the turn of the eighteenth century. According to the *Rol de São Jozé*, seventy-five-year-old Rosa Moreira de Carvalho, inscribed as a single *Mina forra*, headed a large and complex household.[12] A total of thirty-seven slaves resided there, constituting a large holding by mineiro standards. Rosa was part of a group of less than three percent of parish slaveholders possessing thirty-one or more bondsmen, a privilege that obtained for only three Sãojoseense women whose chattel was not jointly owned along with a spouse.[13] In fact, twenty-one of the enslaved listed as part of Rosa Moreira de Carvalho's household actually belonged to her, another fourteen were held by her single *Parda* daughters, and two were under Rosa's temporary employment.[14]

11 Centro de Documentação, Arquidiocese de São João del Rei, Arquivo Paroquial de Santo Antônio de São José do Rio das Mortes (APSASJRM), "Livros de Batismo, Livros de Casamento, Livros de Óbito" (Manuscript); Instituto Histórico e Geográfico de Tiradentes, "Rol dos Confessados desta Freguesia de Santo Antonio de São Jozé do Rio das Mortes neste prezente anno de 1795" (Manuscript); Arquivo Público Mineiro, Seção Provincial, "Listas nominativas da década de 1830," organized by the Núcleo de Pesquisa em História Econômica e Demográfica do Centro de Desenvolvimento e Planejamento Regional/Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, "Listas de 1831 e Listas de 1838" (Manuscript). Escritório Técnico do Instituto do Patrimônio Histórico e Artístico-São João del Rei (ETIPHAN-SJR) (Manuscript); Arquivo Municipal de Tiradentes (AMT), "Fundo Câmara de São José" (Manuscript); Arquivo Eclesiástico do Arquidiocese de Mariana (AEAM), "Processos matrimoniais/dispensas" (Manuscript).

12 Mina was a generic reference to West African origin that was widely used in Minas Gerais during the eighteenth century and beyond. Forra referred to Rosa's condition as manumitted.

13 Both the other two women were white widows. Dona Ana Maria da Conceição possessed a total of forty-five bondsmen, while Rosa Maria Bernardes de Almeida Lara and her daughter-in-law held a total of thirty-six slaves.

14 The term "*Pardo*/*Parda*" was a reference to mixed origin, often applied, as was the case here, to those of African/European ancestry, but it could cover a wide range of mixtures, origins, colors, and social positions.

How did an African freedwoman and her family manage to amass an impressively large slaveholding? The findings point to hers as a "typical" case of slave women who profited in a number of ways through their liaisons with free men, often whites, of varying degrees of wealth. Examples of African and Afro-descendant women who gained manumission and the freedom of their children, upward social mobility, and financial security through relationships maintained with men of social position have become prominent in studies of the Brazilian slave society.[15] In 1755, described as a Mina forra, Rosa baptized her youngest, namesake daughter.[16] Although the infant Rosa was considered *natural*, i.e. born out of wedlock, her father was listed as Antônio Moreira de Carvalho.[17] This native of Lisbon, although never formally married to the African Rosa, openly assumed the paternity of the seven children he fathered with her.[18] The couple began having children around 1740, when Rosa Moreira de Carvalho probably gained her freedom. Antônio Moreira de Carvalho likely began giving slaves as presents to his consort around this same time. Rosa, for example, appeared as the owner of an adult Mina whose 1752 baptismal act was among the earliest of those surviving in the parish registers.[19]

The São José parish registers leave no room for doubt that Moreira de Carvalho was a major slaveholder. From 1753 to 1782 he and his estate figured as the owners of no fewer than 109 bondspersons buried in São José.[20] During roughly the same period (1753–1780) only twelve slave infants born to Moreira de Carvalho or his estate were

15 Furtado, *Chica da Silva*; Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravos e libertos nas Minas Gerais do século XVIII* (São Paulo: Annablume, 1995), and Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravidão e universo cultural na colônia – Minas Gerais, 1716–1789* (Belo Horizonte: Editora da UFMF, 2001); Mariana R.L. Dantas, "Pai branco, mãe negra, filho pardo: formação familiar e mobilidade social na Comarca do Rio das Velhas," in *História da família no Brasil (séculos XVIII e XIX e XX): novas analises e perspectivas*, ed. Douglas Cole Libby et al. (Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço, 2015): 99–127; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *História da família no Brasil colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1998): 87–94.

16 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fl. 54.

17 At least in the São José parish registers it was not common for the father to be named in these circumstances. The "natural" label was construed as indicating that, although the parents were not joined in Church-sanctioned matrimony, no impediments existed for such a union to take place. When the parents did marry later their children were automatically considered legitimized.

18 In his burial record Antônio Moreira de Carvalho was identified as a native of Campo Grande parish in Lisbon, although neither his age nor his marital status were given. APSASJRM *Livro 80*, fl. 28v. Manuscript.

19 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fl. 19. Manuscript.

20 APSASJRM, *Livro 76*, fls. illegible, illegible, 119, 121v, 124v, 126, 128; *Livro 77*, fls. 55, 79v, 91, 107 (double entry), 121.155v, 166, 168, 169, 169v (triple entry), 170, 171, 173v, 187v, 194, 194v, 195 (double entry), 203v, 213v; *Livro 78*, fls.218v, 220v, 222, 223, 227, 226v, 234v, 234v, 235, 240v, 242v, 264v, 2894v, 307v, 308, 308v, 364 (double entry), 382, 384, 384v, 385, 394v, 396, 423, 407, 444; *Livro79*, fls.454, 465, 468, 529; *Livro 80*, fls.illegible, 13v, 14 (double entry), 19v, 23, 24, 24v, 30, 39, 42, 42v (double entry) 43, 46, 47, 52 (double entry), 54, 63v, 77, 80, 80v, 87v, 88, 90v, 91v, 92v, 107, 107v, 110, 111, 117, 129v, 132, 136v, 143, 143v, 145v, 150v, 157v, 158, 158v, 170, 178, 180. Manuscript. Given that burial registers were notoriously incomplete, these 109 entries mean that Moreira de Carvalho's slaveholding was truly enormous by

baptized.[21] Consequently, this was hardly a self-reproductive slave force and, indeed, it could not have been. Only seven of the burials referred to women – two of whom were infants. Despite this gender imbalance clearly resulting from Moreira de Carvalho's heavy dependence upon the slave trade in order to build up and often restock his large holding, the evidence suggests that the profile of his consort's holding was quite distinct and characterized by a degree of natural increase.

The 1795 *Rol de São Jozé* shows that Rosa Moreira de Carvalho was the owner of three West African Minas, five West Central Africans (*Angolas* and *Benguelas*), and thirteen native-born *Crioulos* or *Cabras*, nine of whom were children or young adults of up to twenty-five years of age.[22] This make up of Rosa's holding in which Africans adults were a minority suggests that she and her slave force were part of a generalized late eighteenth-century trend in Minas Gerais that saw dependency upon the transatlantic slave trade diminish, while the reproductive capacity of the slave population increasingly contributed to overall demographic growth.[23] Parish registers recorded Rosa as the owner of two baptized African adults in the 1750s and of five mothers giving birth to twelve infants who received the sacrament between 1756 and 1784.[24] Of those twelve infants, eight appeared in the *Rol de São Jozé*. The indications are that Rosa encouraged family formation among her slaves, although only two of the mothers were formally married when baptizing four of the infants.

Most of Rosa's slave infants counted upon slaves and freedmen/freedwomen as godparents, but, in 1784, when the Crioula Pascoa baptized the last of seven children, Rosa's Parda daughter Ana Moreira stood as godmother.[25] Three decades earlier,

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the standards of Minas Gerais. Apparently, the settlement of his estate was a prolonged process since it was considered the rightful owner of chattel buried between 1763 and 1782.

21 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 13, 34, 38, 45, 84, 92, 167, 173, 203, 211, 460v; *Livro 8*, fl. 14v. Manuscript.

22 "Angola" was a general reference to slaves embarked at Luanda, while "Benguela" was a generic term for captives sold to slavers at the southern Angolan port of the same name. Crioulo/Crioula was a label normally used to designate native born blacks whether parental origins were African, native, or both. The actual purity of African ancestry implied by the term was doubtless questionable in many cases, however. "Cabra" was an ambiguous description that, in strictly chromatic terms, indicated those of mixed black and mulatto origins. In the context of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Minas, the Cabra designation signaled mixtures that are not easily defined.

23 There are indications that imports of Africans fell to very low levels from roughly 1780 to 1812, in many ways contributing to a tendency toward natural increase. Douglas Cole Libby, "O tráfico negreiro internacional e a demografia escrava nas Minas Gerais: um século e meio de oscilações," in *Sons, formas, cores e movimentos na modernidade atlântica. Europa, Américas e África*, ed. Júnia Ferreira Furtado (São Paulo: Annablume, 2008): 457–80.

24 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 19, 79, 85, 115, 245, 286, 289, 380, 431 486v, 586; *Livro 8*, fls.102, 140, 129; *Livro 9*, fls.498–498v, 566. Manuscript. These last two baptismal acts refer to infants born in 1796 and 1797, the latter belonging to Rosa's estate.

25 APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 129. The baptismal register shows that Pascoa, who in the Rol de São Jozé was inscribed as 43 years of age, gave birth to her first child in 1769 when she was married to the Crioulo José, also a slave belonging to Rosa Moreira de Carvalho. In 1773 and 1775 the couple went on

when Rosa baptized the adult Mina Ignácia, the godfather was Manoel Fernandes dos Santos who appeared in the *Rol de São Jozé* as the spouse of Victoriana Moreira Rosa, Rosa's oldest daughter[26] So, notwithstanding longstanding historiographical consensus claiming that owners and their families systematically avoided standing as godparents for children born into their holdings, the evidence here shows that members of slave owning families could, at least occasionally, stand as sponsors for infant family slaves.[27] All five of Rosa's daughters appearing in the *Rol de de São Jozé* were either slave holders in their own right or co-owners along with their husbands. In 1795 these women held some twenty-nine bondspersons – seventeen enslaved Africans and twelve native born captives. From 1764 to 1803 Rosa's daughters appeared in twenty-one baptismal acts in which their slave women figured as mothers.[28] This group of slave mothers and children would span three generations by 1803, so a pattern of natural increase can be discerned here, although slaveholding family members apparently did not figure as godparents in any of the respective baptismal entries, nor did any manumissions turn up in the sources. Unfortunately, members of the third generation – Rosa Moreira de Carvalho's grandchildren – simply do not appear as adults in the São-joseense parish registers, nor in those of neighboring São João del Rei, so there is no way of knowing how they and their slaveholdings fared as the local slave society progressed toward the termination of the international slave trade in 1850 and final emancipation in 1888. They and their slaves may have been part of a general, nineteenth-century southwesterly migration into other parts of the Comarca do Rio das Mortes and the so-called West of São Paulo (Oeste Paulista), but that is mere speculation.[29]

On the other hand, the descendants of José Fernandes da Silva and Quitéria Moreira de Carvalho have been much easier to trace and, indeed, I halted the genealogical reconstitutions on reaching the seventh generation that spans the turn of the nineteenth

to have two additional children. However, from 1778 to 1784 Pascoa – designated neither as a widow nor as married – produced four more children. Sure enough, in June of 1775, José, clearly identified as the husband of Pascoa (and both as slaves belonging to Rosa), was buried in the churchyard of the parish Mother Church. APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 286, 431, 486v, 586; *Livro 8*, fls.14v, 79; *Livro 79*, fl. 496. Manuscript.

26 APSASJRM *Livro 7*, fl. 19. Manuscript.

27 Gudman and Schwartz's 1984 essay on the subject created a consensus that has seldom been questioned. Stephen Gudman and Stuart B. Schwartz, "Cleansing Original Sin: Godparenthood and the Baptism of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Bahia," in *Kinship Ideology and Practice in Latin America*, ed. Raymond T. Smith (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1984): 35–58. It perhaps bears noting here that, without considerable efforts at family reconstitution, these Moreira de Carvalho family members/godparents would not likely have been identified.

28 APSASJRM *Livro 7*, fls. 68, 155, 196, 250, 285, 288, 352, 380, 439, 497; *Livro 8*, fls. 46, 147, 259; *Livro 9*, fls. 388, 399v, 491v–92, 493, 567, 573v; *Livro 10*, fls. 104, 153. Manuscript.

29 See, for example, Maísa Faleiras da Cunha, "Estudo das migrações internas no norte de São Paulo, primeira metade dos Oitocentos," *Anais do V Simpósio Nacional de História da População (Caldas Novas GO)* (Belo Horizonte: ABEP, 2013): 1–19.

century. José and Quitéria were West African, Mina slaves who probably arrived in São José sometime around 1740. Quitéria belonged to none other than Antônio Moreira de Carvalho, while it is not certain who Jose's owner may have been. The fact that they belonged to separate owners contributed to the couple's inability to marry in the Church until both were manumitted sometime between 1757 and 1762. From sometime around 1748 Quitéria and José maintained a consensual union. Their son Severino was inscribed in the 1795 *Rol de São Jozé* as forty-seven years of age and, therefore, would have been born in 1748.[30] In 1754 and 1756 a "single" Quitéria, still a slave belonging to Antônio Moreira de Carvalho, baptized her daughters Ana and Antônia.[31] In June of 1759, however, Quitéria was listed as a single freedwoman when baptizing her second son, Joaquim [Moreira da Silva]. In fact, little Joaquim's godmother was Rosa Moreira de Carvalho, suggesting a certain degree of intimacy between Quitéria and the consort of her former owner.[32] In January of 1764 the formally married, freed couple José Fernandes da Silva and Quitéria Moreira de Carvalho baptized an infant boy named for his father.[33] No sources relating to their respective manumission processes were found, but the fact that Quitéria and José only entered into Church-sanctioned matrimony after gaining their freedom is suggestive of how difficult formal marriage was for slaves in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Brazil.

I strongly suspect that Quitéria engaged in vending wares in the town of São José and that José practiced a trade, although no definite evidence backs up my postulations here. What is known is that, by way of exchange for two newly arrived Africans, Quitéria purchased the freedom of her daughters Antônia and Ana in 1767 and 1769, respectively.[34] At least formally, these manumissions were paid for only by Quitéria, perhaps meaning that they had been the object of previous negotiations with Antônio Moreira de Carvalho himself or with the executor of his estate. In 1775, however, José and Quitéria purchased their son Severino, then about 27 years old, and immediately registered his letter of freedom.[35] How the couple came up with the money necessary for effecting these manumissions remains unclear; certainly all freed family members worked hard to achieve that goal. Earlier, in 1772, José figured as the owner of Josefa Mina when she baptized her daughter Tereza.[36] So, even before obtaining Severino's freedom the couple had begun investing in slaveholding as a way of assuring their ability to accumulate the resources necessary for acquiring Severino and to improve

30 Very few parish registers dated earlier than 1752 have survived.

31 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 34, 92. Manuscript. No mention was made of their father, José, in these registers.

32 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fl. 131. Manuscript.

33 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fl. 205. Manuscript.

34 ETIPHAN-SJR, São José, *Livro de notas 1773–1775*, fls. 10–11. Manuscript. The notarization of these two letters of freedom dated from 1774.

35 ETIPHAN-SJR, São José, *Livro de notas 1773–1775*, fl. 126. Manuscript.

36 APSASJRM, Livro 7, fl. 387. Manuscript.

the family's level of material comfort. In 1779 José again appeared as the owner of a slave mother, Joana Angola, when she baptized her son Joaquim.[37] And, in 1783 Josefa gave birth to another daughter, Francisca.[38] By the 1780s, then, the Moreira da Silvas were firmly established as small slave holders. The transition of this family from slavery to liberty, then to the status of slaveholders was not linear. It constitutes a complicated story that mirrors the complexity of Minas slave society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As will be seen, part of that complexity was the incessant intermingling of owner and slave families.

When the *Rol de São Jozé* was elaborated José Fernandes da Silva was dead and Quitéria was inscribed as a widowed, seventy-five-year-old Mina freedwoman who headed a household. The latter included her Crioulo bachelor son Severino, 47, the Angola slave Joana, 34, the Crioulo Joaquim, 14, Pedro Benguela, 45, and the Mina *quartada* Josefa, 45. Note that Joana and her son Joaquim continued as slaves belonging to Quitéria. Josefa Mina, on the other hand, was in the process of purchasing her freedom as the *quartada* label indicates, but her daughters were absent from Quitéria's domicile. In the household of Pedro da Silva Lourenço and Ana Moreira da Silva – Quitéria's oldest daughter – among the three family slaves was the Crioula Tereza, 22. In re-examining the 1772 baptismal entry of the Mina Josefa's first daughter, it turns out that Tereza's godmother was Ana Moreira, Crioula – undoubtedly the daughter of owners José and Quitéria.[39] So, according to the *Rol de São Jozé*, Tereza belonged to her godmother and the latter's husband. It thus comes as no surprise that in 1795 Josefa's youngest daughter, Francisca, lived with Joaquim Moreira da Silva and Genoveva Maria de Santana – the former José and Quitéria's son – and that this couple – at the time engaged to be married – had sponsored Francisca when she was baptized in 1783.[40] It is remarkable the degree to which the lives of members of slaveholding families were intermingled with the lives of their slaves who were also organized into families, even though no formal marriages were recorded among the Moreira da Silva chattel. At the same time, it is not difficult to imagine that everyone was part of a single family, one that was not characterized, however, by the patriarchal and aristocratic traits championed by Gilberto Freyre.[41] This wider family may have reflected African cultural patterns, but that must remain a mere hypothesis for now.[42]

37 APSASJRM, Livro 7, fl. 595. Manuscript.

38 APSASJRM, Livro 8, fl. 103. Manuscript.

39 APSASJRM, Livro 7, fl. 387. Manuscript.

40 APSASJRM, Livro 7, fl. 595. Manuscript.

41 Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, 20th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1980).

42 As Sweet points out in a recent article, African concepts of families could reach far beyond the realms of biological or spiritual delimitations prevalent in European oriented cultures. Moreover, such African family grouping could include both owners and their slaves. James H. Sweet, "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World," *William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 251–72.

Let us return for a moment to Quitéria Moreira de Carvalho's household as depicted in the *Rol de São Jozé*. As just seen, her slaveholding was marked by family formation, although there is no way of knowing if the African adult male who belonged to Quitéria in 1795 was part of one of the slave families. Thanks to slave family formation, resultant natural increase, and the intimacy of relations linking owner and slave families this African ex-slave appears to have enjoyed a good measure of material comfort as she reached her old age. Quitéria was surrounded by a family that included her children, a daughter in law, two sons in law, grandchildren – and, before long, great grandchildren – as well as by bondspeople who had been with her for decades and who very likely were considered part of a wider family. Three of José and Quitéria's children appeared in the sources as married adults and as small slaveholders.[43] The three couples were duly tallied in the 1795 *Rol de São Jozé*. Altogether, they held eight bondsmen – five Africans and three Crioulas.[44] From 1790 to 1799 these couples baptized four slave infants and at least half of the respective sponsors at the baptismal font were members of the Moreira da Silva or affine families.[45] Again, here is important evidence that spiritual kinship connected slave owning families and their chattel in ways that remain unexpected and undetected in current scholarship on Brazilian slavery. Obviously, one cannot generalize on the basis of these examples, but it does appear that during the so-called golden age of small holdings there were significant links of intimacy among slaves and owners with a slave background or ancestry.

Sources pertaining to a grandson and two granddaughters of Quitéria and José Fernandes continue to confirm the presence of slave families among the three respective holdings, although no signs of fictive kinship through godparenthood turn up. For example, in 1804 granddaughter Esméria Martins dos Passos and her husband João Patrício Lopes baptized Gervásio, the son of their *Ganguela* slave Juliana.[46] In the event, the godparents do not appear to have been in any way related to the owners. When this baptism took place Esméria was engaged in some kind of commercial activity according to local records, while later records reveal that João Patrício was both a tailor and held minor positions in municipal government.[47] In 1802, 1805, 1806, and

43 Ana and Antônia were wedded in a period for which no marriage registers have survived. Joaquim Moreira da Silva married Genoveva Maria Santana in 1786. As a widower, Joaquim would remarry in 1812. APSASJRM, *Livro 25*, fls. 25, 291. Manuscript.

44 In 1790 the Alferes Joaquim Martins de Sousa and Antônia Moreira da Silva baptized Alexandre, the son of their Angola slave Maria. Neither appeared in the *Rol*, but the boy still would not have been confessing in 1795. At any rate, it is possible that they owned four, rather than three slaves in 1795. APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 319. Manuscript.

45 APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 319; *Livro 9*, fls.446, 530v, 592v–593. Manuscript.

46 APSASJRM, *Livro 10*, fl. 141. Manuscript. "Ganguela" was a term used to describe the origin of certain slaves coming from the interior of West Central Africa.

47 Arquivo Municipal de Tiradentes [AMT], Fundo Câmara da Vila de São José, Listas de Vendas, *Livro 1*, fls. 1v., 2, 2v., 3, 3v., 4, 4v., 5, 5v, Lançamentos de Fianças, Autos e Contratos e Arrematações,

1808 Esméria gave birth first to a daughter and then to three sons.[48] Whatever other domestic tasks she may have performed, it seems inevitable that Juliana, the West Central African in question, served as wet nurse to her owners' children. That means wet nurses were not a monopoly of the affluent, but appeared in the households of modest slaveholding couples such as João Patrício and Esméria.[49] It also implies a fundamental deepening of interfamily relations in the context of small slaveholdings. This third generation Crioulo couple figures in sources right up to the mid nineteenth century, but never again as slaveholders

Although no sources have come to light as to his preparation for the priesthood, José and Quitéria's grandson and Esméria's brother, Manoel Martins Coimbra, began appearing as a priest in the São José parish registers in the mid-1820s. In 1831 Coadjutor Manoel figured as the head of a complex household.[50] Residing with the priest were his sister Quitéria Maria de Sousa and his niece, Bárbara Patrícia Lopes (daughter of João Patrício and Esméria).[51] Seven slaves, four Crioulos and three Africans, comprised the household slave force. As coadjutor Manoel was obliged to travel throughout the far-flung parish of São José and it appears that spinster Quitéria Maria de Sousa (listed as forty-six years of age in 1831) was the principal administrator of their joint household. Most of the slaves probably were rented out to perform diverse services within the confines of the town of São José or on nearby farms.[52] Father Manoel died in November of 1832 and his estate papers clarify a number of things about his properties and those of his sister (and namesake of grandmother Quitéria Moreira de Carvalho).[53] Manoel was the owner of five slaves figuring in the nominal tally: a formally married Crioulo couple in their thirties, a 42 year old Crioulo carpenter given to over imbibing, a twenty-eight year old Congo, and a Crioulo boy of ten.[54]

Livro 1, fls. 2, 3, 4, 6, 11v., 12, 13v., 16v., 19, 20v., 22v., 24. Manuscript; "Listas de 1831" and "Listas de 1838." Manuscript.

48 APSASJRM, *Livro 10*, fls. 48, 162, 229, 281. Manuscript.

49 The practice of wet nursing is only now beginning to attract the attention of scholars in Brazil. Mariana de Aguiar Ferreira Muaze, "Maternidade silenciada: amas de leite no Brasil escravista, século XIX," in *Do tráfico ao pós abolição: trabalho compulsório e livre e a luta por direitos sociais no Brasil*, ed. Regina Célia Xavier and Helen Osório (São Leopoldo: Oikos, 2018): 360–91.

50 *Lista de 1831*. The rank of coadjutor was equivalent to adjunct to the sitting parish priest.

51 Bárbara's story is a complicated one. She never formally married, but her relationship with a member of the local white elite resulted in the birth of eight children who would perpetuate a burgeoning Pardo branch of the Moreira da Silva family.

52 For studies on urban slavery and urban slave society in Brazil see: Mariana L.R. Dantas, *Black Townsmen: Urban Slavery and Freedom in the Eighteenth-Century Americas* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008): 79–80; Frank, *Dutra's World*: 47–50; Ian Read, *The Hierarchies of Slavery in Santos, Brazil, 1822–1888* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012): 106–13.

53 APSASJRM, *Livro 84*, fl. 68v. ETIPHAN-SJR, São José, Cartório JO, *Caixa 512*, fls 6–7. Manuscript.

54 As it turned out this boy was the son of Efigênia, the only female slave belonging to Father Manoel. She was married to Antônio Crioulo, but the boy, Victoriano was never identified as his son. Having finally obtained his freedom, Victoriano was married in 1854. In the marriage register Victoriano

Thus, the other two African slaves, Manoel, 30, and Maria, 20, belonged to Quitéria Maria de Sousa. Sisters Quitéria and Esméria were to benefit from the services of the four of the priest's slaves who were manumitted contingent upon varying years of service to the heirs. The problematic carpenter was willed only to Quitéria, along with Manoel's half of their jointly owned townhouse.

By the 1838 nominal tally, of the conditionally freed slaves, only young Victoriano remained in the service of spinster Quitéria (and Esméria). Quitéria's two African slaves were also still listed as part of the household.[55] In 1842 Quitéria's Maria gave birth to a daughter baptized as Felipa.[56] When their owner died in 1852, Maria and Felipa were granted their freedom conditional to many years of service to Bárbara Patrícia, the niece who, along with a veritable raft of her children, still lived with her aunt in the Três Cantos townhouse.[57] The townhouse itself was left to various of Quitéria's great nieces and great nephews, although it was to remain under the tutelage of Bárbara Patrícia until all of them had come of age. Fourth generation José Vieira – one of Bárbara Patrícia's three brothers – married a second cousin named Maria Josefa and the couple went on to have three children from 1830 to 1834.[58] In the *Lista de 1831* José was described as a goldsmith and Maria Josefa as a seamstress, so theirs was a family of modest means. Nevertheless, they owned a slave, the African Catharina, who gave birth to a boy in 1833.[59] The 1838 nominal tally included the widower José, his three children, and the slave mother and son. Once again, it seems almost inevitable that Catharina served as a wet nurse to one or two of her owners' children, thus binding the two families together in a way at least as complex as that found in the classically paternalistic culture of the Old South, complete with its mammies and missuses.[60]

Except for Bárbara Patrícia's tutelage of her aunt's former slaves, this is the final chapter of the Moreira da Silva family slaveholdings – fittingly so, since it is widely thought the number of urban holdings dwindled after the extinction of the international slave trade in 1850. What stands out the most in the case of the Moreira da Silvas is the constant presence of slave families – mostly informal – despite the diminutive size of the holdings and the implications these dimensions had for social relations within households, the extended family, and the local community. Generally speaking,

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Martins Coimbra was inscribed as the natural son of Efigênia, forra, and clearly identified as the former slave of Manoel Martins Coimbra. APSASJRM, *Livro 27*, fl. 164. Manuscript.

55 Victoriano's mother Efigênia had obtained her freedom by then, but her husband Antônio must have passed away since his conditional service period was stipulated as ten years.

56 APSASJRM, *Livro 14*, fl. 230. Manuscript.

57 ETIPHAN-SJR, São José, *Testamento 138*, 1852; Cartório JO, *Caixa 271*, 1855. Manuscript.

58 APSASJRM, *Livro 14*, fl. 9v; *Livro 15*, fls. 55, 111v; *Livro 27*, fl. 7. Manuscript.

59 APSASJRM, *Livro 14*, fl. 143v. Manuscript.

60 For example, Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage, 1976): 113–158; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1988): especially chapters 1, 2, and 3.

the reconstitution of trajectories of Afro-Brazilian families is anything but an easy task, less so still when members remained enslaved. The Moreira da Silvas are an unusual exception to that rule. Just the same, a few outlines emerge from the São José sources and they tend to corroborate findings pointing to female owners' penchant for cultivating family formation among their slaves and, thus, the complex intertwining of the lives of both bondspeople and slave holders.

For example, although nothing is known about her past, the single Parda, Ana Mendes Ribeira, 45, appears in the *Rol de São José* as the owner of Mariana, Angola, 42, and of two Cabras: Tereza, 15 and Francisca 12. Two foundlings, a white boy of eleven and a white girl of seven, also resided in Ana's household and it is certain that she received payment from the local council for caring for the two of them. No baptismal entry referring to Tereza has turned up, but there is an entry registering the 1783 baptism of Francisca, daughter of the Angola slave Mariana.[61] On the assumption that the foundling boy was taken in by Ana Mendes Ribeira shortly after his birth, it seems very likely that he was breast fed by Mariana Angola. The same is probably true for the foundling girl, but there is, of course, no evidence to back up such speculation. Patterns already discerned are repeated here: slave women serving as wet nurses and the perpetuation of a slave family. As to the latter, it should be noted that in 1802 the Cabra slave Tereza gave birth to a Pardo boy, meaning that Ana Mendes Ribeira's tiny slave holding stretched out over three generations.[62] No further traces of Ana or her bondspeople have been found so there is no way of knowing what sort of continuity, if any, may have marked the trajectory of this slave family, much less what may have been the fate of the two foundlings. One can only wonder about the multifarious ties of affection that may well have characterized the complex household depicted in the *Rol de São Jozé* and the parish registers.

Another "single" Parda figuring in the *Rol* as head of a household was Ana Maria de Jesus, 41 years of age. Four slaves were also listed: Ana, Cabra, 20, Izabel, Crioula, 19, Miguel, Congo, 20, and Rosa, Crioula, 4. In fact, Ana Maria's slave holding may well have been almost double the size apparent in the *Rol*. In 1789 Ana Cabra gave birth to twins and in 1791 baptized a daughter.[63] Had they survived to 1795 these children – not having reached seven years of age – would not have been counted as confessing parishioners. The respective baptismal entries reveal that these children were sponsored by Ana Maria de Jesus' son, João Rodrigues, and by Ana Maria herself. These ties of spiritual kinship established at the baptismal font forcefully denote the strength of the bonds that united the two families – owner and slave. In 1797 and 1799 Ana Cabra gave birth to two more children and, once again, Ana Maria de Jesus stood as godmother at both baptisms, although available sources do not allow for identifying the respective

61 APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 87. Manuscript.

62 APSASJRM, *Livro 10*, fl. 94v. Manuscript.

63 APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 252 (entrada dupla); *Livro 9*, fl. 324. Manuscript.

godfathers as family members or not.[64] More significant still, both infants were declared as liberated from the bonds of slavery, although the baptismal entries do not clarify whether the manumissions were gratuitous, contingent upon future services or purchased. In 1803 Izabel Crioula baptized her daughter Senhorinha.[65] Yet again owner Ana Maria de Jesus served as godmother while the godfather appears not to have been her relative. This time, however, the entry stipulated that "the anointed is granted conditional freedom from her mistress under the obligation to serve her while she lives." It is quite probable that the previous two manumissions were subject to the same conditions as that of Senhorinha. Thus, at the same time that Ana Maria prized her slave family and surely cultivated affection for the children, the perpetuation of her holding by way of family formation served as a guarantee that she could count upon her bondspeople to fulfill her needs right up to the end of her life. In 1804 and 1806 Ana Cabra gave birth to two more children. The 1804 entry makes no mention of godparents and in that of 1806 only the godfather was named (apparently meaning that their owner did not sponsor either of these infants). Nothing referring to manumission appeared in the 1804 entry, but that of 1806 confirmed the liberation of little Francisco, once again contingent upon service during the rest of Ana Maria's lifetime.[66] Finally, in 1819 Senhorinha gave birth to a daughter who, despite the conditional freedom of her mother, appeared within the format of the baptismal entry as a slave.[67] While it is possible that the presiding priest – and, by extension, the local community – considered the freedom of this slave infant as self-evident in light of the conditional manumission of her mother, it is more likely that she simply remained in bondage. Children born to mothers who were still serving their masters as a condition for future liberation or were in the process of purchasing their freedom were customarily deemed to have been born into slavery.[68] At any rate, the godparents appearing in this final baptismal act do not appear to have been related to Ana Maria de Jesus. The complexity of this partial reconstitution of Ana Maria's household is remarkable at the same time that it suggests the existence of longstanding practices among female owners of color that included the encouragement of family formation, medium and long-term perpetuation of slaveholdings and grants of freedom for selected slave family members. In adhering to these traditions, women such as Ana Maria could be assured of a lasting level of material and emotional comfort, as well as some measure of prestige within the local community.

64 APSASJRM, *Livro 9*, fls. 613v, 618v. Manuscript.

65 APSASJRM, *Livro 10*, fl. 103v. Manuscript.

66 APSASJRM, *Livro 10*, fls. 138, 205. Manuscript.

67 APSASJRM, *Livro 12*, fl. 106. Manuscript. By examining only this baptismal entry, one would conclude that both mother and daughter were slaves since no mention was made of Senhorinha's conditional manumission.

68 Márcio de Sousa Soares, *A remissão do cativeiro: a dádiva da alforria e o governo dos escravos nas Campos dos Goitacases, c. 1750–c. 1830* (Rio de Janeiro: Apicuri, 2009): 144–45.

According to the *Rol de São Jozé*, in 1795 the Parda widow Maria Alves Fontes, 45, headed a household that, at this point, might be thought of as typical. Two sons lived with their widowed mother as did seven slaves: three Angola men, a Mina woman, and three native born bondspeople. Going back to 1768, the baptismal entries relative to the three Crioulo/Cabra slaves reveal that the mother of two of them was the Mina female inscribed in the *Rol*.[69] The youngest of the native slaves, Margarida, was born in 1772. In 1797, 1804, and 1807, still as a slave belonging to Maria Alves Fontes, Margarida baptized two daughters and a son.[70] For the next twenty years the sources tell us nothing about the widowed Parda or her bondspeople, but in 1829 when she was thought to have been 90 years of age Maria Alves Fontes was buried at the São João Evangelista chapel, located in the town of São José.[71] In 1831 the Pardo cobbler, Joaquim Gomes Carvalho, Maria Alves Fontes' youngest son, resided in São José with his Crioula wife, a granddaughter, and three native born slaves, among them Maria Cabra, almost certainly Margarida's youngest child, baptized in 1807.[72] So, during a period of some sixty years, at least two generations of owners of slave ancestry lived side by side with three generations of slaves. Once again, the very survival of small holdings would seem to have depended upon the cultivation of multigenerational slave families.

The Parda freedwoman Joana de Sá first turns up in the parish registers in 1754 when baptizing a son along with her husband, André Rodrigues de Oliveira.[73] Between 1757 and 1776 the couple would baptize another nine children.[74] From 1763 to 1777 ten slave infants, all born to "single" mothers and belonging to André Rodrigues de Oliveira (and Joana de Sá) were baptized in the Mother Church of São José.[75] From 1784 to 1795 another seven slave infants were baptized, all of them born to "single" mothers belonging to the widow Joana de Sá.[76] All of these seven children were second-generation Crioulos whose mothers had been baptized in 1763, 1766, and 1773. Moreover, five Pardo children (from 18 to 33 years of age) also resided with their widowed mother in 1795. The *Rol* lists all of the widow's confessing slaves as natives and the baptismal entries for five of them survive in the parish registers. It should be recalled here that Joana de Sá's 1795 holding may well have included another five slave children born between

69 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 263, 291, 389. Manuscript.
70 APSASJRM, *Livro 9*, fl. 544v; *Livro 10*, fls. 140, 246. Manuscript.
71 APSASJRM, *Livro 84*, fl. 26. Manuscript.
72 "Listas de 1831."
73 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fl. 37. Manuscript.
74 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 90, 135, 162, 181, 216, 268, 311, 440, 508. Manuscript.
75 APSASJRM, *Livro 7*, fls. 178, 228 (double entry – twins), 285, 433, 495 496, 577v, 588, 598v. Manuscript.
76 APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fls. 128, 255v; *Livro 9*, fls. 31, 378v, 388v, 460, 461v. Manuscript. Rodrigues de Oliveira died in 1781. APSASJRM, *Livro 80*, fl. 171v. Manuscript.

1789 and 1795 and, therefore, not old enough to be inscribed in the *Rol*.[77] Thus far it has not been possible to trace any of the children of André Rodrigues de Oliveira and Joana de Sá and it is quite likely that following the death of their mother some of them may have left the region to establish families and make a living. It is perfectly reasonable to suppose that some of the second- and third-generation slaves migrated along with their new owners. Yet again, this partial reconstitution of a colored freedwoman's household and its families affords us a vivid example of how difficult it is to separate owner and slave families or to separate the very survival of slavery, especially that of small holdings, from the institution of the family.

As suggested earlier, the preceding examples of slave ownership among African freedwomen and women of African descent are part of a larger picture. The nominal list census material show, for example, that widows and women designated as unwed accounted for roughly a fifth of all slaveholders in 1795 and 1831 (19.9 percent and 23 percent respectively). The 1795 *Rol de São Jozé* permits a breakdown of household heads according to how they were labelled as to color or origin and the results are very much relevant for present purposes. Women of color accounted for a majority of slave owning widows – 61 out of 108 – and for virtually all "single" women slaveholders – a total of fifty-nine. So, in focusing on women slaveholders of color, the emphasis does not rest on some exotic or minor aspect of slave ownership in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. That is especially true given the weight of smallholdings – typical among female owners – in the Minas slave society.[78]

From the end of the eighteenth century onward a demographic transition was taking place in Minas Gerais that would result in the longstanding majority of Africans in the slave population giving way to an increasing predominance of native born bondspeople.[79] In São José Africans made up three fifths of the slave force tallied in the 1795 *Rol*, but the 1831 nominal lists reveal a reversal of positions with natives corresponding to slightly more than 60 percent of all bondspeople. These census sources also allow for a closer look at the distribution of slaveholding in 1795 and 1831 and at the changes taking place over time. The holdings of widows and "single" women started out the period with an almost even split between African and native-born slaves (51.3 percent/48.7 percent and 54,1 percent/45.9 percent respectively), but by 1831 natives far outnumbered imported slaves in the households of widows (65.5 percent/43.5 percent), while in those of unwed women the difference was still greater:

77 APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 255v; *Livro 9*, fls. 31, 378v, 388v, 460. Manuscript. A girl born in 1784 does not appear in the *Rol*, while a second girl, born in April of 1795 could not have been included in the *Rol*. APSASJRM, *Livro 8*, fl. 128; *Livro 9*, fl. 461v. Manuscript.

78 In the event, holdings of up to ten bondspeople accounted for 84.8 percent of parish slave properties in 1795 and 81 percent in 1831. The corresponding proportions of the overall parish slave force were 43.3 percent and 40.5 percent.

79 For an overview of this process see: Laird Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

nearly four fifths of bondspeople were natives (79.7 percent).[80] In the aggregate, then, the gender factor did make a considerable difference: slaves belonging to independent women were increasingly more likely to have been native born, the fruit, as it were, of more intense natural increase. While such findings cannot be held to mean that women slave holders deliberately pursued natural increase, they do suggest that it was somehow encouraged by the interpersonal relations prevailing in female headed households, most especially those headed by Africans and women of African descent.

What conclusions can be drawn from the findings made thus far? Given that a general transition to a native-born majority in the slave population was taking place during the period in focus, it can hardly come as a surprise that slave families – loosely defined and mostly in the absence of known fathers – were a feature of all the slave holdings scrutinized above. What does stand out is the regularity of the emergence of new generations: in all six of the examined cases, as young adults, second-generation females gave birth to children, thus generating third-generation slaves. It seems plausible to suggest that the households involved here were imbued with a culture that consistently encouraged family formation – with or without the blessings of the Church. The intimacy and intermingling of slave and owner families must have created an ambience that reassured slave women that their children would remain with them or close by and safe at least until coming of age. It is hard to escape the notion of a wider family that embraced and enveloped in an atmosphere of stability and varying degrees of affection all generations of slaves and owners. The ties of spiritual kinship that turn up so often certainly attest to levels of intimacy that, to date, have remained largely undetected in the relevant literature. Such all-embracing, wider families were devoid of the patriarchal *pater familias*, key to understanding Freyre's great plantation family.[81] There were matriarchs in these São José families, but their authority seems to have stemmed from their skillful orchestration of traditions dictating that families circumstantially joined together within households needed to forge bonds of mutual cooperation in order to ensure their survival over time and generations. Grants of freedom could also figure as part of the complex relations that unfolded in these households.[82] When Quitéria Moreira de Carvalho consented to let her slave and fellow West African, Josefa [Moreira], purchase her freedom, both owner and slave may have been following

80 The corresponding proportions for slaves belonging to married couples were 62.3 percent African in 1795 and 44.6 percent in 1831. Slaves held by single men were 67.2 percent African in 1795 and 45,8 percent in 1831.

81 Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala.*

82 In all likelihood, other manumissions were granted by the owners investigated here but are not easily detected in the sources. See: Afonso de Alencastro Graça Filho and Douglas Libby "As diversas fontes documentais das alforrias: as alforrias batismais, as alforrias notariais, as alforrias em sisas e as testamentais em São João del Rey, séculos XVIII e XIX," in *História Social em Registros Paroquiais (Sul-Sudeste do Brasil, séculos XVIII–XIX)*, ed. Roberto Guedes and João Fragoso (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad X, 2016): 11–38.

traditions from their homeland. After all, aside from working many years for her mistress, in producing two daughters Josefa had enlarged the wider family. Her manumission – duly paid for – may have been considered a natural consequence, perhaps even a right, that mirrored Quitéria's own experience in obtaining her freedom and that of her family. It could be posited that, by the end of the eighteenth century, family formation among slaves and concessions of liberty were melded together in a culture that is perhaps most visible in households headed by women of color. The story of Ana Maria de Jesus, her slaves, and the manumissions she granted certainly suggest the existence of such a culture, including among those whose links to slavery and to Africa lay far in the past.

In the end, the complexity of these partial reconstitutions is much greater than can be conveyed in these few lines. The evidence, however, does point to just how adept women slaveholders of color were at balancing family formation, the perpetuation of holdings, spiritual kinship, and opportunities for freedom in order to ensure themselves an enduring level of material comfort, as well as fair level of respectability within the local community. Moreover, the focus on women slaveholders of African descent provided solid examples of how hard it is to separate owners and their slave families or to separate the survival of slavery, especially of small holdings, from the institution of the family.

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Notes on the Editors

Stephan Conermann (PhD University of Kiel, 1996) is the Speaker of the Bonn Center of Dependency and Slavery Studies, and the Director of the Department of Near Eastern History and Languages at Bonn University. His research interests include slaveries, narrative strategies in historiographic texts, transition periods, mobility and immobility, global history, and rule and power. He focuses on the Mamluk and Delhi Sultanates, the Mughal and Ottoman Empires and the Crossroads Area "Transottomanica." His latest publications include (co-edited with Michael Zeuske) *The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global. From "Capitalism and Slavery" to "Slavery as Capitalism"* = Comparativ (=Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung [Special Issue] 30, no. 5–6 [2020]: 447–636); (co-edited with Gül Şen) *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020); (co-edited with Toru Miura) *Studies on the History and Culture of the Mamluk Sultanate (1250–1517). Proceedings of the First German-Japanese Workshop Held at Tokyo, November 5–6, 2016* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2021) and (co-edited with Gül Şen) *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition II. Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilād al-Shām in the Sixteenth Century* (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2022).

Youval Rotman is a social historian of the Byzantine Mediterranean world, and teaches history in the department of Jewish history at Tel Aviv University. He is the author of *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), published first in French by Les Belles Lettres. The book challenges the common historiography perspective according to which the passage from antiquity to the middle ages brought with it a decline in the employment of slaves. Rotman shows instead that ancient slavery did not decline and was not replaced, but was modified in response to the global changes of the new medieval map. The study of slavery in a broad cultural context, and the comparison of Greek, Latin, Hebrew and Arabic texts, led Rotman to propose new definitions of slave and freeman, which offer new perspectives for modern historical research on slavery. His second book, *Insanity and Sanctity in Byzantium: The Ambiguity of Religious Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), studies different forms of divergent behaviors and their sanctification as a motor of social change. The book analyzes the role of psychology in historical processes. It aspires to turn the relation between history and psychology into a two-way relationship, and to look into the historical evidence in order to challenge the way we conceptualize insanity today. His recent book *Slaveries of the First Millennium* (Amsterdam/Leeds: Amsterdam University Press / ARC Humanities Press, 2021) challenges modern concepts about slavery and the division between the ancient and medieval periods in the scholarship about slavery, by offering a diachronic comparative perspective to analyze slavery as a historical process. It proposes to change the perspective that looks at slavery as a discrete phenomenon, and to examine instead the historical development of the first millennium through the eyes of the enslaved.

Ehud R. Toledano is an Emeritus Professor and the Director of the Program in Ottoman and Turkish Studies at Tel Aviv University (TAU), Israel. With a PhD from Princeton University, he conducted extensive research in Istanbul, Cairo, London, and Paris, and taught courses on the Middle East at TAU, UCLA, UPenn, Oxford, and other leading universities. Among the sixteen books he wrote and edited, the following are noteworthy: *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840–1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982); *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998); *As If Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); (ed.), *African Communities in Asia and the Mediterranean: Identities between Integration and Conflict* (Halle: Max Planck Institute/Trenton, NJ and Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2011); and co-edited with Dror Ze'evi, *Society, Law, and Culture in the Middle East: "Modernities" in the Making* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015). His current work is tentatively titled *Slavery: The Human Factor* (trade book, in preparation). The most recent among Toledano's 42 articles and 22 reviews are: "Models of Global Enslavement," in

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Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 31–51; *Ottoman and Islamic Enslavement from a Global Perspective: Theory, Methodology, Practice*, Otto Spies Memorial Series 5 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020). Ehud Toledano served as the Director of the Graduate School for Historical Studies (2004–2008) and was a member of TAU's Executive Committee (2005–2009).

Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz is a retired Professor of Classics at Tel Aviv University. She has published widely on slavery and other dependent and non-citizen groups in the ancient Greek world. Her book, *Not Wholly Free: The Concept of Manumission and the Status of Manumitted Slaves in the Ancient Greek World* (Leiden: Brill 2005) is a comprehensive and thorough appraisal of the evidence of manumission in the Greek world. It investigates manumission in all its aspects and features, by analyzing modes of manumission, its terminology, the group composition of manumittors and freed slaves, motivation, procedures and conditions of manumission, legal actions and laws concerning manumitted slaves, and the latters' legal status and position in society. Her article, "Greek and Roman Terminologies of Slavery" (in *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Slaveries*, ed. Stephen Hodkinson, Marc Kleijwegt and Kostas Vlassopoulos (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), examines Greek and Roman terminologies, aiming at detecting their semantic fields and pointing to a possible identical semantic process behind the adoption of the main slave terms in Greece, Rome, and the modern western world. In another article, "Half Slave, Half Free: Partial Manumission in the Ancient Near East and Beyond" (*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 110 (2019]: 1–57), she analyzes evidence of partial manumission, that is, manumission of *parts* of slaves (half, third, two-thirds), its meaning and its functions. This paper compares evidence from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt to similar phenomena in Hellenistic and Roman Judaea, Babylonia, Sasanian Iran, Roman Syria, the Islamic legal texts, and medieval Portugal, arguing that partial manumission was based on legal and social concepts shared by neighboring societies in the Near East and spread westwards with the Muslim conquests.

Notes on the Contributors

Daniel Hershenzon is an Associate Professor in the Department of Literatures, Cultures, and Languages at the University of Connecticut. His awards-winning book, *The Captive Sea: Slavery, Commerce, and Communication in Early Modern Spain and the Mediterranean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), explores the seventeenth-century entangled histories of Spain, Morocco, and Ottoman Algiers, arguing that captivity and ransom of Christians and Muslims shaped the Mediterranean as a socially, politically, and economically integrated region. Hershenzon currently works on two projects: one on Catholic and Islamic religious artifacts trapped in the early modern Mediterranean plunder economy, and another on Muslims and Maghrebis in eighteenth-century Spain. Hershenzon has published articles in *Past & Present*, *Annales-HSS*, *Journal of Early Modern History*, *African Economic History*, *History Compass*, *Philological Encounters*, and in edited volumes. His research for *The Captive Sea*, as well as for current projects, has been supported by the Princeton Institute for Advanced Studies, the ACLS, NEH, and other grant foundations.

Douglas Libby was born in the United States, and has lived in Brazil since 1974. His Master's thesis focuses on a nineteenth-century British mining enterprise installed in Minas Gerais in southern Brazil, while his PhD dissertation, written at the Universidade de São Paulo, examines cottage industries and other non-agricultural activities that flourished during the 1800s in the province of Minas. Libby was a Visiting Scholar at the University of Texas, Austin, and in 1994 and again in 2014–2015 a Visiting Professor/ Scholar at Stanford. During the 1970s and early 1980s Libby was a lecturer at the Catholic Pontifical University of Minas Gerais, and later took a position at the Federal University of Minas Gerais where he is presently a Full Professor (semi-retired). He has published six books mostly dealing with slavery and the slave regime in colonial and Imperial Brazil and has edited or co-edited five collections. Libby has authored or co-authored dozens of articles in both Portuguese and English. Among the English language periodicals are the Journal of Latin American Studies, Slavery & Abolition, Latin American Research Review, Colonial Latin American History Review, African Economic History, Luso-Brazilian Review, the Journal of Family History, The Americas, and the International Review of Social History. Together with two colleagues Libby is currently organizing a two-volume collection of some fifty chapters provisionally entitled "Society and Daily Life in Colonial Minas Gerais: Cultures, Productive Activities and Labour, Populations, and Families." Currently Prof. Libby is coordinating a Research Group called "Atlantic Slave Societies: Family, Wealth, Culture, and Population." This Research Group involves faculty, graduate and undergraduate students from six Brazilian and three US universities.

Karoline Noack studied anthropology and history at the Humboldt University of Berlin, graduating in 1988. She completed her doctorate and habilitation at the Freie Universität Berlin on topics of colonial difference in the early colonial period of the Viceroyalty of Peru. She has been Professor of Anthropology of the Americas at the University of Bonn and Director of the BASA Museum (Bonn Collection of the Americas) since 2009. Her main areas of research include social and cultural phenomena in the Andes in the *longue durée*, dependency in the Inka state and in the colonial period, museum and collection research, including with "source communities", as well as social and cultural anthropological research on Hispano-American colonial history. Her most recent publications include (co-edited with Daniel Grana-Behrens) *From "Bronze Rooster" to Ekeko. Impulses for Ethnological Provenance Research in University Collections and Museums* (Bonn: University of Bonn – BASA Museum, 2020), (co-edited with Carla Jaimes Betancourt and Naomi Rattunde) *Global Turns, descolonización y museos* (Bonn: University of Bonn – BASA Museum 2020), *Digitalisierung ethnologischer Sammlungen. Perspektiven aus Theorie und Praxis* [Digitization of Ethnological Collections. Perspectives from Theory and Practice] (Bielefeld: transcript, 2021), and various catalogues on research and exhibition projects at the BASA Museum and other university collections of the University of Bonn. Her research into dependency in the Inka state focuses on

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Roberto Hofmeister Pich obtained his PhD at the University of Bonn in the field of medieval philosophy in 2001. He is currently Professor of Philosophy at the Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul (PUCRS), Porto Alegre / RS, Brazil, and an Affiliated Researcher at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS), Germany. He is also a Fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt-Foundation and of the Fulbright Commission. In 2018 he became the first holder of the Chair CAPES / University of Bonn (a Brazilian / German professorship), with a project focused on the philosophical, legal, and theological background of the ideology of black slavery in colonial Latin America. He has been an Ambassador of the University of Bonn since February 2019. He has written and edited books about medieval philosophy, particularly on the philosophy of John Duns Scotus, the reception of medieval "schools" in Latin American Scholasticism, philosophy of religion, and slavery as a philosophical, legal, and theological topic. He is one of the leaders of the project "*Scholastica colonialis*: Reception and Development of Baroque Scholasticism in Latin America, 16th to 18th Centuries," which is being supported by the Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (SIEPM), a society of whose Bureau he is one of the vice-presidents.

Gül Şen is currently Interim Professor of Middle Eastern Studies (Turkish and Persian) at the University of Heidelberg, and Senior Lecturer (Privatdozentin) with *venia legendi* in Middle Eastern Studies and Languages at the University of Bonn. She obtained her PhD (2012) and Habilitation (2021) at the same university. She specializes in the early-modern history and historiography of the Ottoman Empire, and in the history of modern Turkey. Her current research addresses forced mobility and war captivity as well as maritime unfree labor in the Mediterranean world. She is co-editor of the "Ottoman Studies" series at V&R unipress/Bonn University Press and the "Otto Spies Memorial Series" at EB-Verlag (both since 2015). Gül Şen is author of *Making Sense of History: Narrativity and Literariness in the Ottoman Chronicle of Naʿīmā* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

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Michael Zeuske was educated at the university of Leipzig. He obtained his two German postgraduate qualifications (PhD and Habilitation) at Leipzig in 1984 and 1991, respectively, with works on revolutionary elites and hegemonial groups in Latin-American independence movements. He taught as full professor at the Universities of Leipzig (1992–1993) and Cologne (1993–2018). He spent 25 years as Professor of Iberian and Latin American History at Universität zu Köln (University of Cologne). Zeuske is a leading expert on global slaveries, on Alexander von Humboldt's American Journeys, on the revolutionary elites of the *independencia*-movements in Spanish America (Simón Bolívar, Francisco de Miranda, etc.), the history of the Caribbean, especially the second slavery in Cuba, Venezuela and Colombia. He is best known for his studies on slavery and slave trades. Since March 2018, Zeuske has been professor emeritus of Iberian and Latin-American history at the University of Cologne. He has been senior professor and PI of the Bonn

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Index

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