The Strong Asymmetrical Dependency Studies Reader

Ed. Stephan Conermann

First Edition

You can find the most recent edition of the reader at:

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/research/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-reader

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Please note:

To reduce the file size of the reader, we have compressed the images. To view the images in their original quality, please use the link to the original publication provided for each article.

The Strong Asymmetrical Dependency Studies Reader

General Introduction

1. General Approaches

1.1. Strong Asymmetrical Dependency

Introduction

On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn. An Essay with Systematic Intent
by Christoph Antweiler

Values, Norms, and Institutions in the Study of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency
by Rudolf Stichweh,

1.2. Beyond Slavery and Freedom

Introduction

Free like Other Freeborn People or Just Another Form of Dependency? Questioning the Situation of Manumitted Slaves in Early Modern Istanbul
by Veruschka Wagner

1.3. Agency

Introduction

Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?
by Bethany Walker

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.1. Theoretical Avenues

Introduction

A Phenomenological Overview
Slavery and Slaves as 'Global and Globalizing'?
by Michael Zeuske

A Global-Historical Approach
Slavery and Labour Coercion in Asia: Towards a Global History
by Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum

Beyond Maritime Asia. Ideology, Historiography, and Prospects for a Global History of Slaving in Early-Modern Asia
by Claude Chevaleyre

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Introduction

Ancient China
Indefinite Terms? Social Groups in Early Ancient China (ca. 1300–771 BC) and 'Strong Asymmetrical Dependency'
by Susanne Adamski

Greek World
Dependent Rural Populations in Archaic and Classical Greece: Free, Slave, or Between Free and Slave?
by Winfried Schmitz

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

South Asia
Dependency, Subjugation and Survival: A Working Paper on the Jaina Culture in Medieval Karnataka, South India
by Julia Hegewald

Brazil
Introduction (Current Trends in Slavery Studies in Brazil)
by Paulo Cruz Terra

Mongolia
Slavery in Eighteenth Century Mongolia: Transactions in People and Notions of Property According to the Qanggin Banner Archives
by Dorothea Heuschert-Laage

Germany
Beyond Exceptionalism. Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany
by Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer, and Sarah Lentz

Contemporary Societies
Tattooed Dependencies: Sensory Memory, Structural Violence and Narratives of Suffering among Caribbean Hindu Women
by Sinah Kloß

3. Research Lenses

Introduction

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Introduction

Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies: Introduction
by Jeannine Bischoff, Stephan Conermann, and Marion Gymnich

Introduction: Narratives of Dependency: Examining the History of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies through the Lens of Narrative Texts
by Marion Gymnich

Introduction: The Semantics of Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependency in Comparison
by Stephan Conermann

Semantics, Lexical Fields

How to Approach Emic Semantics of Dependency in Islamic Legal Texts: Reflections on the Ḥanafī Legal Commentary al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī and its British-Colonial Translation
by Anna Kollatz

'I Have No Shortage of Moors': Mission, Representation, and the Elusive Semantics of Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Moravian Sources
by Josef Köstbauer

Familia and Dependency in Roman Law Texts
by Martin Schermaier

Narratives

Reading Asymmetrical Dependencies in the Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Women Travelers in Ottoman Lands
by Zeynep Gökçe

Narrating Dependency: The Relationship between David and Solomon of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre in Hebrew Bible Traditions
by Markus Saur

Narrativity and Dependency: The Captivity of an Ottoman Official in Saint Petersburg (1771–1775)
by Gül Şen

Slave Voices in Ottoman Court Records – A Narrative Analysis of the Istanbul Registers from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries
by Veruschka Wagner

Narrative Self-Representations of Enslaved People under Slavery Regimes – Myth or Reality?
by Michael Zeuske

3.2. Embodied Dependencies

Introduction

Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art
by Julia Hegewald

Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms
by Julia Hegewald

Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty
by Julia Hegewald

Embodying Dependency: Caribbean Godna (Tattoo) as Female Subordination and Resistance
by Sinah Kloß

3.3. Norms, Institutions, Practices

Introduction

Without Rights? Social Theories Meet Roman Law Texts
by Martin Schermaier

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Introduction

Systems of Dependent Labour in Roman Imperial Quarries. The Chaîne Opératoire as a Method for Identifying Dependencies
by Dennis Mario Beck

The ‘Coolie Trade’ via Southeast Asia: Exporting Chinese Indentured Labourers to Cuba through the Spanish Philippines
by Mònica Ginés-Blasi

The Eastward Routes: Swedish Prisoners and Overlapping Regimes of Coercion in the Russian, Chinese and Dzungar Empires
by Lisa Hellman

Day Labourers and Servants. Poverty in Archaic Greece
by Winfried Schmitz

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

3.5. Gender and Intersectionality

Introduction

Prostitution/ Serfdom/ Slavery. Picturing Female Dependencies in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam
by Birgit Ulrike Münch

Outlook

General Introduction

Various forms of strong asymmetrical dependency have existed throughout human history all around the world. Despite this broad spectrum, academic debates in the modern West have primarily focused on only one of these forms of human bondage and coercion: slavery. In other words, research has often drawn upon the extremes of absolute slavery versus freedom, simultaneously all but ignoring the variety of other types of dependency. Particularly the transatlantic experience of slavery, which is entangled with the creation of the modern West and is historically specific, continues to inform current notions of what freedom (and a lack thereof) means. It shapes (and simultaneously narrows down) our understanding of past and current manifestations of strong asymmetrical dependencies all over the world. In the context of the heterogeneous social processes of globalization, various forms and notions of freedom and strong asymmetrical dependency are juxtaposed and need to be negotiated. In order to understand these complex global processes, thorough analyses of the historical dimension of strong asymmetrical dependencies, including pre-modern structures and dynamics of social, cultural, economic and political orders, are necessary. However, strong asymmetrical dependencies in various regions, such as the Arab world, Asia as well as pre-Columbian America, and even within Europe, have not been studied as extensively as their Atlantic counterpart. The Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) fills this gap by being an internationally visible Center for Strong Asymmetrical Dependency Studies that provides impulses for widening the international academic debate and for going beyond the dichotomy slavery versus freedom. By being conceptually and methodologically broader than existing institutes focusing on slavery and labor history as well as empirically and thematically more specific than most centers for global history, the BCDSS is able to play a leading role at the crossroads of current debates.

1. General Approaches

1.1. Strong Asymmetrical Dependency

Introduction

The BCDSS does research on strong asymmetrical dependencies in different societies. Its research goes programmatically beyond the binary opposition of slavery versus freedom by suggesting strong asymmetrical dependency as a new key concept which encompasses debt bondage, convict labor, tributary labor, servitude, serfdom, and domestic work as well as forms of wage labor and various types of patronage. Forms of strong asymmetrical dependency have existed throughout human history in all parts of the globe. They are thus part of the "human experience". This is why the BCDSS started out from two basic hypotheses: (1) There are enduring institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency in all human societies; and (2) these strong asymmetrical dependencies are formative for these societies. Against this backdrop, neither the divide between modern and pre-modern nor modernity as a paradigm are the central concerns of the BCDSS. The BCDSS contributes to the academic debate an evaluation of the rich and diverse expressions of strong asymmetrical dependencies from a transregional and perspective, taking historical depth into account. It is interested in social processes in order to better understand why and how different forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies emerged in different places and in different periods. The BCDSS is interested in the factors behind their development over time. If one takes strong asymmetrical dependency as the *tertium comparationis* in comparisons a definition is needed. Interestingly enough, sociology and social theory do not, yet, have a well-articulated theory of the institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency. The BCDSS applies a flexible and rather broad understanding of strong asymmetrical dependency: Dependencies between actors are based on the ability of an actor to control the actions and the access to resources of another actor. This type of control over actions and access to resources is often reciprocal, and, in this case, it is compatible with the autonomy of both actors. Therefore, the establishment of strong asymmetries between actors is decisive for the loss of autonomy of one of them. Moreover, this asymmetrical dependency between actors has to be supported by an institutional background that guarantees that the dependent actor normally cannot change his/her situation by either going away ("exit") or by articulating protest ("voice"). To test and re-conceptualize this definition, the BCDSS significantly broadened the empirical basis of research through a temporal and spatial extension of the field. The BCDSS connects current debates on strong asymmetrical dependencies in the 'modern world' with new research on societies outside of this sphere of influence. Maybe, strong asymmetrical dependency can even serve as the funding principle of a new social history.

1. General Approaches

1.1. Strong Asymmetrical Dependency

Christoph Antweiler. “On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn. An Essay with Systematic Intent,” Discussion Paper 1/22 (Bonn: Excellence Cluster Beyond Slavery and Freedom, 2022).

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf

DISCUSSION PAPER 22 01

Christoph Antweiler

ON DEPENDENCE, DEPENDENCY, AND A DEPENDENCY TURN.

AN ESSAY WITH SYSTEMATIC INTENT

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Discussion Paper, ISSN 2751-1642
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Editors: Abdelkader Al Ghouz/Jeannine Bischoff/Stephan Conermann

Discussion Paper 2022/01
© May 2022, by the author

Christoph Antweiler

On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn. An Essay with Systematic Intent

Download
https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/discussion papers

……

Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433

Contact:
Dr. Abdelkader Al Ghouz
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Email: publications@dependency.uni-bonn.de
Web: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Table of Contents

I. Introduction 1

II. Dependence vs. Dependency 2

III. Social Dependence, Societal Dependence and Systemic Dependence 3

IV. Asymmetrical Dependence and *WEIRD* Research Biases 6

V. Ten Aspects of Asymmetrical Dependency for Empirical Analysis 7

V.1. Social and Societal Actors Involved 7

V.2. Number of Elements Linked and Forms of Relatedness 8

V.3. Social, Economic, and Psychic Substance of the Dependence Relation 9

V.4. Subjects and Objects of Control 9

V.5. Cultural Manifestation, Presentation, and Representation 10

V.6. Direction of Dependence and Temporality 10

V.7. Symmetrical vs. Asymmetric Dependency 11

V.8. Pervasive vs. Weak Forms of Dependency 11

V.9. Time Scales, Social Scales, and Spatial Scales 12

V.10. Etic and Emic Dimensions 13

VI. Towards a Processual Typology and Against a Dependency Turn 14

I. Introduction

Which phenomena are to be considered as forms of asymmetrical dependence and dependency among human beings? How can we distinguish between dependence and dependency? Do we need a "dependency turn" in cultural studies, social science and historical research? These are the key questions addressed in this paper. It is an explicitly conceptual paper that aims at a clarification of analytic issues of dependence and dependency in a systematic manner. This conceptual orientation entails an abstract approach. Accordingly, this piece does not analyze specific cases or case histories in detail, although I will give short examples throughout.

The first BCDSS concept paper[1] explored the intricacies of dependence and slavery and discussed many concepts rooted in different scientific approaches. This paper is focused on basic forms, processes, and types of asymmetrical relationality. The author is an anthropologist and has a keen comparative interest in relations of dependence but is not a specialist in this area. To concentrate on topical matters and in conformity with the essay format, I give no references here. It should be emphasized that I do not claim novelty for any of the ideas presented or discussed here. I have relied extensively on the literature cited in our first BCDSS concept paper, and I have learned a lot from the long, fruitful, and interdisciplinary discussions with my co-authors in preparing that piece.

In terms of trends in current academic literature, this paper goes deliberately against the grain in some respects. There is currently a tendency in some areas of the humanities to capture complex phenomena in broad, open-ended and deliberately vague or ambiguous terms. Accordingly, definitions are out of fashion. A second trend is to use central terms in pluralized form ("histories", "identities", "practices", "mobilities", "geographies", "temporalities"). A third path often followed is the use of metaphors (e.g. "social death") or neologisms (such as "actant", "capitalocene" and "more-than-human") to approach complex phenomena or to understand complicated contexts. Occasionally I fall into these habits myself. All the more reason why my guiding principle in this essay is that the more complex and complicated a phenomenon is to understand, the clearer, more precise and more differentiated the terms should be. I think that metaphors can play a productive role in the search for new questions and hypotheses. However, metaphors and neologisms are not a substitute for a theory in the sense of a generalizing statement. This discussion paper is explicitly intended as a working paper that makes some preliminary proposals on the systematics of dependency phenomena. It therefore forms an interim state of thinking and is anything but complete. I would be pleased if it became a "living paper" through its use for the examination of concrete cases and through intensive and detailed criticism.[2]

[1] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler & Stephan Conermann (2021): *On Asymmetrical Dependency*. Bonn: Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (Concept Paper 1), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf

[2] My thanks go to Imogen Herrad and Janico Albrecht. All rights to remaining errors remain solely with the author.

II. Dependence vs. Dependency

In order to enable greater analytical precision, a distinction between dependence and dependency may be helpful. Such a distinction, moreover, will allow us to connect and compare different projects studying both short-term developments and long-term trajectories of asymmetrical dependence, and spatially confined cases as well as those that extend over wider regions or even globally. Social dependency (beyond mere dependence) can be used as an overarching notion to describe a range of dependences in different and linked topical realms and at all scales, including macro-, meso- and micro-forms of dependence: thus forming a systemic phenomenon.

Dependence here refers to the smallest unit conceivable, a relationship between at least two connected elements (A, B), where at least one has limited agency and autonomy or scope of action *due to the linkage* A–B. Dependency, on the other hand, is conceived of as a system or structural form of practice of several and/or time-continuous dependences as systemic unities. This may be contoured in three directions. First, dependency might refer to any *systemic* form of dependence whatsoever. Second, dependency could be interpreted as the *holistic* aspect of specified relations. Third, on the meso- and micro-level, dependency may refer to a general social, cultural or even civilizational *tendency* or *inclination* to engage oneself or others in socioeconomic or socio-political relations that are characterized by dependence. This may be formulated in terms of social formation or in terms of an assemblage that includes objects.

Thus dependency would be conceived as a durable and stable form of different processes to create and support relations of dependence involving different actors, practices, and material entities. This definition functions similarly to the distinction between migrancy and migration. Whereas migration is the concrete movement to another place migrancy can be understood as the *condition* of habitual movement from one place of residence to another, a condition that privileges movement. The distinction between action and agency is not the same as the distinction between dependence and dependency, as agency is more related to *potential*.

The task would then be to determine how practices that create and support relations of dependence accumulate or agglomerate (over time) into broader social entities (societies, social formations, social orders, and constellations) through dependency. According to this view, social formations are processes that change continuously by means of the practices of various and multi-sited individuals and groups. The pivotal question here is how this structural form is given material form in social or societal reality. How was it constituted, and how has it achieved stability or continuity over time? What mechanisms are involved in its reproduction trans-generationally over time? Identifying this would imply a theoretical focus as well as an investigation of empirical data to establish a relationship between different elements, instead of assuming an earlier systematic connection.

Characteristic, trait	**Relations of dependence (single relation, practice)**	**Relations of dependency (systemic relations, praxis)**
Systemicity (1): structural relation to social order	single relation or seen as not or less related to other elements or dynamics of social order	related to other elements or dynamics of social order
Systemicity (2): links between dependences, articulation	a-systemic, item-like, not related to other asymmetric dependences	systemic; a condition related to other asymmetric dependences
Systemicity (3): analytical perspective	particularistic	holistic
Function: effect for stability or durability of social unit or entity	not functional for durability of social formation, social system or social order	functional for durability of social formation, social system or social order
Pattern (1): regularity in time, durability, longevity	irregularly, intermittent, transient, only at specific historical points	regularly, permanent, true trajectory, durable, trans-generational
Pattern (2): regularity in space, expanse	spatially limited occurrence, confined, parochial	spatially extended coverage such as regional or cross-boundary
Pattern (3): Number of instances, cases	single instance or case	multiple instances or cases
Number of dependence relations	one social/economic relation	many social/economic relations, multiple relations
Normalcy, normalization	not habitual, not socially grounded	habitual, commonplace, typical everyday experience
Normativity within social setting studied	no evaluative stance (by actors X, Y, Z)	negative or positive stance (by actors X, Y, Z)
Singularity or plurality	yes, several or many dependences	no, only one dependency referring to case or period (due to systemicity)

Table 1. Differentiating dependence and dependency through specific but partially linked characteristics

III. Social Dependence, Societal Dependence and Systemic Dependence

As understood here, dependence is first and foremost a human social relationship, albeit often a less humane or even inhumane one. This does not include forms of purely causal or ontological dependence, such as human dependence on natural resources, e.g. for carrying out an economic activity, building a monument or creating another object of material culture, and they will not be considered in this essay. In addition, since history usually matters in understanding dependency, it should be noted that path dependence can be important in the historical-genetic explanation of a historical or current dependency relationship under

consideration, but should be conceptually distinguished from the relational dependency under investigation.

If I speak of something as social, I am referring to, at minimum, a dyad of two individuals as interacting humans. The ontological core of social dependence approaches is the fact that the respective units, areas, systems, collectives, or persons connected are (or were) linked by *unequal relations*. The epistemic implication of this causal nexus is that to understand this structure of inequality, a careful analysis of the asymmetrical relation is needed, wherein two or more entities, polities, or systems are *articulated* via an unequal or hierarchical relation between persons, where one can control the other.

Social dependence is here defined as a specific form of social, economic or political ritual, or other form of human relationship. Relationships of social dependence can be conceived as asymmetrical relations between two or more actors. These actors may be persons, human collectives, juridical persons, institutions or states. Non-human causal agents or actants are excluded here, as I consider them to be behaving but not acting. If the unequal relations pertain to the larger supra-personal units called societies, we may speak of *societal* dependence. To understand this and apply it in empirical studies regarding pre-modern or contemporary societies, a suitable methodological approach would employ techniques suited to the study of *concrete social* relations, e.g., network analysis, area studies, regional systems analysis, systems theories, and complexity theories.

At first sight, our topic is not immediately linked to a more macro-oriented dependency theory as conceived within development studies or world system approaches. Nevertheless, we can learn a lot from different versions of dependency theory (*dependencia*), as it is a main theoretical approach for conceptualizing asymmetrical relations between societal entities. Dependence theory usually deals with asymmetrical relations between two spatial *macro*-entities. These entities are linked to one another through unequal exchange of materials, information and human beings (*articulation*). In the prototypical case these are colonizing units, also called *centers* (*metropoles*), which are linked with colonies or other dependent areas, the *peripheries* (*satellites*). The articulation is established and maintained by the relation of unequal exchange.

This structure of dependence is typically repeated across lower spatial scales within the colony's respective periphery, such as relations between a colonial center with its colonies or a city with its rural hinterland. Currently, we see a renewed interest in relations of dependence following the decline of classical dependence theories that took place in the 1990s. Dependence theory, which arose in the 1960s and 1970s, was conceived out of a critique of classical theories of social evolution and development. These dominant socio-evolutionistic approaches conceived long-term societal change as a one-directional phenomenon, emphasizing internal and cultural factors as key movers, and they entailed an assumption of necessary steps of development (the *ladder model*).

In contrast to developmentalist thinkers, dependence theorists emphasized external factors and investigated the success of developing areas via the image of parasitism appearing in the peripheries (with a focus that bore more on Latin America than on Africa and Asia). Dependence theories came under attack in the 1990s because they could not explain the

many *different* development paths taken by areas that had formerly been dependent on distant metropoles, such as the post-war trajectories of Ghana and South Korea, which appeared to begin in similar conditions. Dependence theory was followed by world system theory and more recent approaches that focus on the *Global South,* necessarily including the *Global North*. The macro-orientation and economic bias of *dependencia* theories calls for a rethinking of theories that focus on social dependence, replacing them with a combination of other approaches along with a focus on local developmental trajectories and regional agency, which is one of the main aims of the BCDSS.

The theoretical and methodological toolkit of dependence theory and related approaches with regard to the study of macro-economic and macro-political relations may relate to the economic and political fields proper and beyond the macro-scale. In relation to work and labor, dependence may be suitable for analyzing explicitly *social relations* and the scale of the *meso- or micro-levels* of such relations. Within the disciplines of cultural or social anthropology and sociology, many empirical studies of patron-client relations (*patronage* or *clientelism*) have been conducted; that is, these works examine social micro-relations that are structurally similar to macro-patterns of dependence and inter-dependence. If we think in terms of dependency and combine theoretical ideas ranging from macro-analysis to the micro perspective, theoretically challenging questions arise that are also *empirically* comprehensible through the use of existing sources or data sets that can realistically be constructed. Here are some examples of mostly unresolved issues:

- What are the specifics of asymmetric *inter*-dependence: in which ways are *super-ordinated* actors also (partially) dependent on their own subordinate or subaltern actors?
- In what ways can *subordinate*d actors use the (partial) dependence of their masters against them as their own *social capital*, facilitating them a certain degree of agency, e.g., through knowledge, technical expertise, mastery in work, or social cognition (knowledge of the social network)?
- Which persons and institutions can be characterized as *gatekeepers or brokers* to establish or maintain unequal work or labor relations?
- Are there opportunities (and if so, what are they?) for developing an asymmetric dependence through stages of inter-dependence into a more *mutual* labor relation (co-operation, symbiosis, or synergy)?
- What emerges when we see asymmetrical labor relations not as dyadic but *polyadic*, involving three or more individual, collective, or institutional actors?
- Are the relations in question socially dense, multiplex, and/or full of cultural content, or are they restricted to the relational aspects or a monoplex relatedness?
- Are there cases in which asymmetry and inequality are valued in a *positive* way by the subordinate?
- What are the specifics of dependence relations, if the partners are not only socio-economically or politically unequal but also *culturally* different?
- What are the specifics of slavery in comparison to other forms of severe or enduring dependence?

IV. Asymmetrical Dependence and *WEIRD* Research Biases

Dependence is related to politics, society and culture, and specifically to social order. Thus I start from the BCDSS' stance that asymmetrical dependency should be studied as a phenomenon that is both embedded in and structured by social order. How can the basic theoretical assumptions that were laid out in Concept Paper 1 be extended and further differentiated in a senseful way? First of all, structure: by which I mean a general notion of structure and not a specific linguistic or social-scientific notion of structure. Structures are by definition characterized by a certain measure of durability, which distinguishes them from processes or dynamics. However, we can also conceptualize structures as formed through social and societal practice, and deliberately prevent ourselves from seeing structures as something ontologically distinct from practices. Even practices may take on more structured forms if they become durable or pervasive, e.g., in rituals or other traditions that are explicitly linked to habit.

Thus, structures can be seen as being made up of multiple (and potentially causally contradictory) practices of multi-situated agents, namely, individuals, groups, assemblages of groups, organizations, and so on. This understanding of the development of *structuration* can be seen as a praxeological one, as used in many recent approaches to material studies in social science and archaeology. In this view, durable patterns of social life are created by interlinked processes. This links to agency, as we can assume that even in situations or settings with very restricted freedom due to strong and/or enduring asymmetrical relations, there may be at least some space for action.

I am especially concerned with the social and cultural aspects and dimensions of asymmetrical dependence as it manifests in relations between persons. Social structures and social practices are linked to social and societal relations. The very core of sociality itself is *relatedness*. The focal point of attention here should thus be on the question of how asymmetrical dependences *emerge* from the structuring and/or long-term development, that is, the institutionalization or canalization (or "fossilization") of specific social relations. The very notion of a social relation implies a *linkage* between persons, collectives, and/or organizations or social institutions. Because social actors are always related to their partners and to the given social situation, there are always links that bind them spatially or constrain their freedom. However, not every social relation should be regarded as a dependence relation. To have analytical power, the notion of dependency must designate something more than simply an extremely unequal social or economic relation. Furthermore, as said above, to avoid fuzzy conceptualization, we should be clear that (1) not every *synchronic* causal link between phenomena A and B is dependence, and (2) not every *diachronic* causal link between phenomena should be regarded as dependence.

A study of *asymmetrical* dependency could start by developing a conception of it as a specific form of *power relation*. The dynamics of power are formative for the dynamics of dependency. Nevertheless, on a theoretical level but also in empirical studies, we should distinguish analytically between different phenomena. We need to disentangle the relation between dependency and the personal and social relations of power, dominance, hierarchy, and inequality. The assertion that they are causally linked is not grounds to confuse them. This differentiation is relevant for *revealing* (instead of simply assuming) the causal links between

these four elements (a causal nexus) and to identify what is really at the core of the respective topic studied.

The systematization of dependency attempted here is explicitly intended to enable comparisons. Any enterprise of comparison implies the problem of criteria of comparison, the *tertium comparationis* (literally "the third", i.e. the common element, in a comparison). If we intend to develop an approach that is not biased toward Eurocentric or Atlanto-centric assumptions, a descriptive terminology is of the utmost importance for dependency studies. Our basic assumptions thus should not be limited to evidence produced in *WEIRD* (Western, Educated, Industrial, Rich, Democratic) societies. That pertains especially to generalizing assumptions about the basic values as well as the motives and emotions of interacting humans. Our current textbook knowledge of the human psyche has been obtained from a very limited set of studies, almost all of which were performed by Western researchers on Western subjects in experimental settings. Where worldwide comparative data is available, *WEIRD* societies consistently occupy the extreme ends of the distribution. This makes these groups the worst subpopulations that can be used to generalize about the psyche and behavior of humans.

Thus, if we compare, e.g., Atlantic slavery and Greco-Roman slavery with Asian or African cases of asymmetrical dependency, we must ascertain that the *tertium comparationis* that we are developing does not already have a privileged relationship with Atlantic slavery or Greco-Roman slavery being the usual implicit prototypes. Unless we do this, there is a danger that non-Western cases, case histories and dependency systems will almost automatically be regarded as deviant forms. By implication, beyond preventing Eurocentric assumptions we should try to avoid *any* form of projecting our own experiences or norms onto other social and cultural settings in a universalizing way ungrounded in empirical research. We should avoid any nostro-centrism.

V. Ten Aspects of Asymmetrical Dependency for Empirical Analysis

I propose ten aspects to focus on when studying social forms and formations or any constellations of asymmetrical dependency. These perspectives might be useful to (a) describe and analyze cases or case histories, (b) compare instances of asymmetrical dependency and (c) situate individual research projects within the young landscape of dependence and dependency studies. However, this should not be understood to form a complete picture or a comprehensive catalog to be followed as a recipe.

V.1. Social and Societal Actors Involved

Who is involved in relations of dependence? Who is acting, and who is being acted upon? How much freedom is there to act as desired (agency)? In asymmetrical dependency relations, persons are involved, such as in the archetypical master and slave. The interlocutors or actors involved can also be different kinds of social entities, such as occupational groups, communities, families (or ethnic or occupational groups) or social categories (e.g. castes, classes, or social entities grouped by e.g. age or gender). Institutions (political or economic)

and institutional or collective entities like states, nations, and transnational entities (e.g. an abolition movement) may also operate as either actors or those acted upon.

We must decide whether to treat ideas, items of material culture, or environmental circumstances as actors according to the Latourian concept. In this question different practice approaches take different stances. In contrast to currently very common arguments, I only regard people as actors, if an action – in distinction from a mere *behavior* – contains intention. That does not mean that all of the *effects* of a given action are intended. Furthermore, this in no way excludes the possibility that material objects or non-human living beings can in part produce similar effects as actions by human actors. Many material circumstances or entities of material culture may constrain, enable, or even afford asymmetrical dependency to differing degrees. One example is buildings, walls, fences and other material boundaries that permanently restrict people's freedom of movement or their freedom to express themselves. So the general question is this: How do material structures or materialized relations enable or establish asymmetrical dependence through affordance? We may think of making and unmaking, among actions, as simultaneous processes that can unfold for one person, a collective, and in different rooms. This also applies to material restrictions on the spatial autonomy of large numbers of people in social categories, such as bonded laborers or poor women.

V.2. Number of Elements Linked and Forms of Relatedness

By adopting a systemic view of dependence relations, we can investigate the elements and relations that constitute the system. Because we are dealing with eminently relational phenomena, we should analytically differentiate between several morphological structures of relations, such as social versus economic networks. We can distinguish between a bilateral relation (dyad, binary), where two parties (A, B) are linked, e.g. by a work contract. A triadic relation would be one that connects three parties (A, B, C); these may all be of the same sort (e.g. three persons) or be different sorts of entities (e.g. two persons plus one institution). Relations of asymmetrical dependency involving more than three parties would appear as multilateral relations.

Social network theory provides (a) an alternative to purely structural theorizing by taking account of individuals and their social positions. Furthermore, it offers (b) precise language for describing relations and (c) methods for qualitatively or quantitatively analyzing networks empirically (qualitative network analysis). Such analyses could be useful for observing those processes of the formation of dependency that appear more open, and those that appear more closed in regard to intervention by elements outside the system envisioned. We can then ask to which degree a social formation or socio-political system of dependence can be described as open, and how asymmetrical relationships are related to kinship structures or possibly even defined as such. The question would then be why those processes assume specific characteristics in certain contexts and in relation to one another.

V.3. Social, Economic, and Psychic Substance of the Dependence Relation

What forms of relations exist between actors? How are the connections or links between individual and collective actors characterized? Within the latter, we may analytically distinguish primary asymmetries of *power* (control, influence, dominance, coercion, hegemony, or obedience and subjection), of *spatial* access (locale, area, distance, territory, or fixedness), of *economic* exchange (e.g. bulk trade or slave trade) or a specific form of *economic* relation: a *work-based* relation (labor), a *sexual* relation (e.g. coerced sex or romantic love), or relations characterized by another behavior or form of social interaction. In many cases, we observe (a) *multi-modal* relations, e.g. economic labor-cum-sex work, or (b) combinations where one relation prefigures or enables another relation, e.g. an androcentric or hetero-normative gender system that structurally enables coerced sex.

Our assumption is that asymmetrical dependency is characterized by a relationship in which the superordinate has control over actions and resources and can restrict the scope of mobility of the subordinate due to the threat of punishment. Moreover, asymmetrical dependency also stems from broader processes that are not directly connected to control over individuals and groups but rather with the control of territory: e.g. exploitation of natural resources, colonization, sovereignty, and so on. The effectiveness of power (below) should also be differentiated according to substance. Following Foucault, it could be argued that the control of bodies in e.g. slavery or some forms of sex work is a form of biopower. This is particularly relevant here because it enables us to understand the expression of power from A to B in terms of access to B's life and body. This brings us to the next aspect: control.

V.4. Subjects and Objects of Control

If we analyze dependence as a form of control because the control of dependent subjects is at the heart of the relationship of asymmetrical dependency, our next question is this: what is the specific substance that is controlled? Is it *physical mobility* (corporal immobility, bondage through debt, incarceration), *actions* (limited agency or sexuality; cf. less freedom), or *resources*? This includes restricted or prevented access to territory, to resources (one's own or others'), or the power to prevent others from using one's own resources. But control can also be achieved by limiting the emotions of the individual or by limiting the experiences of a person or a collective. One issue of control in terms of historical projects might be the distinction between a person´s or a group´s intentionally limited physical mobility vs. unintended immobility (via geographical isolation or social isolation from compatriots).

In empirical research on dependence it may make the most sense to begin by exploring the moments when relationships break up, break down, or are intentionally unmade ("unmaking"). An extreme but telling example is the forced cutting of all kinship ties, as in many forms of slavery. This central theme of the control of people by other people, by institutions or by material arrangements, concerns questions of the freedom of action and other aspects of autonomy of dependent people, which I will discuss below. Regarding control, in general, the following questions about freedom might be helpful: to what degree is there (a) a freedom to disobey, (b) a freedom to move away spatially (spatial exit), and (c) a freedom to withdraw from the relationship (social exit)?

V.5. Cultural Manifestation, Presentation, and Representation

How is dependency dealt with in thinking, representation, and acting? How are such relations evaluated, and to what extent are they accepted? This holds for the power-holders (super-ordinates) and especially for the subordinates, because we know generally less about those who are subordinated. Are the relations narrated or performed? If they are performed, is this through behavior alone (observable action) or intentional action? Are dependency relations mainly presented or represented? If presented or represented, are they conceived by the actors involved as "normal" social, economic, or gender relations (normalism), or not as normal?

Any theory of asymmetrical dependence has to include an analysis of dependency ideologies and their critique(s), or the different forms in which asymmetrical dependency is legitimized, taken for granted, and even questioned. For societies in which asymmetrical dependency is a widespread (or even normalized) form of relationship, a dissenting heterodox position is one that questions this normality, while an orthodox position affirms this form of relationship. On the other hand, in societies that are based on the norm of symmetrical dependency, an orthodox position is one that questions asymmetrical dependence, and a heterodox one affirms it.

The two cases are linked through different representations and practices of legitimation and de-legitimation of asymmetrical dependency. This implies a range of empirical questions: which symbolic-discursive (and practical, possibly also material-spatial) forms of legitimation can we observe or document? The same question arises for the public or private questioning of dependency from different points of view (heterodoxy or orthodoxy). Which forms of local knowledge, local worldviews, or world-ordering knowledge are involved?

This also holds for public outreach activities by scholars and presentations of our perspectives, and it results in different audiences. The use of the concept of slavery may be problematic in scientific terms to describe many of the forms we study, as it is only one case of asymmetrical dependency, and an extreme one at that. On the other hand, our academic idea of asymmetrical dependency may not be suited for presentations to any given lay audience.

V.6. Direction of Dependence and Temporality

Considering the fact that different actors are in a dependency relationship with each other – at least a dyad of two actors –, two basic directions of dependency are possible. We can distinguish a one-way dependency, where A is dependent on B (mono-dependency) or a two-way dependency where A is dependent on B, and B is dependent on A (mutual dependence, interdependence). However, it may be that the content or quality of dependence differs (A needs money, B needs care or love). In certain production systems or historical phases B (a worker and owner of their own working power) may be more replaceable than A (a factory owner or owner of the means of production). Two partners A and B may be both dependent on a third party C, a person or an institution. In addition there may be a *time aspect* that complicates the structure, e.g. within *delayed* dependence, *seasonal* dependence or *reciprocal* dependency, such as where the reciprocation is habitually or even normatively

postponed. For all of these relations, we might use categories developed in social network approaches, but also the differentiated vocabulary developed in biology to analyze relations of biological symbiosis, mutualism, or parasitism.

V.7. Symmetrical vs. Asymmetric Dependency

Relations of dependence may be symmetric or asymmetric. The analysis of dependence is thus closely related to phenomena associated with inequality and power. In an *asymmetrical* relation, partner A has greater social resources than B, whether these are capital, property, power, influence, prestige, knowledge, or economic resources, or superior access to other resources. The difference should be a systemic one and thus not related to e.g. seasonality or limited to specific social situations. Within a *symmetrical* relationship, partners are on an equal level (socially, politically, and economically). In interdependency, A and B are dependent on each other, but they (as well as others) may be equally dependent on one another, or one may be more dependent than the other. Often one is dependent, but has greater agency to move to another partner, as is typical e.g. in patron-client relations (*patronage*). We should distinguish asymmetrical dependence from hegemony and from heteronomy (vs. autonomy), and clearly indicate the linkages among these phenomena. Hegemony involves normalization in everyday practice or the adoption of this understanding of the world on the part of B in such a way that the asymmetrical relationship is legitimized.

In relation to all of these forms, asymmetry should be distinguished *analytically*, first, from socioeconomic inequality (via e.g. wealth, knowledge, and prestige). This is not to deny that social inequality goes hand in hand with dependence of B versus A, as A and B can be understood as collectives or social categories. Asymmetry should be analytically disentangled as well from hierarchy, such as in models of *Homo hierarchicus*. Asymmetrical dependency always includes hierarchy, that is, a degree of decision-making power of A over the agency for action and access to resources of B, as a central element; but this does not hold in the other direction: not every hierarchy implies asymmetrical dependency of any actor involved, e.g. forms of purely formal hierarchies do not.

V.8. Pervasive vs. Weak Forms of Dependency

The study of dependence in human relations can be guided and also canalized by a focus on strong or extreme forms, such as slavery in the strict sense of the term. We must make clear whether we can analytically disentangle strong from weak forms of dependence and dependency. What, then, would the opposite of strong dependency be? Weak dependency may lack intensity if observed over a short period of time, but be very effective when viewed cumulatively, as indicated by the expression *weak ties* in social network analysis. We could relate strength to the inexistence of an exit option, indicating that the subordinated person or group cannot escape the locality or structure without, for instance, corporal punishment or other severe consequences, such as illness. Another approach would be to link the strength of a dependency to notions of human suffering. This would allow us to link our topic to discourses of human rights. In relation to individuals, we can distinguish temporary

dependence on the one hand and life-long dependencies, such as in patron-client systems, on the other.

V.9. Time Scales, Social Scales, and Spatial Scales

Dependence appears in different scales and can be studied in different scalar contexts. Some dependency studies relate to specific locales and short periods of time; e.g., studies based on anthropological fieldwork typically have narrow temporal and spatial scales. Other studies will have a large spatial frame, e.g. investigating a landscape or an entire polity or country. Some may even deal with transnational entities such as movements or cultural realms of a sub-continental scope. Others will take a *longue durée* perspective to reflect upon a long-term perspective on dependency in relation to historical periods or regimes, such as modernity, characterized by a project of symmetry and thus systemically restricting options for asymmetrical dependencies. We propose to go beyond this dichotomy between the micro and the macro by admitting moderate, or meso-scale, variants and by linking different scales. Furthermore, the construction of different scales by actors in the very processes of the formation of dependency should be observed. Spatial and scalar aspects also play a role in the specific social configuration of dependency situations and settings, especially with regard to categorical inclusion or exclusion. This is true, for example, when house slaves are considered guests within the house or family, while outside they are classified and treated as strangers.

Thus, it would be interesting to investigate the scalability of various forms of asymmetrical dependency. In contrast to dualist notions of local vs. global, short-term vs. long-term, and agency vs. structure, a perspective informed by scale allows for the contemplation of continuities. The study of the scalability of dependency implies the following approach to examining the scaling practices in the respective actors and their environmental conditions. It would entail beginning with the creation of space (material, representational, and social) in terms of the formation of dependency, in the sense of spaces of dependency. Thus we would ask on the basis of which factors can which relationships of asymmetrical dependency be transferred into which different contexts, and on the basis of which factors do they remain locally limited? Here, e.g. ecological factors may also play a role, if, for example, a form of asymmetrical dependency emerges in the context of the production of specific goods and is fundamentally connected to them. Some goods are more bound to certain local conditions (e.g. climatic, soil conditions) than others. Other forms of asymmetrical dependency can only establish themselves if they can build on specific, historically upstream, and socially widespread relationships and systems of representation, such as the traditional production and assertion of social status through asymmetrical dependency relationships.

V.10. Etic and Emic Dimensions

Who is speaking or writing about dependences? What are their perspective and positioning? The aspects of dependency as a social fact may be described from an outside, analyst's perspective, such as in a source written by a contemporaneous member of another society, a later commentator, or as a concept held by the actors involved in the relation itself as described e.g. by an anthropologist. The structural aspects of relations of asymmetrical dependency can be observable via actions, through documented economic processes and relations, objects of material culture or via material traces. The study of asymmetrical dependency should take into account the emic understandings and interpretations of asymmetrical dependency, as well as conflicts arising from different, contested, or antagonist understandings and worldviews within and beyond the social elements studied.

On the other hand, relations of asymmetrical dependency may only be observable in the language behavior of one or more of the actors involved (or indirectly via documents or material traces). The language used in emic studies may be the actor's own (e.g. in interviews) or that of others who are in contact with the actors. To understand and explain actions and agency it may be important to survey case studies or case histories where the aspects of asymmetric dependency are observable, and also manifest in an emic form, whether through documents, texts, or via interviews or are only present in an implicit or tacit way. On the other hand, to avoid a purely expressive understanding of the relationship between economic and cultural processes, it might important to understand how emic understandings and worldviews are entangled in the formation of economic structures and the formation of relevant social formations.

A specific problem involved in analyzing an emic perspective on asymmetrical dependency is the fact that because the topic is related to power and is normatively charged, we cannot assume that there is a one common view. Contrary to the former anthropological assumption that emics constitute a shared worldview, we should expect multi-faceted emics. We should also be open to the existence of idiosyncratic worldviews (*mazeway*) in any social setting. The distinction between the emic and the etic is pivotal for contemporary studies of dependence, such as anthropological studies on unfree labor. However, it is also generally relevant, as we often have only limited access to emic perspectives, even in studies of contemporary subjects or in case histories. Nevertheless, emic perspectives may be very important for historical studies as well, provided that we look critically at how far the sources allow us to develop the emic perspective. Taking inequality of relations as the default case for our topic, emic perspectives will be selectively represented. We can assume that the emic perspectives of certain historical actors, such as superordinate ones, are overrepresented at the expense of subordinates.

VI. Towards a Processual Typology and Against a Dependency Turn

The field of dependency studies falls along a continuum between extreme forms of asymmetrical dependency, like slavery of the Atlantic type, and other, less extreme forms. Because asymmetrical dependencies are diverse and continuously changing, their Atlantic forms should neither be considered as the default comparative type nor (as noted above) as the main orientating perspective for establishing our *tertium comparationis.* It remains an open question whether slavery is always to be regarded as the most extreme condition of asymmetrical dependence within a given context. Different emic views might be found related to the respective positioning of actors within social relations and within certain specific conditions in certain locales (e.g., a given nutritional situation and built environment). Added to this, the polar contrary, which I think is less interesting as a research field concerning the focus of dependency studies, would be what we might characterize emically as freedom and full autonomy. We seek to reveal insights also into forms and degrees, including partial freedom, autonomy, and agency. Thus, since the BCDSS was intentionally titled "Beyond Slavery and Freedom", this should be understood as beyond slavery *and* beyond freedom.

To develop a middle-range theory with sub-theories, a typology such as that presented in Table 2 might be a good first step. The rows represent the ten empirical aspects described above. This approach can be combined with another strategy, namely the taking of a well-documented entry point to a middle-range theory. In line with the processual approach that this essay suggests, we could begin with processes that seem to be almost universally involved in the production and reproduction of asymmetrical dependency. Indeed, some of the BCDSS' research areas and research groups may provide us with some examples, namely:

(a) Practices, norms, institutions i.e. how practices of asymmetrical dependence result in the normativity and (temporary) institutionalization of dependency.

(b) Semantics, such as the specific meanings attached by different actors to dependence relations.

(c) Labor and spatiality; where labor also implies relations of property, control and exploitation of natural resources etc., and spatiality includes both processes of mobilization and immobilization.

(d) Intersectionality, that is, how gender, age, class, status, ethnicity, race, sexuality, and other markers were and are used as a nexus that is involved in the production and reproduction of asymmetrical dependence/dependency, as well as of autonomy.

(e) Punishment, including multiple practices of asymmetrical dependency.

Aspect	Debt bond age	Convict labor	Tributary labor	Servitude	Serfdom	Domestic work	Wage labor	Clientelism, Patronage	...
4.1									
4.2									
4.3									
4.4									
4.5									
4.6									
4.7									
4.8									
4.9									
4.10									
…									

Table 2: Relations of asymmetrical dependency: A simple typological approach

Other entry points could be added, e.g. debt or spatial fixation. Using the ten characteristics, we could rearrange our research clusters in a more content- and less discipline-oriented way. The advantage of taking these processes as starting point for a median-range theory of asymmetrical dependency lies in the fact that they are broad enough to have a cross-cultural and trans-historical scope while at the same time, as processes, they always lead to different outcomes. In this way, we do not predetermine the outcomes, but leave it to empirical research to tell us what the modes of asymmetrical relations really look like in each context (e.g. processes of the mobilization and immobilization of labor played a role in producing and reproducing asymmetrical dependency in both context A and context B, but in the former they produced a social relation called slavery or indentured labor, which had certain characteristics a and b, while in the second case they produced other labor and social relations).

A possible *dependency turn* within studies of labor today may be understood as a scientific turn toward studying dependence as a general structural pattern within social and societal relations of labor, as social dependence. This would imply the study of relations of work-related dependence that is both (a) systematic and (b) thorough, that is, pertaining to any and all social and areal scales. This would hold both transculturally and trans-historically for early

modern cases and phases, as well as more recent or contemporary examples. This approach would constitute a turn away from a focus on unspecified or equal, symmetric relations.

In relation to theories of *unequal labor and slavery*, this turn would not be restricted to top-down dependence but would also imply an explicit consideration of dependencies of super-ordinate actors on their subordinate partners. Thus, dependence and inter-dependence would be linked. As with other so-called turns, this turn could be based on classic arguments and rationales in historical theorizing, cultural anthropology, and macro-sociological theory but with an emphasis on a new empirical area of focus and a specific theoretical perspective within studies of different forms of unfree labor, such as indentured labor, debt bondage, convict labor, sharecropping, and military service.

This dependency turn would signal the enormous importance and urgency of thinking in dimensions of inherited inequality, and it would therefore be welcome. By using the word “turn”, however, I already reveal my reservations about such a program. I do not consider asymmetric dependency to be too insignificant a field to call such a change within it a “turn”; on the contrary, it is too important for this. The word “turn” is used primarily in the humanities and cultural studies as a form of order for debates on theory. While sociology tends to discuss permanent paradigms, such as structures, functions, and evolution, the turns seen in the humanities and cultural studies, especially the latter, usually only last until the next turn. Through the short attention cycles of the humanities and cultural studies, the linguistic turn is replaced by the cultural turn, and the latter by the material turn or the practice turn, followed by the relational and animal turns.

The constant turning is inherent in the metaphor, for a turn need not be a U-turn, but turn away from an established direction. If a new turn is seen as simply one additional perspective, the term would not be necessary. If an orientation has only existed since the last turn, the new turn is a departure from the direction in which the last turn was made. As for our topic, we can already foresee the future proclamation of a “post-dependency turn”.

One problem with novel turns is that they may make us all-to-quickly forget earlier gains or insights obtained at great pains. This may be seen even in insights that were achieved in earlier turns. A general example of this may be found in the insights into the effectiveness of language that were gained in the linguistic turn, only to be forgotten in later turns. For example, in the currently popular variants of the ontological turn in cultural studies and ethnology, insights from the material turn for material political-economic and political-ecological contexts of worldviews are forgotten.

Given the ubiquity of asymmetrical inequality, this is also not a matter of simply proclaiming a kind of dependency-oriented mainstreaming in research and institutions, because this would invite routinization. In my opinion, dependency is theoretically too important a subject, the problem it expresses is too relevant and the word dependency itself is too rich in content to leave this as merely another turn.

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies

1. General Approaches

1.1. Strong Asymmetrical Dependency

Rudolf Stichweh. “Values, Norms, and Institutions in the Study of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency,” *Dependent* 2022-1, 4-8.

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/cluster-magazin/dependent_22-1_7_web_ds.pdf

ResearchGate

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/357156436

Values, Norms, and Institutions in the Study of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency

Preprint · December 2021

DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.23131.69920

CITATIONS
0

READS
197

1 author:

Rudolf Stichweh
University of Bonn
230 PUBLICATIONS **3,478** CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

All content following this page was uploaded by Rudolf Stichweh on 18 December 2021.

The user has requested enhancement of the downloaded file.

Values, Norms, and Institutions in the Study of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency[1]

Prof. Dr. Rudolf Stichweh, Forum Internationale Wissenschaft and ‚Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies', Heussallee 18-24, D-53179 Bonn, rstichweh@yahoo.de

I Values, norms, institutions

Societies are always a web of values, norms, and institutions (Parsons 1937). Norms are expectations that are endowed with a binding effect. If someone tries to evade this binding effect, negative sanctions are in place to threaten those who make such an attempt. It is also possible to dispense with the application of these sanctions in individual cases, but the force and effectiveness of the norm depends on the availability of the sanction in principle. Instead of negative sanctions (= punishments), a society can alternatively use positive sanctions (= rewards). But positive sanctions are less suitable for enforcing expectations that are important to society. In the case of positive sanctions, the norm addressee can always say, 'I renounce the reward', and thus withdraw from the normative commitment. As a rule, social norms (e.g. compulsory schooling for children), which are conceived as uncompromising, do not concede such freedom and therefore tend to rely on negative sanctions. The function of positive sanctions (good grades, awards in many social spheres) is rather to motivate performances that go beyond what is normatively expected. One will not be able to encourage good school performance or top athletic performances through negative sanctions.

Social values are not norms. They lack the binding effect of norms and the endowment of negative sanctions. Values are rather preferences or indicators of directions to be followed. They provide interpretations of the meaning of what currently exists and define directions regarding what a society would like to achieve in the future (in this respect, values are "conceptions of the desirable type of society" (Kluckhohn 1951). Individual members of society can adopt values, but they do not have to. Values oscillate between normative and cognitive orientations, and the motivation that attaches to them is determined by a goal to be achieved rather than an order to be defended.

Institutions are always a web of norms and values, so they are clearly more complex social entities than the single value or norm. They are somewhat persistent, and at the same time their persistence and identifiability (on the basis of the norms and values of which they are composed) create an unrelenting pressure for change. It is precisely when institutions have a visible identity that one can criticize the values and the norms on which they rest and seek to change them. It is the complexity of the construction of institutions that makes this likely. Compared to other guiding concepts used in this context, the concept of institution has repeatedly and more clearly been linked to evolutionary theorizing (Hodgson 2004).

[1] The paper will be published in *Dependent 2022, Issue 1.*

II Institutions of asymmetrical dependency as "including exclusion". Diversification and contradictions

For all forms of strong asymmetrical dependency, the key question is how they fit into the web of norms, values, and institutions that make up any society. Are the forms of strong asymmetrical dependency an unbroken part of a social order that continuously consolidates this order, or do they create an internal contradiction in society that also appears as a disturbance, as a factor of unrest, as something that can also blow up a social order?

One can visualize this problem by means of a real (because historically occurring) thought experiment. A society that takes no prisoners in conflict or war, but kills all defeated enemies indiscriminately, will and can have no slaves (see Testart 1998, p.47). Similarly, a society that neither recognizes strangers as such nor is able to include them - i.e. must turn them away or kill them - can have no internal strangers and thus, again, no slaves (Stichweh 2010, 2017). This leads to two conclusions. The invention or creation of the slave creates an internal societal complexity that did not exist before. And second, this intra-societal complexity as a result of slavery is not an additive component that adds a small difference to social institutions. Rather, it creates massive heterogeneity because it institutionalizes a 'contradiction' to the previous social order.

The social order in lineage-societies rests on the fact that assignment to a kinship context is the constitutive social principle. The emergence of the slave, however, means precisely that slaves are made possible by being denied integration into kinship. They are excluded from the most important structural principle of society. And this exclusion is internal social exclusion. One does not expel the slaves, one does not drive them into the sea but leaves them in the society, however, the most important principle of belonging and social structure formation is denied to them. The sociological term for this process is "including exclusion" (Foucault 1977; Stichweh 2022) – an exclusion put into the form of inclusion. And it seems to be the case that every form of slavery rests on the fact that a radical exclusion is performed on the slave regarding a dimension of societal self-description that is constitutive of society (Testart 1998, 2018; Patterson 1982/2018; Rio 2017), and further and equally significant, that this exclusion is performed internally to society. One historical possibility is exclusion from kinship (African pre-colonial societies), another is exclusion from a society insofar as it is understood as a political community (Greece, Rome), and a third is exclusion from a religion actually understood as indispensable (Islam, Christianity). The multitude of variants and their respective shaping into an institution is obviously a central object of investigation.

However, the emergence of slavery seems to always take the institutional form of an "including exclusion." It is obvious that the societies in question arrive at an increase in complexity by institutionalizing contradictions and ambiguities, and that they thereby endow themselves with momentum for change and internal tensions.

Hence, Slavery is always a social institution. The same is true for the other forms of strong asymmetrical dependency: serfdom, debt slavery, forced labor, etc. How universal is the moment of ambiguity or institutionalization of an alien principle that entangles society in contradictions? This is an important research question. As an institution, slavery is created via normative expectations (legal and other norms), cognitive expectations (theories and semantics), and values. All of these components must continually be renewed, i.e. confirmed or changed, in a communication-based society (i.e. in any human society), and in this respect any institution is both stable and subject to evolution. Normative expectations are at the core of the stability of institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency, and they are so according to the definition of norms, since norms are those expectations to which one adheres even if something happens in society that disregards or violates these norms (Luhmann 1972).

III Control strategies in asymmetrical dependencies

In the case of slavery and its related institutions, normative rights of control of the Other are of particular prominence. The emergence of the multiple institutions of asymmetrical dependency should be understood as an escalation of controls that makes ever new dimensions of the social subject to outside control. In this respect, strong asymmetrical dependency is the systematic and unilateral substitution of external controls for self-control.[2] In a first dimension of control, it is a matter of one person controlling the material resources that another person believes he or she needs to live. This situation is close to the exchange that takes place in markets. As long as effective markets exist, no significant dependencies are likely to arise on this basis yet. A second control dimension emerges when someone has the rights of control over the actions of another (in the absence of institutionalized rights, it is only a de facto control of actions) (Coleman 1990). This second control dimension implies the possibility of pervasive control rights of one person over almost all actions of another person. In this way, there could already emerge a very strong asymmetrical dependency among two persons. Slavery is obviously a case of such (almost) complete control of actions. The control of the actions of another includes in many cases the control of the resources of this second person, since the use of the resources consists in actions, so that an ownership of these resources becomes dispensable.

Even when the resources I seek and my actions are controlled by another person, there is the possibility of argument and protest against this control exercised by another. This suggests a third dimension of control in asymmetrical dependencies. This third dimension of control arises when the possibility of conflict communication (Luhmann 1984, Ch. 9) or, in Albert Hirschman's terminology (Hirschman 1970), the possibility of 'voice' is cut off. As long as one can still protest openly, there is hope to weaken and end asymmetrical dependencies through consistent argumentation and contradiction. But if this fails, a fourth circumstance must be considered. This is the possibility of leaving the situation - or 'exit' (Hirschman 1970). Once pervasive, conflict-resistant asymmetrical dependencies are involved, leaving the system is the 'ultima ratio' left to the subjected. As a surprise decision, this can be as effective as the asymmetrical dependencies thereby disestablished. But if this possibility of exit is also cut off by effective control strategies, the web of dependencies that surrounds one becomes ever tighter. There then remains one last freedom in this situation of almost complete dependency. This is the possibility of withdrawal into a personal world experience that remains private and that one consciously keeps out of communication. It is difficult for an external person to control another person's world experience (see on ‘experience’ vs ‘action’, Luhmann 1978), and it is precisely in this that this last possibility of freedom rests. It seems to be a characteristic of totalitarian societies that they also try to invade this domain. Re-education camps are one of those institutions through which they attempt to establish this unlikely form of control.

IV Norms and Normative Pluralism in Institutions of Asymmetrical Dependency

The considerations up to this point have shown, first, that the manifold institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency practically always use the social form of "including exclusion". There is always an exclusionary element, a denial of a belonging or entitlement that is socially significant or even fundamental (kinship, political membership, religious affiliation). In this respect, there is no

[2] Cf. Elias 1976 who interprets the „process of civilization“ as the substitution of self-controls for the external controls of premodern societies.

difference in principle between slavery and the other institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency; at most, the difference between slavery and other forms is a matter of the socially constitutive character of the exclusions in question. This is the reason why one can speak with Patterson (1982) of slavery as ‘social death’.

Second, the previous considerations have discussed the control strategies and control dimensions that are drawn upon in determining the inclusion side of the “including exclusion”. In this regard, there exists an escalation of controls across five dimensions that increasingly sharpen the asymmetry between the controllers and the controlled, leading to what sociology calls a "total institution" (Goffman 1961). In this case, too, slavery is found at the end of a scale of escalating opportunities for control, which in the institution of slavery may include the possibility to destroy the physical existence of the controlled, the possibility of physical death.

The normative design of institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency necessarily includes both the exclusion side and the inclusion side. On the one hand, there are norms regarding the question of what exclusions can be expected and justified in a given society, just as, on the other hand, there is always a normative articulation of the inclusion side that has an essential impact on the control dimensions. In this context, a pronounced normative and also legal pluralism can often be observed. Due to the fact that they are based on exclusions that deny persons and groups constitutive memberships of the society in question, institutions of asymmetrical dependency exist in many societies that are illegal in terms of the legal order of the respective society. On the other hand they occur against the background of typical social emergencies (poverty, debt, bad harvests). In regard to these illegal asymmetrical dependencies often arise independent normative frameworks and forms of contract. This ensures among the respective participants in illegal institutions a reliable framework of normative expectations that is valid for them and illegal at the same time (the sale of children to other families, the sale of girls into forced prostitution) (cf. with reference to forms of slavery in Southeast Asia, Testart 2011)). ‘Verdingkinder’ (‘enfants placés’, ‘bambini-schiavi’) are another notable example of the occurrence of familial exclusion and resulting quasi-slavery at the center of social modernity (Switzerland 1800-1960). Durkheim's principle (Durkheim 1893) applies to all of these forms: the violation of norms also takes place in society and it creates its own normative frameworks, which it uses as a means of securing expectations.

V Values: Dependency as a societal value and the social value of excluded groups

The institutions of slavery and the other forms of asymmetrical dependency are embedded in the communication of social values. First of all, in all pre-modern societies there are preferences for dependency, i.e. dependency values. Patronage, clientelism, vassalage, submission as an educational value are some of the many agents of institutionalized preferences for dependency. In this respect, social modernity represents an epochal break insofar as it substitutes freedom, maturity, enlightenment, and self-responsibility for dependency values.

At the same time, another moment must be emphasized. This arises directly from the paradoxical character of "including exclusion," which is the institutional form of almost all strong asymmetrical dependencies. While on the exclusion side there is practically always the denial of a belongingness indispensable in principle, inclusion in exclusion means that the society in question expects that it will benefit from the persons and groups excluded in this way. Something is expected of them and something is imposed on them that produces a return or value for society. Hence, social ambiguity returns to the core of institutions of strong asymmetrical dependency. On the one hand, the exclusions that are the basis of strong asymmetrical dependency conflate with the strongest forms of

communicative disregard and dishonor available in a society (Patterson 1982/2018; Patterson and Zhuo 2018). On the other hand, these excluded and dishonored persons provide services that society seeks as profitable and beneficial. There is a contradiction in this, and it is an important task for historical sociological research to analyze how these contradictions are perceived, processed, and, if necessary, communicatively and cognitively denied. This (second) form of societal contradiction must then be further linked to the first form of societal contradiction discussed above, that the characteristics of individuals treated as reasons for exclusion are reproduced and possibly multiplied in society via the including side of exclusion. The rapid growth of the black African population of the United States even after the exit from the transatlantic slave trade (1808) was, after all, also an internally socially produced growth of the exclusion space and the contradictions and conflicts given in it. This is an experience of many historical societies, which react to the contradictions of their spheres of exclusion, which they need as such, with radicalization of repression and expansion of the scope of control. At the same time, they intensify their own contradictions. The analysis of these dynamics in historical and contemporary perspective is of obvious centrality.

Bibliography:

Coleman, James S. 1990. *Foundations of Social Theory* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass.).
Durkheim, Émile. 1893. *De la division du travail social* (P.U.F. : Paris 1973).
Elias, Norbert. 1976. *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M.).
Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Überwachen und Strafen. Die Geburt des Gefängnisses* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M.).
Goffman, Erving. 1961. *Asyle. Über die soziale Situation psychiatrischer Patienten und anderer Insassen* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M. 1973).
Hirschman, Albert O. 1970. *Exit, Voice and Loyalty. Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge/Mass.).
Hodgson, Geoffrey M. 2004. *The Evolution of Institutional Economics. Agency, Structure and Darwinism in American Institutionalism* (Routledge: London; New York).
Kluckhohn, Clyde. 1951. 'Values and Value Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification.' in Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Harper & Row: New York).
Luhmann, Niklas. 1972. *Rechtssoziologie* (Rowohlt: Reinbek b. Hamburg).
---------. 1978. 'Erleben und Handeln', in Niklas Luhmann, *Soziologische Aufklärung 3* (Westdeutscher Verlag: Opladen 1981).
———. 1984. *Soziale Systeme: Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie* (Suhrkamp: Frankfurt a.M.).
Parsons, Talcott. 1937. *The Structure of Social Action* (Free Press (of Glencoe): New York).
Patterson, Orlando. 1982/2018. *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study (Wirth a new preface)* (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, Mass and London).
Patterson, Orlando, and Xiaolin Zhuo. 2018. 'Modern Trafficking, Slavery, and Other Forms of Servitude', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 44: 407-39.
Rio, Alice. 2017. *Slavery After Rome, 500-1100* (Oxford University Press: Oxford).
Stichweh, Rudolf. 2010. *Der Fremde. Studien zu Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte* (Suhrkamp: Berlin).
———. 2017. 'Gibt es Fremde der Weltgesellschaft? Der Fremde und die soziokulturelle Evolution des Gesellschaftssystems.' in Ilse Fischer and Johannes Hahn (eds.), *Europa Neu Denken, Bd. 4* (Anton Pustet: Salzburg).
———. 2022. 'Key aspects of a sociology of inclusion and exclusion.' Ch. 11, in Stichweh, *Functional differentiation of society* (Transcript: Bielefeld).
Testart, Alain. 1998. 'L'esclavage comme institution', *L'Homme*, 145: 31-69.
———. 2011. "Slaves that are not slaves, yet really are." Ms. 22pp.
———. 2018. *L'institution de l'esclavage: Une approche mondiale* (Gallimard: Paris).

View publication stats

1. General Approaches

1.2. Beyond Slavery and Freedom

Introduction

As already mentioned, the BCDSS seeks to overcome the long-standing paradigm of slavery versus freedom by proposing strong asymmetrical dependency as an alternative, new key concept including all forms of bondage, while examining the distinct forms of dependencies in different regions and different historical periods. These types of bondage encompass precolonial, non-European and post-Abolitionist experiences of individual or structural coercion as well as those forms created within modern Europe and in today's globalized world. The Helots of Sparta, the Penests of Thessalia, the Klarots of Crete, and the Laoi in Hellenist and imperial Anatolia are compared with the bondsmen of the European Middle Ages, with the household servants in early modern Scandinavia, the dependent peasants in seventeenth- to twentieth-century Tibet, the plantation workers of the modern sugar production in India, and the forced laborers of Imperial China. All of these forms of bondage are put on the map of Strong Asymmetrical Dependency Research, as similarities and fine distinctions cannot be conceptualized exclusively within a Western conceptual framework. The principal goal of our research is a historical anthropology of strong asymmetrical dependency that addresses forms of bondage and coercion in their context-related manifestations and constant transformations. Strong asymmetrical dependency is conceived as a basic constellation of societies worldwide and throughout time. Instead of speaking of a continuum ranging 'from slavery to freedom' or 'from free to unfree labor', which draws upon conceptual opposites informed by thought patterns typical of the modern West, the BCDSS proposes the notion of a "continuum of dependencies", which has existed around the world throughout human history. Thus, put in a long-term global perspective, the concept of strong asymmetrical dependency allows for a paradigm shift in the field of research and helps to show that institutionalized coercive relationships, whether for profit or for some more overtly social purpose, were normal in many social and historical contexts. Still, replacing 'slavery' by 'strong asymmetrical dependency' and studying both 'modern' and 'pre-modern' as well as European and non-European contexts in the same conceptual framework does not mean ruling out differences or denying the existence of significant categorical distinctions. Instead, it allows for a reconceptualization and reformulation of analytical categories on the basis of broadened empirical evidence. In that sense, 'provincializing' the dichotomy of 'slavery vs. freedom' does not imply undermining the European project of the Enlightenment, but at least historicizing and decentralizing its achievements and uncovering similar, perhaps more local projects in other areas and periods of world history. New research on strong asymmetrical dependencies in the past may therefore also enrich current debates on precariousness and inequality in the globalized world of the twenty-first century. Ultimately, the new categories of analysis also have to stand the test of being applied to related phenomena today.

1. General Approaches

1.2. Beyond Slavery and Freedom

Veruschka Wagner. “Free like Other Freeborn People or Just Another Form of Dependency? Questioning the Situation of Manumitted Slaves in Early Modern Istanbul,” *BCDSS Working Paper* February 2022.

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/working-papers/wp6-wagner.pdf.

WORKING PAPER 22 | 06

Veruschka Wagner

"FREE LIKE OTHER FREEBORN PEOPLE" OR JUST ANOTHER FORM OF DEPENDENCY? QUESTIONING THE SITUATION OF MANUMITTED SLAVES IN EARLY MODERN ISTANBUL

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Working Paper, ISSN 2747-9331
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Editors: Abdelkader Al Ghouz/Jeannine Bischoff/Stephan Conermann

Working Paper 2022/06
© May 2022, by the author

Veruschka Wagner
Department of Islamic Studies and Middle-Eastern Languages (University of Bonn)

“Free Like Other Freeborn People” or Just Another Form of Dependency? Questioning the Situation of Manumitted Slaves in Early Modern Istanbul

Download
https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-working-papers

……

"Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433"

"Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433"

Contact:
Dr. Abdelkader Al Ghouz
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Email: publications@dependency.uni-bonn.de
Web: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Abstract

This paper aims to present some thoughts and research findings related to my ongoing project on Ottoman slavery and dependency. The project, entitled "Spatial and Social Mobility of Slaves from the Black Sea Region in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul," is part of the *Transottomanica* project funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG).[1] The project focuses on the mobility and agency of slaves and aims to give information about their legal and social status, their trajectories during and after enslavement, and their role in society. Based on the concept of asymmetrical dependency used by the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS),[2] my focus in this paper is on the legal and social status of slaves after their time of enslavement in terms of dependency. Drawing on entries in Istanbul-area court records of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, I address the question of freedom, and present some preliminary results concerning forms of asymmetrical dependency that shaped slaves' lives after emancipation.

Table of Contents

I. The Legal Status of Former Slaves 1
II. Ottoman Court Records and the Collective Biographical Approach 2
III. Analysis of Case Studies 3
III.1. Case Studies that Question the Free Status of Slaves 3
III.2. Case Studies that Deal with the Freed Slave's Life 5
III.2.1. Donations 5
III.2.2. Inheritance Regulations 8
III.2.3. Other Entries 9
IV. Concluding Remarks 11
Bibliography 12
Published Primary Sources 12
Studies 12

[1] www.transottomanica.de.

[2] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler, and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *BCDSS Concept Paper 1*, Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2021 and Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn. An Essay with Systematic Intent," *BCDSS Discussion Paper 1*, Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2022.

I. The Legal Status of Former Slaves

In comparison with forms of slavery in other regions and countries, the practice of slavery in the Ottoman Empire may be seen as having a certain openness because it offered slaves the possibility of legal and social advancement after their manumission. The very fact that slavery was temporary and that slaves were freed in different ways is a distinguishing feature of Ottoman slavery.[3] According to law, former slaves after manumission were supposed to be "free like other freeborn people," as stated in manumission documents.[4] On the one hand, it is evident that former slaves were integrated into society and, like other free persons, were able to carry out activities such as the purchase and sale of a house, marriage, the setting up of an endowment, or the acquisition of slaves. On the other hand, documents indicate that the relationship between former owners and slaves was maintained after manumission, and that merely a different kind of social, economic, or even emotional dependency developed. This kind of mutual dependency between slave owner and slave that continued after manumission can be described as patronage[5] or as a bond of personal loyalty.[6] However, not only during the time of their enslavement, but also after it had ended, slaves were involved in social processes and shaped the social and economic structures of Ottoman society. Thus, this paper attempts to draw preliminary conclusions about the life of slaves following their enslavement and takes a look at their social and economic activities in the society of early modern Istanbul—as far as the research results up to this point allow. In discussing forms of dependency in this paper, I adopt the BCDSS's[7] classification of free and unfree as a continuum of dependency, and address the question of the dynamic of slave status and dependency relations.

---

[3] Madeleine Zilfi, "Ottoman Slavery and Female Slaves in the Early Modern Era," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation 2. Economy and Society*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000): 714 and Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014). For an overview of studies on Ottoman slavery until 2017 see Suraiya Faroqhi, *Slavery in the Ottoman World: A Literature Survey*, Otto Spies Memorial Lecture 4 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017).

[4] On Ottoman manumission documents see Joshua White, "Ottoman Slave Manumission Documents," *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*, 17.08.2021, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_31256 and Suraiya Faroqhi, "Manumission in 17th-Century Suburban Istanbul," in *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800) / Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei (500–1800)*, ed. Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel (Chronos: Zürich, 2014): 381–402.

[5] Ehud R. Toledano, *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998): 66.

[6] Jan Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery in Syria and Egypt, 1200–1500*, Mamluk Studies 21 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2020): 171.

[7] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler, and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *BCDSS Concept Paper 1* (Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2021): 2–3, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-concept-papers. They refer to 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/New York/Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 3. For the Ottoman Empire and the continuum of dependency see 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. Toru Miura and John Edward Philips (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000): 159–75; Michael Ferguson and Ehud R. Toledano, "Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 4, *AD 1804–AD 2016*, ed. David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman, Seymour Drescher, and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 200.

My aim in this paper is to underline that after manumission, forms of asymmetrical dependency continued to exist between freed slaves and their former owners, and to demonstrate that the freedom that slaves gained after their manumission was not the same freedom as that possessed by other freeborn. Furthermore, I will claim that there were not only *degrees* of dependency that ranged between strong and less strong,[8] but in addition there were also *layers* of dependency, as (freed) slaves could be dependent at different levels and on different actors at the same time.[9]

II. Ottoman Court Records and the Collective Biographical Approach

Even if standardized formulations in legal texts do not seem to reflect the status of individuals, it is still possible to gain insight into the various social and economic dimensions of dependency by analyzing legal documents that are part of Ottoman court records. Such records, called *şerʿiyye sicil defterleri* or *şerʿiyye sicilleri* as well as *ḳāḍı sicilleri*,[10] are highly significant for examining the economic or social aspects of Ottoman society.[11] They contain a wide variety of transactions among Muslims as well as between Muslims and non-Muslims recorded by a *ḳāḍı* (judge).[12] Among them, many thousands of entries deal with various topics and aspects of the lives of slaves, and an examination of deeds of foundation, donations,

[8] As a measure of the degree of dependency, the agency of the slaves can be considered. However, the aspect of agency will not be addressed in this paper for the time being. For the agency of slaves in the Ottoman Empire, see the volume edited by Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, eds., *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, Ottoman Studies 7 (Göttingen: Bonn University Press at V&R unipress, 2020) and for a study based on the Istanbul court records, see Veruschka Wagner, "'Speaking Property' with the Capacity to Act. Slave Interagency in the 16th- and 17th-Century Court Register," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: Bonn University Press at V&R unipress, 2020): 213–336.

[9] I speak for the first time of layers of dependency in distinction to degrees of dependency in my forthcoming paper on modes of manumission, since we can infer from the manumission deeds that there were several layers of dependency that had to be dissolved one by one to emancipate a slave. The categories these layers refer to extend from the general to the specific (slave status in general, type of slave status – since there were many different terms and concepts for slaves in Ottoman society, and specific slave statuses with reference to the owner, for instance). See Veruschka Wagner, "Modes of Manumission: What Terms Used for Emancipation Tell Us about Dependencies in Ottoman Society," in *Slavery and other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies. Semantics and Lexical Fields*, ed. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 205–24.

[10] In this paper, I follow the transliteration system of the İslām Ansiklopedisi (İA) for terms in Ottoman-Turkish except for names, which are written according to modern Turkish spelling.

[11] Halil İnalcık already emphasized in his article published in 1943 the importance of court registers for the analysis of the Ottoman administration and social history. See Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Tarihi Hakkında Mühim Bir Kaynak," *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCFD* 1, no. 2 (1943): 89. For legal texts as historical sources see also Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharīʿa Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56.

[12] For an overview of the existing *sicils* in the archives, see Ahmet Akgündüz, *Şer'iye Sicilleri: 1; Mahiyeti, toplu kataloğu ve seçme hükümler* [Sharia Court Records: 1; Their Nature, Collective Catalogue and Selected Judgments] (Istanbul: TDAV Yay., 1988). For an introduction into the topic, see Yunus Uğur, "Şerʿiyye Sicilleri," *TDVİA* 39 (2010): 8–11; Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Tarihi Hakkında Mühim Bir Kaynak," *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCFD* 1, no. 2 (1943): 89–96; Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharīʿa Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56. For studies drawing on the Istanbul court registers see Yvonne J. Seng, "The *Şer'iye Sicilleri* of Istanbul Müftülüğü as a Source for the Study of Everyday Life," *TSAB* 15, no. 2 (1991): 307–25; Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); and Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

estate inventories, and other documents provides information about the period of enslavement, the period of emancipation, and the period after enslavement. In Istanbul-area court registers of the sixteenth and large parts of the seventeenth century,[13] slaves appear as partners of agreements (e.g., in manumission contracts); as defendants (e.g., in records of escapes and recaptures); as plaintiffs (e.g., in proofs of non-slave status); as beneficiaries (e.g., in inheritance inventories); and as subjects of disputes (e.g., in credit issues as guarantees). The descriptions in the entries of these court files, which vary in length from two lines to several pages, are quite limited and formally as well as linguistically standardized,[14] so that the identification of single slaves is difficult. The scarcity of the sources makes it difficult as well to find more than one entry concerning one and the same slave. But even if the lives of individual slaves cannot be traced over an extended period of time due the nature of the sources, the entries still represent fragments of slave biographies, which document important moments like manumission, inheritance, donations, and so on. The collective biographical approach makes it possible to deal with this fragmented information and helps us put pieces of slave lives together in order to gain an overall picture of slaves as a group. From this picture, we can derive patterns that reveal expected and frequently occurring events and circumstances in the life of former slaves in early modern Istanbul. Even though each slave had an individual life story tied to his or her living conditions and other aspects, the collective biographical approach makes it possible to identify group tendencies, especially with regard to the forms of dependency relations.[15]

III. Analysis of Case Studies

III.1. Case Studies that Question the Free Status of Slaves

One of the aspects I would like to address here is the allegedly free status that slaves achieved after their manumission. The information that slaves were now "free like other freeborn people" (*sāʾir ḥarāir-i aṣliyāt* [*gibi*] *ḥür*(*re*) or *sāʾir aḥrār-ı asliyyīn gibi ḥür*) is common, with some slight variations, to all manumission papers. But were they really free, or were there some restrictions concerning their status that influenced their further paths in life?

A female slave of Circassian origin called Vildan bint Abdülvehhab, for instance, was emancipated by her owner, Mehmed Efendi, in the year 1675/1676, and later, when she was

[13] The Istanbul court records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are accessible online; keyword searches allow us to thematically sift through the data set. In 2019, in addition to the entries from the Istanbul court registers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries already digitized by the Center for Islamic Studies (İSAM, İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi) between 2008 and 2012 and made available online in forty volumes. Another sixty volumes of the Istanbul court registers from 1557 to 1911 were digitized and made available online in their original form and transliterated; http://www.kadisicilleri.org.

[14] For the use of a "unitary language" in the Ottoman court records, see Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2003): esp. 134. See also Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 67.

[15] Using this approach, I analyze the role of mobility in the lives of female slaves living in sixteenth and seventeenth century Istanbul. Veruschka Wagner, "Lives in Pieces. Female Slaves and Mobility in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Transottoman Biographies, 16th-20th c.*, Transottomanica 3, ed. Denise Klein and Anna Vlachopoulou (Göttingen: V&R unipress, forthcoming). For the collective biographical approach see Levke Harders and Hannes Schweiger, "Kollektivbiographische Ansätze," in *Handbuch Biographie: Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien*, ed. Christian Klein (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2009).

"free like other freeborn people," she married him. She appears to have accepted a dowry of 12,000 *akçe*.[16] This particular case wound up in court because Mehmed Efendi's daughter, from whom he had bought Vildan some years earlier, claimed Vildan as part of her inheritance after her father died. After the court heard two witnesses, it was decided that Vildan had in fact been freed by her owner and was no longer part of his estate.[17]

In Ottoman society, it was not uncommon for freed slaves to marry their former owners. In general, marriages between slaves and non-slaves were legally and socially recognized,[18] and facilitated the integration of male and female slaves into the Ottoman community[19]—even if we do not know how voluntary this was and whether they had any other choice at all. What this entry shows us, however, in a way that is typical for numerous other entries, is that freed slaves quite frequently had to prove their manumission again in court. So as Vildan's case indicates, manumission did not necessarily lead to an uncontested status. Thus, a former slave's ability to prove his or her freedom could be crucial.

Gülsüm bint Abdullah, a former female slave of Ukrainian origin, for instance, sued Mustafa bin Hacı Kemal, a slave trader who tried to forcibly enslave her. Gülsüm bint Abdullah claimed that she had been manumitted by her owner, Hüseyin, as *ümm-i veled* ("mother of the child"), because she had given birth to three sons of her former owner's—and with the acceptance of them as his own children, the female slave was in general guaranteed freedom after her owner's death. Here, in order to prove her emancipation, two witnesses had to state before the court that Gülsüm had been the slave of Hüseyin, who had freed her because of the children she had born to him. As a result, he had set her free. In the so-called *i̲sbāt-ı ḥürriyyet* ("proof of freedom"), it was finally decided that the slave trader should take his hands off her and leave her alone.[20]

In addition to showing that a female slave could integrate into society by bearing a child that was accepted by her owner as his own child, these entries also make clear that it happened quite often that slaves had to prove their free status—and this was not only true for female but also for male slaves. Their further path in life was determined by the adequacy of their proof. This, in turn, suggests that freed men and women were not "free like other freeborn people," as the phrase was used in manumission documents. After all, their freedom was fragile and, in the case of contestation, only guaranteed by appropriate documents or

[16] *Akçe* was the name of a silver coin that lost value over time. Until the end of the seventeenth century it was the main monetary unit in the Ottoman Empire. According to İnalcık, in the second half of the fifteenth century in larger Ottoman cities the market price of one average slave fluctuated between 1600 and 3200 *akçe*. Halil İnalcık, "Part I – The Ottoman State: Economy and Society," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, *1300–1914,* ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 284.

[17] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 18 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1086–1087 / M. 1675–1676)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 18 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [10a–1].

[18] Yvonne J. Seng, "Fugitives and Factotums. Slaves in Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1996): 147.

[19] Ibid.: 152.

[20] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 12 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1073–1074 / M. 1663–1664)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 16 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [70b–3].

witnesses. In fact, there was always the danger of falling back into slavery, possibly even through false claims.[21]

So the need to prove non-slave status is an indication that the free status which slaves gained after manumission was not so granted after all and differed from the free status of those actually born free. Furthermore, manumitted and later reenslaved persons had to prove their non-slave status, rather than the person who claimed property rights on them having to prove the slave status of these persons they asserted were their slaves. So this reverse burden of proof points to the legal and social acceptance of the lower status of slaves after manumission and clearly indicates the hierarchical order of the society. Even following manumission, slaves still had to rely on others not to refuse to acknowledge their status as freedpersons; and in the case of such a lack of acknowledgment, they were dependent on witnesses for proof of their non-slave status. Yet we find very few entries showing that such proof failed, that is, that the slaves could not prove their free status. This small number of failed proofs does not mean, however, that all other manumitted and reenslaved slaves were able to successfully prove their free status in court. Rather, this indicates that only those who had the means, possibilities, and a prospect of success went to court, so that we today can mainly find the successful proofs of non-slave status.

III.2. Case Studies that Deal with the Freed Slave's Life

III.2.1. Donations

Entries in records dealing with donations suggest what could happen to slaves who gained their free status. Bağıcinan, for instance, was released by her owner, Sinan Beşe, as a *cāriye-i muʿtaḳa* (a female slave manumitted for pious reasons). From the court entry, we learn that she was married to Mehmed Beşe bin Mustafa and had a daughter with him. Bağıcinan donated certain items to her daughter as gifts, as the entry indicates.[22] Another document that bears the same date and is included in the same register states that Bağıcinan and her husband themselves had received donations from their former owner, Sinan Beşe. Mehmed Beşe was given clothing including headgear and pants, while Bağıcinan was given kitchen utensils, blankets, and pillows.[23] In the preceding entry, three other freed slave women of the same Sinan Beşe also received donations of the same size and content as the donation that went to Bağıcinan. Their representative in court was Bağıcinan's husband, Mehmed Beşe.[24] This suggests that the three freed slave women were not yet married, because otherwise they would presumably have been represented in court by their own husbands. Incidentally, the deeds of manumission of all four female slaves cannot be found in the registers. Presumably it was sufficient that the deeds of donation mentioned that the women had been freed, or it

[21] Another way to prove one's manumission beside witnesses was to produce a manumission document. The original manumission document was given to the emancipated slaves, while a copy was kept with the judges. Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 49.

[22] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 49 Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1063–1064 / M. 1652–1653)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019): 518 [77a–3].

[23] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 49 Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1063–1064 / M. 1652–1653)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019) 521 [77b–2].

[24] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 49 Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1063–1064 / M. 1652–1653)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019): 520 [77b–1].

may be possible that they still had the opportunity to have them issued in the event that they had to prove their emancipation at some point. This also raises the question of the extent to which slaves depended for their manumission not only on the system and their owners, but also on the person who documented the manumission. A discussion of the role of the *ḳāḍı* (judge), however, is beyond the scope of this paper.

The items Bağıcinan gave away to her daughter do not correspond to those Bağıcinan herself had received from her former owner. This means that she must have acquired them elsewhere after her manumission. However, because she was married and already had a daughter, we can assume that her emancipation took place sometime earlier. Bağıcinan moved from her former owner's household to her husband's household, and there she had a daughter with him, to whom she in turn donated some items. The fact that she and her husband also received gifts from her former owner suggests that the relationship with the former owner was maintained after her emancipation.

In addition, there seems to be a close attachment between Bağıcinan's former owner and her husband, because the latter also received gifts from him and acted in court as the representative of the other freed female slaves. That her husband bears the same title as the former owner (Beşe) indicates that both belonged to the military class.[25] We do not know how willingly Bağıcinan herself became the wife of Mehmed and whether there were other wives besides Bağıcinan, but at least her legal status changed and she went from being a slave to being a free woman. As it is stated in the court records, she was now legally seen as "free like other freeborn people." Nevertheless, she was in a relationship of dependency on her husband, who not only represented her in court but also himself had a certain relationship with her former owner; otherwise, he would not have been given a donation by the owner either. Everything points to a hierarchical constellation, which was probably determined by different dependency relationships.

However, we can see that especially in a direct link with manumissions, slaves profited from their owners, by receiving donations or parts of their inheritance. Süleyman and Vildan, for example, were given the right to cultivate a large field belonging to their owner after their emancipation. In addition, he donated to them a smaller field for their own use. This was a chance for them to make their own living, although again in some dependency on their former owner.[26]

The relationship between slave and slave owner was significant for slaves, because their financial and social status after enslavement was based on the networks they had established during their time of enslavement.[27] In the context of foundations, numerous slaves benefited from the stipulations of their former owners. In some cases, they received the right to dwell

[25] Güçlü Tülüveli, "Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance: A Reevaluation," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1, no. 2 (2005): 17–27. The title does not say much about rank because the various titles were used interchangeably in the court records.

[26] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 48 Beşiktaş Mahkemesi 63 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1061–1062 / M. 1651–1652)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019): 257 [77b–2] and Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 48 Beşiktaş Mahkemesi 63 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1061–1062 / M. 1651–1652)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019): 258 [78a–1].

[27] Jan Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery in Syria and Egypt, 1200–1500*, Mamluk Studies 21 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2020): 171.

in the houses that their past owners turned into foundations, or they were granted parts of or whole houses, or they bought shares of a house. Some manumitted slaves also received posts or financial benefits.[28] From a 1628 document we learn that the two manumitted slave women of Cihan Hatun bint Abdullah were to be given the right of residence in the house donated by her after her death. Cihan Hatun bint Abdullah left it up to her two slaves whether they wanted to use the residential right transferred to them, or in case that there should be no need, to rent out the rooms and collect the money.[29] We learn nothing more about the two slave women except that they had converted to Islam, but the possibility raised in the document that the two freed slave women might have no need for living accommodations suggests that they could either provide for themselves or were provided for by others. It is conceivable, for example, that they married and, by moving to another household, were no longer in need of the housing rights their former owner had bestowed on them, or that they, for example, found work as servants in another household. At the very least, this additional note points to the possibility that these female slaves had some room for maneuver in their future careers after their manumission. At the same time, however, it indicates the importance of being taken care of by the former owner in case no other alternative arose after emancipation.

In some instances, however, slave owners could also provide for their freed slaves to become slave owners themselves, as in the case of Gülruh bint Abdullah, who made a donation to her freed slave Eğlence bint Abdullah. After Gülruh, presumably a former slave herself—as we can infer from her name—manumitted her female slave Eğlence, she also donated to her numerous objects and valuables like several blankets, hundreds of cushions, carpets, gold, jewelry, a silver belt, caftans, and a female slave of Ukrainian origin called Nevruz bint Abdullah.[30] Even if Gülruh was not a former slave, this entry nevertheless shows her manumitted slave Eğlence became a slave owner through the donation. It also elucidates the different treatment of slaves even within the same household. While Gülruh released one of her slaves and gave her a donation, her other slave remained enslaved and was part of that donation. This case illustrates not only the different positions that slaves could hold, but also that an individual's status after manumission was strongly influenced by their former owner. Other entries show that there were clear differences in the care of slaves after their emancipation. While for some, provision was made for an "independent" life by their owners, others lacked connections and ran the risk of being enslaved again if they were not already.

The documents thus suggest that different forms of free status existed after manumission, and consequently also different forms of dependency remained. The declaration that slaves became "free like other freeborn people" needs further differentiation in the legal and social sense. What at first glance can be interpreted as a concession to the manumitted slave, can also be seen as clarifying the rights and obligations acquired through manumission and, furthermore, as the former owner's ensuring that the slaves from now on had to look after themselves. In some entries we find the additional note that with their manumission, slaves received certain rights and duties (*hak ve yükümlülük* or *sorumluluk*).[31] This freed the slave

[28] Veruschka Wagner, "Slaves, Philanthropy and Pious Endowments in Early Modern Istanbul," in *Endowment Studies* 4, nos. 1–2 (Leiden: Brill, 2020): 125–52.

[29] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Hasköy Mahkemesi 5 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1020–1053 / M. 1612–1643)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 23 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011): 8 [4–1].

[30] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H.1027 / M.1618)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): 77a–1.

[31] See for example Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 51 Numaları Sicil (H. 987–988 / M. 1579–1580)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): 683 [81a-3].

owner from being responsible for the obligations of his slave, on the one hand, and it obliged the freed slave as a full member of society to pay, for instance, taxes.

III.2.2. Inheritance Regulations

A clear legal indication of an asymmetrical dependency between slaves and their former owners continued after manumission. It can be seen from a note added in the manumission deed that slaves did not have the full rights of freeborn. In the context of slavery, *velā* is an expression used to describe the legal connection between freed slaves and their former owners that remained after manumission (actually called *velā-i ʿitaḳa*, meaning *velā* upon manumission). This was a form of relationship that regulated inheritance rights (known as *ʿuṣūbe(t)-i sebebiyye* or *ʿaṣabe-i sebebiyye*[32)] and refers to indirect agnates.[33] Through this regulation, the former owner of a manumitted slave became one of the lawful heirs of the slave. Such a tie has to be distinguished from the genetic bond based on kinship and referred to as *ʿusūbe(t)-i nesebiyye* or *ʿaṣabe-i nesebiyye*, which was established by the connection through the paternal side. This "fictitious tie of relationship"[34] applied after manumission between freed slaves and their former owners[35] and enabled inheritance without having blood ties.[36] After the death of his freed slave, the owner was entitled to a part of his inheritance, if the freed slave died without any descendants or heirs of his own.[37] This *velā* relationship was therefore only between freed slaves and their former owners, and replaced or continued partially the previous bond that existed through enslavement.

When a manumitted female slave named Müşerrefe bint Abdullah died and left an inheritance, her former owner, Hacı İsa bin Abdülmümin, claimed his right that he had through *velā* (*velā-i ʿitaḳa cihetinden*). Legally, he was entitled to half of the inheritance, which he shared with the husband of the deceased. Müşerrefe's former owner and her husband, Osman

[32] In the Istanbul court records, one can also find the following variations with the same meaning: *al-ʿaṣabe-i al-sebebiyye* or *ʿaṣabeten sebebiyyeten*.

[33] For details on inheritance issues see Aburrahman Yazıcı, "İslām Miras Hukukunda Asabe Yoluyla Mirasçılık" (PhD diss., Istanbul University: 2001); for the inheritance from manumitted slaves by their former owners see Aykan, who uses the term "circumstancial agnates", Yavuz Aykan, "On Freedom, Kinship and Market Rethinking Property and Law in the Ottoman Slave System," *Quaderni Storici* 154 (2017): 21–23.

[34] Sahillioğlu describes it as "heirs by indirect relationship." See Halil Sahillioğlu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries," *Turcia* 17 (1985): 60.

[35] On the relationship of former owner and manumitted slaves with a focus on female palace slaves see Betül İpşirli Argıt, *Life after the Harem, Female Palace Slaves, Patronage and the Imperial Ottoman Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020): esp. 95–100. With a focus on medieval Islam, see Craig Perry "Slavery and Agency in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500–AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley Engerman, David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 244–45.

[36] For this see Halil Sahillioğlu, "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centurie," *Turcica* 17 (1985): 60; Erich Pritsch and Otto Spies, "Klassisches Islamisches Recht," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik, III. Orientalisches Recht*, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden, Köln: Brill, 1964): 233.

[37] Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate* (Cambridge, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987): 36–38; Şükrü Özen, "Velâ," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 43 (2013): 11–15. For the discussions of Ottoman religious scholars (*ʿulemā*) on *velā*, see Şükrü Özen, "Bir Mirasın Gölgesinde Velâ Tartışması: Müzellef Ahmed Efendi'nin Terekesi ve Ganîzâde Mehmed Nâdirî'nin Şeyhülislâma Mektubu," *The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 71–124.

Beşe, agreed on a sum Osman had to pay to Hacı İsa bin Abdülmümin in order to close the case.[38]

Court records reveal that after the death of a freed slave, the descendants of the former owner claimed the inheritance of the freed slave in the event that the former owner was also deceased.

However, this right of inheritance was not only tied to the former owner but also transferred to his own descendants when the owner died before his former slave.[39] In the case of Hatice bint Abdullah, a female slave of Hüseyin Çavuş bin Abdullah, her inheritance was transferred to the son of her former owner, Mustafa Çelebi, because her owner had died in the meantime.[40] While former owners were appointed as heirs to their slaves by legal provisions, court records show that slaves on the other hand were often appointed as heirs or beneficiaries by their owners as well. This was made possible through donation, foundation, or inheritance.

Based on these entries, it can be assumed that the connection between freed slaves and former owners and their descendants continued, at least on a legal level. Moreover, it reflects that the dependency that continued after manumission not only had an impact on the slaves themselves but also on their direct relatives, who were in fact not considered the sole heirs but had to share the inheritance with the former owners. The bond between slave and owner thus also affected other persons, so that we can speak of multiple layers of dependency that remained after manumission.

III.2.3. Other Entries

We have so far looked at cases where it was clear that the individuals were freed slaves, or at least assumed to be. What is difficult to prove in court records, however, is the matter of freed slaves whose concerns had no connection to their time of enslavement. In the cases of these individuals, evidence of prior slave status is not clearly available. The only indication of a possible prior slave status is the patronym bin or bint Abdullah, which at least suggests that someone is a convert. Moreover, because many slaves converted to Islam, we can assume that some of the countless bin or bint Abdullahs who appear in court records are also freed slaves.[41]

This is the case with a certain Mihriban bint Abdullah whose name suggests that she might be a former slave. The entry concerns Mihriban selling a house (with a legal representative) to a man called Veli bin Müstecab. From the entry we know that the building was a one-story wooden house with a courtyard in the district of Üsküdar in the neighborhood of Mamure.

[38] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1077 / M. 1666–1667)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 17 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011): 25 [4a–1].

[39] On this topic with a focus on domestic slavery in Egypt and Syria see also Jan Hagedorn, *Domestic Slavery in Syria and Egypt, 1200–1500*, Mamluk Studies 21 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2020): 163.

[40] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 18 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1086–1087 / M. 1675–1676)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 18 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): 535 [148b–1].

[41] This is also true for the less common patronyms bin or bint Abdülmennan or Abdülvehhab.

We also learn the names of the neighbors, and that Mihriban sold the house for 1,500 *akçe*.[42] Thus far, there is nothing unusual about this entry, and apart from the assumption that Mihriban may have been a former female slave, there are no further indications here regarding that aspect.

In another entry from an earlier register we again come across a Mihriban bint Abdullah who this time purchased a house from a certain Mustafa bin Hasan. This entry was documented three years before the one mentioned above. The one-story wooden house she purchased for 1,000 *akçe* was in the district of Üsküdar in the neighborhood of Mamure.[43] When comparing the two entries concerning the purchase and sale of the house, we see not only the same district (Üsküdar), the same neighborhood (Mamure), and the name Mihriban bint Abdullah (who first bought a one-story wooden house and is now selling one), but also that one of the neighbors has the same name. If we take all these indications together, we can assume that the Mihriban in the two documents is the same person.

What we learn from this document furthermore is that Mihriban is the manumitted slave of the person she just bought the house from. This is mentioned in the document itself and can be seen from the manumission deed, which also appears on the same double page of the court record. This deed shows that Mihriban was of Ukrainian origin and that she was manumitted by her owner, Mustafa bin Hasan, for pious reasons.[44]

So Mihriban bint Abdullah bought the house and received a receipt for it on exactly the same day as her manumission.[45] Then, three years later she sold her house for 1,500 *akçe*, which is 500 more *akçe* than she spent for its original purchase.[46]

If we had not found the other documents in one of the preceding registers, we would not have known with certainty that Mihriban was a former slave. Based on this example, it can be seen that we do not know how many former slaves were actually involved in the transactions documented in court records. The presumption, however, is that they were able to engage in the same activities as freeborn people, but that these activities were probably mostly connected to their former owners. As we have learned, the house purchased by Mihriban formerly belonged to her owner. Other examples also illustrate that the further careers of slaves were strongly determined by their former owners and that the slaves were therefore bound to them even after manumission.

Thus, we come to the conclusion that in most cases, slaves after manumission were not as free as other freeborn persons, because they continued to be in a relationship of asymmetrical dependency on their previous owners. However, this does not mean that the dependency was only one-sided, because the slave owners also relied on their slaves. This dependency

[42] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 56 Numaralı Sicil (H. 990–991 / M. 1582–1583)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [66a–3].
[43] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 51 Numaları Sicil (H. 987–988 / M. 1579–1580)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [82b–4].
[44] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 51 Numaları Sicil (H. 987–988 / M. 1579–1580)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [82a–3].
[45] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 51 Numaları Sicil (H. 987–988 / M. 1579–1580)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [82b–4].
[46] Coşkun Yılmaz, ed., *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 56 Numaralı Sicil (H. 990–991 / M. 1582–1583)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [66a–3].

stemmed from different causes, such as labor power and prestige, which the slave owners needed, so that we can speak of a reciprocal dependency. But this reciprocal dependency was still asymmetrical, as the two sides did not possess equal power and agency.

IV. Concluding Remarks

The possible legal and social mobility for (former) slaves emphasizes the openness of the institution of slavery in the early modern Ottoman Empire. The shift from being property to being a property owner and in some cases even from being a slave to being a slaveholder, emphasizes the social fluidity that characterized the lives of slaves. The examples shown in this paper also demonstrate that there were various types of asymmetrical dependency between (former) slaves and slave owners. Not only the different terms and concepts of slaves in the Ottoman Empire indicate different types of asymmetrical dependency between slaves and slave owners, but also the different treatment that slaves could experience even within the same household indicates different relationships. At the same time, the entries in these records suggest that for slaves, a different kind of dependency on their former owners remained after manumission. While legal dependency seems to be partially lifted, social and economic dependency could remain. This leads to the assumption that there were not only different degrees of asymmetrical dependency (from strong to less strong), but also different layers of asymmetrical dependency in different areas and between different actors. Thus, we can speak of multiple dependencies that could exist at the same time but also vary in terms of persons and extent.

When freed slaves benefited from their owners through donations, inheritance, or in other ways, this in turn created a new type of dependency. Indeed, freed slaves seemed to gain advancement in terms of their legal, social, and economic status only through their former owners, but further research is needed to corroborate this statement. The inheritance regulations also demonstrate that the legal status of a freed slave did not resemble that of a freeborn person, and that dependency remained after manumission. The question remains as to how much their former slave status influenced the lives of freedpeople and their integration into society. Furthermore, an interesting question is how this also had an effect on the lives and social status of their descendants.

Ultimately, the study of slavery should not end with the manumission or the conclusion of an individual's enslavement period, but continue because the time after enslavement was shaped by the time of enslavement. Moreover, the study of the period after enslavement also allows us to better classify the period of enslavement, for it emerges from it and can continue conditioning that was formed there.

Bibliography

Published Primary Sources

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H.1027 / M.1618)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 12 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1073–1074 / M. 1663–1664)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 16 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri İstanbul Mahkemesi 18 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1086–1087 / M. 1675–1676)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 18 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 51 Numaları Sicil (H. 987–988 / M. 1579–1580)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Üsküdar Mahkemesi 56 Numaralı Sicil (H. 990–991 / M. 1582–1583)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Bab Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1077 / M. 1666–1667)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 17 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri Hasköy Mahkemesi 5 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1020–1053 / M. 1612–1643)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 23 (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 49 Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1063–1064 / M. 1652–1653)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 9 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019).

Yılmaz, Coşkun, ed. *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 48 Beşiktaş Mahkemesi 63 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1061–1062 / M. 1651–1652)*, Kadı Sicilleri Dizisi 8 (Istanbul: Kültür AŞ, 2019).

Studies

Aykan, Yavuz. “On Freedom, Kinship and Market Rethinking Property and Law in the Ottoman Slave System,” *Quaderni Storici* 154 (2017): 3–29.

Antweiler, Christoph, “On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn. An Essay with Systematic Intent,” *BCDSS Dicussion Paper 1*, Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2022.

Conermann, Stephan and Gül Şen, eds. *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, Ottoman Studies 7 (Göttingen: Bonn University Press at V&R unipress, 2020).

Crone, Patricia. *Roman, Provincial, and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate* (Cambridge, London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Eltis, David 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, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1–22.

Ergene, Boğaç. *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Faroqhi, Suraiya. “Manumission in 17th-Century Suburban Istanbul,” in *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited (500–1800) / Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei (500–1800)*, ed. Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel (Chronos, Zürich: 2014): 381–402.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Slavery in the Ottoman World: A Literature Survey*, Otto Spies Memorial Lecture 4 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017).

Ferguson, Michael and Ehud R. Toledano. “Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 4, *AD 1804 – AD 2016*, ed. David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman, Seymour Drescher, and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 197–225.

Hagedorn, Jan. *Domestic Slavery in Syria and Egypt, 1200–1500*, Mamluk Studies 21 (Bonn: Bonn University Press, 2020).

Harders, Levke and Hannes Schweiger. "Kollektivbiographische Ansätze," in *Handbuch Biographie: Methoden, Traditionen, Theorien*, ed. Christian Klein (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2009): 194–97.

İnalcık, Halil. "Osmanlı Tarihi Hakkında Mühim Bir Kaynak," *Ankara Üniversitesi DTCFD* 1, no. 2 (1943): 89–96.

İnalcık, Halil. "Part I – The Ottoman State: Economy and Society," in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*, ed. Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

İpşirli Argıt, Betül. *Life after the Harem, Female Palace Slaves, Patronage and the Imperial Ottoman Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020).

Özen, Şükrü. "Velâ," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 43 (2013): 11–15.

Özen, Şükrü. "Bir Mirasın Gölgesinde Velâ Tartışması: Müzellef Ahmed Efendi'nin Terekesi ve Ganîzâde Mehmed Nâdirî'nin Şeyhülislâma Mektubu," *Journal of Ottoman Studies* 41 (2013): 71–124.

Perry, Craig. "Slavery and Agency in the Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500–AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 240–67.

Pritsch, Erich and Otto Spies. "Klassisches Islamisches Recht," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Erste Abteilung Ergänzungsband III. Orientalisches Recht, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden, Köln: Brill, 1964): 220–343.

Sahillioğlu, Halil. "Slaves in the Social and Economic Life of Bursa in the Late 15th and Early 16th Centuries," *Turcica* 17 (1985): 43–112.

Seng, Yvonne J. "The Şer'iye Sicilleri of Istanbul Müftülüğü as a Source for the Study of Everyday Life," *TSAB* 15, no. 2 (1991): 307–25.

Seng, Yvonne J. "Fugitives and Factotums. Slaves in Early Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1996):136–69.

Sobers-Khan, Nur. *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

Toledano, Ehud R. *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1998).

Toledano, Ehud R. "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. Toru Miura and John Edward Philips (London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 2000): 159–75.

Tülüveli, Güçlü. "Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance: A Reevaluation," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 1, no. 2 (2005): 17–27.

Wagner, Veruschka. "'Speaking Property' with the Capacity to Act. Slave Interagency in the 16th- and 17th-Century Court Register," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: Bonn University Press at V&R unipress, 2020): 213–36.

Wagner, Veruschka. "Slaves, Philanthropy and Pious Endowments in Early Modern Istanbul," *Endowment Studies* 4, nos. 1–2 (Leiden: Brill, 2020): 125–52.

Wagner, Veruschka. "Modes of Manumission: What Terms Used for Emancipation Tell Us about Dependencies in Ottoman Society," in *Slavery and other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies. Semantics and Lexical Fields*, ed. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 205–24.

Wagner, Veruschka. “Lives in Pieces. Female Slaves and Mobility in Early Modern Istanbul,” in *Transottoman Biographies, 16th-20th c.*, Transottomanica 3, ed. Denise Klein and Anna Vlachopoulou (Göttingen: V&R unipress, forthcoming).

White, Joshua. “Ottoman Slave Manumission Documents,” *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*, 17.08.2021, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_31256.

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler, and Stephan Conermann. “On Asymmetrical Dependency,” *BCDSS Concept Paper 1*, Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2021, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-concept-papers.

Yazıcı, Abdurrahman. “İslām Miras Hukukunda Asabe Yoluyla Mirasçılık” (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2001).

Yi, Eunjeong. *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Ze’evi, Dror. “The Use of Ottoman Sharīʿa Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal,” *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56.

Zilfi, Madeleine. “Ottoman Slavery and Female Slaves in the Early Modern Era,” in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation 2. Economy and Society*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000): 714–18.

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies

1. General Approaches

1.3. Agency

Introduction

The concept of 'agency' has proved to be useful for the research of the BCDSS. This concept, which has been widely used while at the same time being much criticized, still has a great and unexhausted potential to reconcile structuralist and praxeological approaches to strong asymmetrical dependency and social history. Already introduced as a basic category of social history, the concept of 'agency' has been substantially extended and adapted by the history of objects and a new interest in material cultures, by actor-network theories, by human-animal studies and environmental history. Within social history, and more particularly among labor historians and slavery experts, however, agency has become an emotive word. By using the term for any kind of action performed by suppressed or dependent people, 'agency' has become a buzzword with questionable epistemological value. The use of the term 'slave agency' as an equivalent for resistance and the interpretation of any action of slaves as potentially resistant in character has been criticized. Despite this criticism, the BCDSS is convinced that agency remains a key concept of social history and, building on recent theoretical reflections of other disciplines, must be revisited and refined for the study of strong asymmetrical dependencies. Recent studies on slavery and dependency have identified all sorts of societal 'power arenas' in which slaves and other dependents may be studied as actors: everyday reality, community building, the role of kinship networks, and the formative influence of religion have been the focus of research in recent years. Agency, in this sense, does not only mean violent opposition, but instead points to a broad spectrum of opportunities for acting within relations of strong asymmetrical dependency, such as different variants of silent resistance or the dynamics of concrete legal conflicts or conflicts over customary and religious traditions and rights. It is no longer necessary to locate agency exclusively in the milieu of resistance and defiance. Instead, agency can be seen in the everyday reality of dependent individuals or groups and their interaction with their social surrounding, especially with their masters. The relationship between master and slave, between the dominating and the dominated is no longer seen as being determined exclusively by top-down dominance, as something fixed without any chance of being modified. On the contrary, even the smallest room for maneuvering has been seen as a toehold for change. The bond between master and dependent was understood as alterable and modifiable within the framework of the given social order, as the impact of agency is rooted in the context of social relations. The members of the BCDSS take this new field of study a step further and base their understanding of agency on the concept of interagency as proposed by V. Despret[1] and adapted for social history approaches by Juliane Schiel, Isabelle Schürch and Aline Steinbrecher.[2] According to this approach, individual agency must be studied in relation to other actors. The focus here is on "fluid assemblies of agents"[3], meaning the settings of social interactions and interdependencies, and not on individual actions. The smallest unit of analysis for the study of social agency is always a social relationship of at least two actors (or actor groups). It is the interaction within the social unit of dependent(s) and master(s) that must take center stage, since all actions of the dependent(s) are closely interwoven with the status of the master(s), and the actions of the dominated can impact the conditions of life, even the religious, normative, and ethical values of the master(s).

---

[1] Vinciane Despret, "From Secret Agents to Interagency," *History and Theory* 52, no. 4 (2013): 29–44.

[2] Juliane Schiel, Isabelle Schürch and Aline Steinbrecher, "Von Sklaven, Pferden und Hunden. Trialog über den Nutzen aktueller Agency-Debatten für die Sozialgeschichte," in *Neue Beiträge zur Sozialgeschichte/Nouvelles contributions à l'histoire sociale*, ed. C. Arni et al. (Zurich: Chronos, 2017): 17–48.

[3] David Gary Shaw, "The Torturer's Horse: Agency and Animals in History," *History and Theory* 52 (2013): 146–67, 149.

1. General Approaches

1.3. Agency

Bethany Walker. “Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?” *BCDSS Working Paper* March 2022.

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/working-papers/wp-walker.pdf

WORKING PAPER 22 | 03

Bethany J. Walker

PEASANT DEPENDENCIES IN MEDIEVAL ISLAM: WHOSE AGENCY IN FOOD PRODUCTION AND MIGRATION?

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Working Paper, ISSN 2747-9331
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Editors: Abdelkader Al Ghouz/Jeannine Bischoff/Stephan Conermann

Working Paper 2022/03
© March 2022, by the author

Bethany J. Walker
Research Unit of Islamic Archaeology (University of Bonn)

Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?

Download
https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-working-papers

.....

"Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433"

"Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433"

Contact:
Dr. Abdelkader Al Ghouz
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Email: publications@dependency.uni-bonn.de
Web: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Abstract

Medieval feudalism, while it took different forms in different parts of the world, shared one common characteristic: the military, political, and economy foundations of society were constructed with peasant labor. The "state" could not exist, in this form, without a compliant peasantry. The everyday lives of peasants living in the pre-industrial world thus evokes images of immobility, servitude, and a legal and social status that remained static over time. The realities of peasant life in the Islamicate world, however, were quite different. This paper explores the marked inequalities of the mutually dependent relationships that developed between the Mamluk and Ottoman sultanates and peasant society, focusing on two areas of encounter and control that mattered most to both sets of actors: food production and peasant mobility in its many forms (relocation, dislocation, abandonment of villages, and mass migration). Land use and human migration provide us with a unique vantage point to study strongly asymmetrical dependencies on the scale of the village and over *la longue durée*. A joint archaeological-textual study of two villages in Palestine and Transjordan offer us a regionally comparative context.

Table of Contents

I. Were Peasants Tied to the Land?: The Special Case of the Islamicate World 1
II. Theory – Problematizing Asymmetry and Dependency in State-Peasant Relations 2
III. Historical Context: Mamluks, the *iqṭāʿ* System, and Islamic Endowments 4
III.1. Flash Points of Conflict with the State – a Summary 7
III.2. Fluidity of Social Categories under the Mamluk Sultanate 8
IV. Centrality of the Village 9
IV.1. Role of the Village in Identity-Making and State Control 9
IV.2. Case Studies of this Essay 10
IV.2.1. Khirbet Beit Mazmīl 11
VI.2.2. Tall Ḥisbān 12
V. The Making and Breaking of Strongly Asymmetrical Dependent Relationships 14
V.1. Food Production, Cropping, and Changes in Land Tenure 14
V.1.1. The Political Ecology of Cereal Production – the Case of Ḥisbān 15
V.1.2. Landesque Investment in Garden Agriculture – the Case of Beit Mazmil 16
V.2. Migration 17
V.2.1. An Archaeology of Migration 18
V.2.2. Migration and Resettlement at Tall Ḥisbān 21
V.2.3. The "Hand of the State" 23
V. Conclusions 24
Bibliography 26

I. Were Peasants Tied to the Land?: The Special Case of the Islamicate World

The pre-modern state and peasants were mutually dependent, but in unequal ways. The state exerted force through its military might, which enforced acquiescence and maintained the status quo. The ruler maintained economic control by holding legal tenure of farmland. However, it was the peasantry, and the literal fruits of their labor, that financially bolstered the military. The medieval "feudal" system was, thus, dependent on control of the peasantry and their labor. Social mores and customs could maintain these relationships indefinitely, breaking down only under special conditions, such as the loss of tenure over land, military decline, and loss of a rural labor pool. The Black Death had the greatest impact on labor, but it impacted Europe and the Levant in very different ways.1 In Greater Syria and Egypt, other factors came to play to dissolve the power of the state over the lives of peasants and to ameliorate their conditions, while still maintaining an exploitative system. The unique structure of the political and military system there, which molded relations with peasants, created special conditions of dependency that distinguish this region from other "feudal" societies of the time.

The research project on which this Working Paper is based is a practice-oriented approach to understanding the condition of peasants in the pre-modern Levant, problematizing the concept of agency through archaeological methods.[2] It is very much a work-in-progress, and relies on the cumulative results of ongoing archaeological fieldwork, post-season laboratory analysis (by a team of specialists), and continuing reading and reassessment of contemporary Arabic texts (both documentary and narrative). State-peasant relations sit at the center of this regionally comparative, multidisciplinary project, which aims to reconstruct the realities of daily life for peasants living in Transjordan and Palestine in the thirteenth-eighteenth centuries. The paradigm of strongly asymmetrical dependencies, as being developed by the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, provides a new perspective on these relations. The following, then, focuses on two expressions of peasant dependencies in this period: control over critical resources and migration, and the physical form they take in the archaeological record. These two basic conditions of an autonomous life – access to the food one produces and the freedom to live and move where one wishes – form the centerpiece of relations between the Sultanate and its officials, on one hand, and the peasantry, on the other.

[1] Stuart Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005).

[2] Peasant, environmental, and rural studies are relatively new areas of scholarship in Mamluk and Ottoman Studies. The key works on the peasantry in the Mamluk Sultanate are Tsugitaka Sato, *State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) and Yossef Rapoport, *Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt. A Study of al-Nābulusī's Villages of the Fayyum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), for Egypt, and Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011), for Transjordan. For Ottoman Egypt, see Alan Mikhail, *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); and for Ottoman Palestine, Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

The struggle for control over food and home is at the root of the strongly asymmetrical peasant dependency that developed in this world.

II. Theory – Problematizing Asymmetry and Dependency in State-Peasant Relations

An asymmetrically dependent relationship is a deeply social one; it is coercive and two-directional.[3] Strong dependencies emerge when one actor cannot exist without the other; the world of one actor would lose meaning without that of the other.[4] Such systems survive because of the mutual reliance of actors on one another. Their relations are heavily unequal, however, and this imbalance would not likely change without threatening the collapse of the entire system. The dependencies are maintained through multiple channels: control over resources, actions, verbal resistance, "exit" strategies, and thought.[5] At the heart of these relations is the expectation that the empowered will benefit from the labor or services of the dependent; dependents are included in this society because they are useful, because society somehow profits from them.[6]

Before the industrial revolution, political power was dependent on the control of agricultural production. The Mamluk and Ottoman states were dependent on peasants in other ways, as well, outside of their labor on the land. Their administrators relied on peasant know-how (at times estate managers even consulted local peasants on "best practices" related to land and water use).[7] Imperial finances were largely dependent on agricultural taxes. The state confiscated food from villages, in times of famine in the cities, and horses, in times of war. Peasant communities were frequently used as pawns in political disputes[8], and were coopted into state service to collect local taxes and guarantee safety of travel. In general, the political elite maintained power over them through violence, cooption, administrative restructuring, and tribal politics.[9]

---

[3] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler, and Stephan Conermann, *On Asymmetrical Dependency*, BCDSS Concept Paper 1 (Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2021).

[4] David Miguel Gray, "Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Dependency: A Particular Problem," *Aporia* 6 (1996): 17–34.

[5] Rudolf Stichweh, "How Do Divided Societies Come about? Persistent Inequalities, Pervasive Asymmetrical Dependencies, and Sociocultural Polarization as Divisive Forces in Contemporary Society," *Global Perspectives* 2.1 (2021): 4.

[6] Rudolf Stichweh, "Values, Norms, and Institutions in the Study of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency," *DEPENDENT. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2022-1, 4–8.

[7] Tsugitaka Sato, State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Alan Mikhail, Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Thorsten Wollina, Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt- und Selbstbild im Journal des Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012); and Yossef Rapoport, Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt. A Study of al-Nābulusī's Villages of the Fayyum (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

[8] Bethany J. Walker, Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011).

[9] Ibid., 123–33 and Bethany J. Walker, "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," *Mamluk Studies Review* 13.1 (2009): 82–105.

How did the peasantry react to such abuses of power? Peasants had certain expectations of the state, which included keeping the countryside, and travel through it, safe. There were other expectations of fair behavior in the economic realm, the "moral economy' that has occupied the accounts of Mamluk historians, medieval and modern.[10] The most important issues were speculation on wheat prices and hoarding of cereals, which led to the disappearance of wheat from the urban and rural markets. Contemporaries were quick to identify the sources of their suffering: the avarice attributed to corrupt amirs, grain brokers[11], and *waqf* administrators, the officials with whom rural peoples had the most direct contact and who collected taxes.[12] Peasant response to these actions ranged from acquiescence to petitioning to abandonment of home and land.

Litigation, petition-writing, migration, and even taking up arms were forms of resistance, but it is surprising how seldom peasants appear to have resorted to them. Accommodation, and subtle practices through which they could carve out small niches of autonomy[13], were more characteristic of peasant action; these were resilience strategies, meant to maintain communal life. Resilience, from a systems perspective, refers to changes made within a system that allow it to survive as a system under periods of extreme stress; it is adaptive, not transformative. It is ultimately a survival strategy, keeping the group together, while not changing the dependent relations. When a resilience strategy is successful, the group survives as a social unit. The survival of a community is a measure of success on its own terms, even when asymmetries continue to exist. There are limits, however, to the degree to which any social unit (or individual) can adapt, accommodate, or sacrifice before it ceases to exist as a group or person. That is a system threshold. When these thresholds are exceeded, the unit can no longer survive in that form, and either dissolves (dies) or changes form. For peasant communities, this could take several different forms, including full-scale abandonment of villages and migration, population dispersal, „bedouinization", and the disappearance of that community as a recognizable group.

The "subtle practices" are less visible textually, but more likely to be reconstructed archaeologically, as discussed below. They include communal decisions on fair use of crucial resources (namely land and water) and intra-communal conflict resolution (the kind that avoids engaging with official courts). A certain autonomy is achieved in this way, and in those areas of daily life that maintained social cohesion. Traditional practices related to cropping

[10] Boaz Shoshan, "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10.3 (1980): 459–78; Amalia Levanoni, "The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of 'Moral Economy,'" *Mamluk Studies Review* 9. 1 (2005): 207–20.

[11] Taxes on cereals were generally collected in-kind. When those taxes were not collected at the threshing floor, peasants were required to bear the expense of transporting them to urban markets, at centers of grain brokerage.

[12] Bethany J. Walker, Sofia Laparidou, Annette Hansen, and Chiara Corbino, "Did the Mamluks Have an Environmental Sense?: Natural Resource Management in Syrian Villages," *Mamluk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 244.

[13] Autonomy results from actions taken by an individual or group to give it space to maneuver, within the restrictions imposed by a dominant power.

and residence offered the "opportunity to act within the relations of dependency", without changing the relations of dependence.[14] In order to understand how the dependent relations developed, we begin with a summary of the political, social, religious, and economic context in which these kinds of dependencies flourished, and which distinguished them from other peasant societies of the medieval world.

III. Historical Context: Mamluks, the *iqṭāʿ* System, and Islamic Endowments

Peasant labor drove the economy of the medieval Islamic state, feeding the masses and providing the tax income that financed the military. There is a disconnect between what the law had to say about the rights of peasants vis-à-vis the state and actual practice in the pre-modern Levant. According to Islamic religious law, peasants were free-born and did not belong to the lands they worked. They were allowed to move to other places, had legal rights over their bodies and personal property, and could not be physically punished or killed. The reality was quite different, however. In practice, peasants were tied to the land. There were many mechanisms in place to force them to remain in their villages and work the land that belonged to absentee landowners. At the same time, the state transferred peasant populations, by force, to other villages and lands, for security and financial reasons. Peasants had no say in this form of "forced migration". Conflicts regularly flared up between peasants and state officials over high taxes and confiscation of crops and animals. Corvée labor was also practiced, particularly on sugar estates, but we have no textual documentation about how peasants responded.

Violent inequalities were pervasive in the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman Sultanates. The regiment of imported, and eventually manumitted, slave soldiers (*mamluk*s) that constituted the privileged core of the Ayyubid forces in Egypt and Greater Syria usurped power in the mid-thirteenth century. What developed was a military and socio-economic system that was quite unique for the medieval world.[15] Former slaves ran the state; free-born peoples were their dependents. Historians often refer to the Mamluk Sultanate of the thirteenth-sixteenth centuries as a political system based on a single-generation elite: position and wealth could not be passed down to their blood descendants. What wealth they accumulated came largely from *iqtāʿ*s, grants of taxes from both urban and rural properties. The Mamluk officer was responsible himself for collecting those taxes from source, keeping lands cultivated and irrigation canals cleaned, and maintaining law-and-order on those lands, which he generally did through proxies (lower officials and local elites coopted into state service) and peasant

[14] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler, and Stephan Conermann, *On Asymmetrical Dependency*, BCDSS Concept Paper 1 (Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn, 2021): 6.

[15] Mamluk Studies has come of its own as a field of research, and has generated a large body of scholarship. It is beyond the scope of this essay to canvass the history of the mamluk system. Comprehensive bibliographies on the topic can be found at the Annemarie Schimmel Kolleg website at the University of Bonn (https://www.mamluk.uni-bonn.de/publications) and the Mamluk Studies Resources website of the Middle East Documentation Center, the University of Chicago (https://mamluk.uchicago.edu/medoc-and-mamluk-studies-resources.html).

labor. It was in the financial interests of the *muqṭāʿ* (*iqṭāʿ*-holder) to squeeze as much labor and taxes out of the peasantry as he could.[16] This system was maintained, with some modification, by the Ottoman sultans until the era of reforms (the *Tanzimat*) in the second half of the nineteenth century.

These political and economic institutions distinguish the mamluk system from European and Chinese feudalism. The medieval Islamic *iqṭāʿ* was not a fief: it was not transferable; it was a grant of taxes, not land tenure; the holdings were spatially dispersed (to prevent the development of landed elites); and the peasants working the land were legally free (they did not belong to the estate). As a result, relations between the *muqṭāʿ* (*iqṭāʿ*-holder) and peasants took a different form from truly feudal systems. The legal system offered protections (at least in spirit, if not always in practice) not offered to peasants in the non-Islamic world. At the same time, the financial institutions that developed as a result of the mamluk political system reinforced asymmetrical dependencies and introduced new, barely legal, abuses of the peasantry. Leasing and endowment of agricultural land were perhaps the most notorious. *Waqf* is the donation of privately-owned, income-producing property to financially support a charity or as a family endowment. The sale of state land during periods of imperial financial insolvency often led to subsequent endowment, which could be used by mamluks to circumvent the restrictions on bequeathing property to their progeny.[17] *Fatwa*s (written collections of legal opinions) make reference to the conflicts that arose from the labor demands of peasants by *waqf*-managers and *waqf* recipients. The most notable of these were the building and repairing of agricultural terraces on endowed land, which required heavy physical labor by large work groups.[18] One gets the impression from the written record that such complaints of labor exploitation increased on endowed lands, though this may be the result of the nature of document and archive preservation. Such abuses were part-and-parcel of the unique financial systems of a slave-based political system. Political theory justified some level of pressure and force, if necessary, to get peasants to produce for the state. The Ottoman "Circle of Justice", articulating a hundreds-year-old political philosophy, describes the

[16] The gradual shift over time to cash-payments of military salaries was never regular or complete. Even in the waning years of the Mamluk Sultanate, a mix of payment schemes, and forms of land tenure to support them, was adopted by the state (Albrecht Fuess, "Waqfization in the late Mamluk Empire: A deliberate policy or chaos management?," Working Paper 1 (June 2020), EGYLandscape Project). The logic behind the implantation of the *iqṭāʿ* system – the decentralization of tax-collection – continued until the Tanzimat.

[17] On the "waqfization" of the Egyptian countryside from the 15th century, see Carl Petry, "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security vs. Profit?," in *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa*, ed. Miura Toru and John Edward Philips (London: Kegan Paul, 2000): 99–116, Daisuke Igarashi, *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2015), and Albrecht Fuess, "Waqfization in the late Mamluk Empire: A deliberate policy or chaos management?," Working Paper 1 (June 2020), EGYLandscape Project. For Transjordan, Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011): 235–47.

[18] Bethany J. Walker, "The Changing Face of Agricultural 'Estates' in 15th and 16th-c Palestine: the Commercialization of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century,* vol. 2, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Bonn: University of Bonn Press, forthcoming for 2022).

relationship between the state and people that guarantees security and prosperity.[19] The peasants must work the land, and the state protects them enough to do so.

While largely adopting the financial administrative structure of the Mamluks, the Ottomans did introduce new measures from the sixteenth century that had a mixed impact on peasants' lives. The *timar*, was in many ways a continuation of the *iqṭāʿ* system, but one which increased the sultan's control over agricultural land, rather decentralized tax collection. *Timar*s were grants of land revenue given to members of the military class *in lieu* of salaries. From the seventeenth century the *timar* system unraveled, and state land was gradually liquidated and privatized, tax collection passing into the hands of tax farmers, new forms of land leasing and exchange (*ijār* and *istabdāl*) emerged, and peasants gained access (though limited) to credit through loans from *timariots*, endowment managers and the "cash w*aqf*".[20]

The *timar* and tax farming had mixed impact on peasants. A new rural elite emerged, which acquired wealth as the local tax collectors serving the *timariots* and endowment managers, and later as tax farmers in their own right. In central Palestine, this nouveau-riche peasant class lived in houses that combined characteristics of contemporary urban styles, with the local, vernacular. Sixteenth-century court documents refer to them as *akābir al-qaryah* (village elites) or *zuʿamāʿ al-qarya* (village leaders).[21] From their ranks emerged the sheikhs of the "throne villages". The more successful of peasant entrepreneurs bought modest-sized garden plots, they invested in them, with the construction of terraces, planned soil enrichment, expansion of irrigation systems, and types of crops cultivated.[22] These methods of agricultural intensification were primarily market-driven and the result of their own initiative. They yielded important results for peasant society: (a modest degree of) accumulated wealth, participation in markets once controlled by the state, and the ability to financially sponsor public works and services (such as building mosques and schools and charitable societies) in their local villages.

While the privatization of land improved the standard of living and social standing of some peasants in their communities, it did not, however, result in an erosion of the abuses of the peasantry described above, and, in some cases, introduced new ones. The attempt to better their lives by buying land came at a price to most peasants. Credit, unfortunately, quickly led to peasant debt: rural indebtedness was becoming a chronic problem from the sixteenth century, as the confirmation (*tathbīt*) of debt liability was frequently registered then in the Jerusalem courts.[23] Moreover, most peasants continued to suffer under the weight of complex

[19] Linda Darling, A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East (Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2012).
[20] Munther H. al-Sabagh, *Before Banks: Credit, Society, and Law in Sixteenth-Century Palestine and Syria* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California-Santa Barbara, 2014).
[21] Zuhair Abd Allatif, "al-Timār (al-Iqṭāʿ al-ʿAskarī) fī Filisṭīn fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī (The Timar in Sixteenth-Century Palestine)," *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology* 4.2 (2010): 26–56 (in Arabic).
[22] Bethany J. Walker, "Peasants, rural economy and cash crops in medieval Islam," in *Markets, "money" and exchanges: Their economic logics in pre-modern societies*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2021): 91–113.
[23] Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011): 185–86.

and burdensome taxes. Peasants continued to do unpaid labor on endowed lands, paid high taxes (up to 40% of their produce), and regularly suffered confiscation of crops and draft animals.

III.1. Flash Points of Conflict with the State – a Summary

In traditional agricultural societies, the most visible examples of extreme dependency are in control over and access to critical resources (namely land/food and water) and the labor involved in food production and water harvesting. Peasants in the medieval Arab world buckled under many pressures (though dictating cropping was not one of them), but the worst flash points of conflict between imperial authorities and peasants took the form of interference in traditional forms of water-sharing, hoarding of grains (and resale to the peasants that cultivated them at artificially high prices), confiscation of crops and draft animals by the military (without compensation), burdensome taxation, and military conflicts that spilled over into villages and pitted tribes against one another. Local response in these cases, limited as they were, tended to be communal: petitioning in the form of letter-writing and legal action (in the name of tribes and villages), migration of entire communities to other places, and taking up arms against corrupt officials (often in collaboration with Bedouin tribes). These efforts, however, are best described as a form of resistance. They were short-term resilience strategies, but they were not revolutionary. They seldom led to any long-term changes in power relations. Accommodation of peasant demands by the state could take the form of (very temporary) edicts or dismissal of officials. These actions did not have long-term effect, though they often did alleviate suffering for the moment.

Interestingly, there seems to have been little peasant resistance to corvée labor (particularly on sugar plantations and factories, which also included slave labor)[24] and forced migration (to places where the political elite had economic interests and needed a labor force). The reasons for this have not yet been investigated. Seasonal corvée labor appears to have been tolerated by locals, so long as the sugar industry did not siphon off water from fields devoted to subsistence agriculture. On the other hand, there was real resentment towards forced labor on farmland endowed to religious institutions; heavy labor (such as required for the building and maintenance of agricultural terraces on this *waqf* land) led to enough cases of peasant complaints in religious courts that they appear as a typical case study in *fatwa* manuals (collections of legal opinions).[25] Ultimately, however, what seemed to have mattered to

[24] The historical record is ambiguous in regards to the use of slaves on royal sugar estates. There is growing evidence for slave labor in this sector in Transjordan (Edwards E. Curtis, IV, "The Ghawarna of Jordan: Race and Religion in the Jordan Valley," *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* 13.2–3 (2011): 193–209): but not for Egypt, where Rapoport argues for Muslim peasant labor, in sectors divided by religious affiliation, in the Ayyubid Fayyum (Yossef Rapoport, *Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt. A Study of al-Nābulusī's Villages of the Fayyum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018).

[25] Bethany J. Walker, "The Changing Face of Agricultural 'Estates' in 15th and 16th-c Palestine: the Commercialization of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt*

peasants was that they continued to have say in what was planted and when, equitable water distribution (based on custom), and non-interference in daily life on the local level (family life, etc.). Only in these areas of their lives could one say that they generally led an autonomous existence.

III.2. Fluidity of Social Categories under the Mamluk Sultanate

The social structure of these mamluk-centered states presented other anomalies that ultimately impacted the peasantry. Social hierarchies, while widely accepted and culturally reinforced, were rather fluid, particularly as regards the urban professions. The sale of former *iqṭāʿ* lands and the growing endowment of agricultural properties turned the newly landed elites into "gentleman farmers". The *ulema* (clerics), in particular, had a vested interested in the productivity of their farms.[26] Craftsmen attended reading circles, rubbing shoulders with other literate urbanites. The ruling elite progressively took an interest in learning calligraphy and craftsmanship. The borders between farmer, craftsman, and poet were obscured.[27] These were, however, urban phenomena. That the benefactors of endowed lands took a greater interest in the operation of their properties did not translate into changes in the status of the peasants who actually cultivated them. The clerics as managers of *waqf* land could be as oppressive as the mamluks who previously held *iqṭāʿ* rights. The social mobility made possible by greater literacy and the blending of professions had no direct impact on the countryside.

More than professional class, it was the tribal structure of rural society that was the most important factor in state-peasant relations. Peasant society in Syria was organized tribally, as was nomadic society, and this created local social hierarchies and power centers. The medieval state effectively took advantage of this social structure, coopting tribal elites into state service and awarding them *iqṭāʿ*s. Tribalism could, alternatively, undermine the power of the state over peasants. When the ability of the state to guarantee law-and-order broke down, and at times of economic collapse, the tribal structure of local society lent itself to

and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century, vol. 2, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Bonn: University of Bonn Press, forthcoming for 2022).

[26] The *filāḥa* manuals (agricultural treatises) of the time have come under greater scrutiny by Mamluk and Ottoman historians in recent years. While largely encyclopaedic, over time they appear to have incorporated more local knowledge about soil preparation, cropping, watering, and pruning. This suggest that the authors, most of whom were the managers of endowed lands and whose livelihood largely depended on agricultural production, consulted with local peasants about how best to work the land. This genre of literature became very popular at the very time that endowments of farmland became widespread. The ruling elite, moreover, went to great lengths to acquire copies of such treatises for their private libraries, see Aleksandar Shopov, "The Vernacularization of Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Agricultural Science in its Economic Context," in *Living with Nature and Things: Contributions to a New Social History of the Middle Islamic Periods*, ed. Bethany J. Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz, (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 639–81.

[27] For the building crafts, see Ammenah Abdulkarim, *Building Craftsmen in Mamluk Society 648–923/1250–1517: The Professional Muhandis in Context* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University College London-St. Mary, 2017).

political autonomy, with tribal confederations and local sheikhs assuming power.[28] This, however, did not always work in the interest of the peasantry, as sheikhs often assumed the same position of dominance of the old political elites.

IV. Centrality of the Village

The scale of analysis chosen for this study is that of the village, however, and not the tribe. The village (*qarya*) is a regular point of reference in the chronicles, travelogues, tax registers, and court documents of the period. It represents a social unit, with a shared sense of space. The village leaves a clear archaeological trace, the spatial components of which are relevant for reconstructing the contours of daily life. Villages can, as well, be studied in a regionally comparative manner, contrasting patterns of behavior, social networks, and access to resources. The medieval Arab village, moreover, had longevity, and while its physical location may have shifted with time (the "migration of place within a space" readily acknowledged by archaeologists)[29], the continuity of many village names for hundreds of years speaks to a resilience of community that has survived political change and economic and environmental disasters. The village is one of the smallest units of social analysis that leaves a physical trace, and allows us to examine in vivid detail relationships of many forms.[30]

IV.1. Role of the Village in Identity-Making and State Control

More than tribal affiliation, religion, ethnicity or regional home, the village was the central point of reference for rural peoples who were permanently settled.[31] In medieval Arabic surnames, the *nisba* (attribution) more often than not referenced the places the person called home at different times of his or her life. For rural society, this usually referred to village names. The village was more than a place; it represented a network of living relationships and communal memories.

---

[28] Bethany J. Walker, "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations," *Mamluk Studies Review* 13.1 (2009): 82–105.

[29] Bethany J. Walker, "Mobility and Migration in Mamluk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers 'on the Move'," in *Proceedings of the Conference "Everything is on the Move: The 'Mamluk Empire' as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks"*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014): 325–48.

[30] The household – the smallest social unit that resides, produces, and consumes together – would, of course, represent the lowest scale of analysis. The archaeological residue of households, however, produce other kinds of information on social relations, such as "activity areas" (where the same activities, often communal, are repeated on a regular basis) and family structure (such as gendered spaces). Only in the collective – as a village, for example – and in comparison with one another can households shed light on social inequalities on an extra-familial level.

[31] Bethany J. Walker, "Mobility and Migration in Mamluk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers 'on the Move'," in *Proceedings of the Conference "Everything is on the Move: The 'Mamluk Empire' as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks"*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen:V&R unipress, 2014): 331–334.

The village was also a unit of taxation, administration, and control. It is the village, and not individuals or families, that appear in tax registers. Land for sale was registered in court according to the village to which it belonged. From the perspective of the state, there was nothing smaller than the village; in Ottoman tax registers, sub-village settlements (hamlets, farmsteads, etc. – there were a wide range of terms used to describe these by contemporaries) were simply listed as attachments to villages.

Peasants were controlled in the collective, on the basis of their village of residence. Tax collection was collected by village; collective punishment was meted out on the village basis; confiscations were done by village. The state did not see individual peasants, but a collective that was tied to a village and its land. Recognizing this reality, when peasants filed complaints against government officials, or on the rare occasion they directly petitioned a governor or sultan, they did so in the name of the village. Peasant dependencies were, in fact, those of the village.

IV.2. Case Studies of this Essay

The village thus presents the ideal unit of analysis for studying in detail peasant dependencies, the ways the medieval state maintained systems of inequalities, and evaluating examples of peasant agency. The greatest methodological challenges for the archaeologist is to distinguish the hand of the state from collective and individual decision-making and action by peasants. The coordinated excavations by the author at the well-preserved archaeological ruins of Tall Ḥisbān and Khirbet Beit Mazmīli (Jerusalem) are an initial step towards this end. The selection of these two sites for comparative study was quite deliberate: both are in highland locations and visible to one another (one can see Jerusalem's Dome of the Rock from the top of Tall Ḥisbān at sunrise), and the ruins of their much earlier settlements were reoccupied at the same time. There was a close relationship between Jerusalem (and its villages) and Ḥisbān (and the villages tied to it) in this period, with integration of their agricultural markets, exchange of agricultural land and other kinds of real estate, and even the sale of building material.[32] The peasants living in and working the lands of Beit Mazmīl and Ḥisbān lived in the shadow of the state, with the residences of military officers physically hovering above them. The radically unequal, but mutually dependent, relationships between the state (embodied in its soldiers) and the local peasant communities on a daily basis can be reconstructed through the archaeological remains. Comparisons between the two sites will also reveal common patterns and regional differences in these relations, affording this microhistorical study a spatial dimension. The various social, cultural, landscape, and environmental differences between the two regions would then be investigated for their impact on peasant dependencies.

[32] For a full discussion, see Bethany J. Walker, "Peasants, rural economy and cash crops in medieval Islam," in *Markets, "money" and exchanges: Their economic logics in pre-modern societies*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2021): 91–113.

IV.2.1. Khirbet Beit Mazmīl[33]

Khirbet Beit Mazmīl is a small, .3 hectare walled farmstead sitting atop one of the highest hills of the Jerusalem area and surrounded by the remnants of relic agricultural terraces. It is located in the westernmost edge of Greater Jerusalem, equidistant between the Old City and the village of Ein Kerem. We do not know the historical name of this site, but it appears to have been related to the Arab village of Beit Mazmil, once located one kilometer to the south. The village of this name was first mentioned in Arabic texts in the fourteenth century, in an endowment document (*waqfiyyah*), which lists villages and their lands in the vicinity of Ein Kerem, their revenues to be earmarked for the financial support of a hostel for Maghribi pilgrims in Jerusalem. The document specifically mentions that much farmland in this area had gone uncultivated for a long time, and that the endowment aimed, in part, to revive them.

Fig. 1 – Entrance to the site of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl (photo by author)

[33] The Khirbet Beit Mazmil Archaeological and Development Project, Jerusalem, under the co-directorship of this author, had five seasons of excavation between 2015 and 2019, and is now in final publication stage. It has been financed in different years by the German-Israeli Foundation for Scientific Research and Development, the Barakat Trust, the Palestine Exploration Fund, and the Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas. Preliminary reports can be found in Bethany J. Walker and Benjamin Dolinka, "Ḫirbet Bēt Mazmīl, Investigations of Medieval Jerusalem's Hinterland: Interim Report on the 2015 and 2017 Field Seasons," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palaestina-Verein* 136.2 (2020): 191–234 and Bethany J. Walker, Yuval Gadot, Yelena Elgart-Sharon, and Omer Ze'evi, "Agricultural Terracing and Rural Revival in Late Medieval Palestine," in *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2, ed. Lorenz Korn and Anja Heidenreich (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020): 651–61. The final report is forthcoming as Bethany J. Walker, ed., *Life on the Farm in Late Medieval Jerusalem: The Peasant Farmstead of Khirbet Beit Mazmil, its occupants and their industry over five centuries*, Monographs in Islamic Archaeology (Sheffield: Equinox, 2022).

The archaeological site actually constitutes one farmstead built on top of an earlier one. The earliest is Mamluk in date (thirteenth-early sixteenth), with occupation peaking in the fifteenth century. This well-built stone complex makes use of ruins of Roman, Byzantine, Early Islamic, and Crusader wall stubs, vaults, and cisterns, demolishing other parts of these buildings. The result is a two-level complex with outhouses (stables, storage facilities, and industrial installations) occupying the base of the hill, and a vaulted residential complex on the hill's summit. Recovery of military equipment and extensive ceramic imports have led us to identify it as a *qaṣr* (a fortified, hilltop residence awarded to Mamluk officers), associated with an amiral estate, arguably the built environment of the Mamluk *iqṭāʿ*.[34] Built into and on top of the ruins of this was an Ottoman-era complex of agricultural watch towers, domestic spaces, and stables, the seasonal family farmsteads called *eʿzbah*s that were once characteristic of the central Palestinian highlands and connected to olive and grape cultivation.

Excavations of this archaeological site have been done in conjunction with fieldwork in the ancient agricultural terraces between the site and Ein Kerem, led by colleagues from Tel Aviv University. Relic terraces were mapped, excavated, and their soils sampled for botanical remains and to obtain OSL (optically stimulated luminescence) dates. The growing application of OSL dating of terrace soils in Israel and Jordan has made it possible for the first time to assign a chronology to field development. The chronology of the terrace construction (and maintenance) correlates with the history of occupation at Khirbet Beit Mazmīl. This, in conjunction with an ongoing study of Ottoman-era court records by this author, has provided a truly rare opportunity to follow the relationship of settlement, land use, land tenure, at a single village. As a result, the function of access to critical resources – namely, land and food – in the complex relations between local peasants and the Ottoman state are coming into clearer focus.

VI.2.2. Tall Ḥisbān[35]

The eight-hectare tell of Ḥisbān is located between Amman and Madaba on the Madaba Plains of central Jordan. The Madaba Plains was since Antiquity a bread basket for empires, producing a wide variety of cereals for local consumption and export markets. The excavations are among the longest-lived foreign projects in the Middle East, with American (and now also German) teams working there since 1968. This long history of fieldwork has documented a

[34] Bethany J. Walker, "The Changing Face of Agricultural 'Estates' in 15th and 16th-c Palestine: the Commercialization of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl," in *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century,* vol. 2, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R unipress, forthcoming for 2022).

[35] Current excavations at Tall Ḥisbān, directed by the author, are part of the Madaba Plains Project. It has been recently financed by the American Center of Research, the Gerda Henkel Foundation, and the Max van Berchem Foundation. Over the course of over five decades, this project has produced a large body of publications, which will not be listed here. For selective bibliographies and offprints, see the following project websites: www.islamic-archaeology.uni-bonn.de/field-projects/tall-hisban and www.madabaplains.org

history of occupation that spans the Iron Age through nineteenth century. Most of what is visible on the ground surface today dates to the Mamluk period.

Fig. 2 – Aerial view of Tall Ḥisbān (courtesy Bob Bewley, APAAME)

After centuries of textual silence following the Abbasid era, the village of Ḥisbān re-emerges in the written record only in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The village appears to have been a late Ayyubid resettlement, in which was eventually built a madrasa (legal school) and was serviced by a judge. The modest village grew rapidly in the fourteenth century, when the administration of the Balqa District of the Madaba Plains (and its civil servants) were transferred here, and a small garrison established in the ruined fort on the top of the hill. The village had a farmer's market that served several hundred other villages in the region, and to which peasants from as far as Jerusalem brought their produce. An earthquake in the late fourteenth century caused significant structural damage to the Citadel and houses in the village, forcing the transfer of garrison, civil administration, and court to the town of Amman. In the process the Mamluk governor forcefully relocated many of the "people of Ḥisbān" to Amman to populate it. Slowly the village was abandoned by the rest of its inhabitants in the early Ottoman era, to be left in ruins until the establishment of the modern village in the nineteenth century.

Because of its remarkable preservation, the predominance of standing architecture from the Mamluk period, and the mission's sustained research on the Middle Islamic cultural period (thirteenth–sixteenth centuries), Tall Ḥisbān has become the archaeological type site for Mamluk Jordan. The Mamluk citadel straddles the summit of an archaeological tell that overlooks a dense configuration of barrel-vaulted, single-roomed structures – the remains of medieval Ḥisbān. These multi-purpose buildings (some identified as farmhouses), which in

some cases preserve as many as ten courses of their walls and vault springers, are built against one another in a row, all facing a common courtyard and shared cistern. Though these structures have been the object of periodic excavation since the late 1970s, the Ḥisbān farmhouses have been the focus of fieldwork only very recently. As in many village sites throughout southern Syria, they are largely refurbishings and reoccupations of Late Byzantine and Early Islamic domestic ruins, which were at the time hundreds of years old. The site is, additionally, extremely well stratified, with a series of plaster floors separating thirteenth (late Ayyubid) from fourteenth-century (Mamluk) occupation. It is the perfect site to physically trace the social transformation of the site from the Ayyubid to Mamluk periods, as well as document changes in peasant-state relations over *la longue durée*. Moreover, the botanical preservation is outstanding, which has made possible many years of detailed study of cultivation and food preparation practices, and diet. In this way the lives of peasants – their standard of living and their general health – can be described in the context of a village living in the shadow of a Mamluk castle.

V. The Making and Breaking of Strongly Asymmetrical Dependent Relationships

These two archaeological sites offer the opportunity to study in detail the realities of state-peasant relations, and how the asymmetries of peasant dependencies may have changed over a period of several hundreds of years. As agricultural centers, Khirbet Beit Mamīl and Ḥisbān open a window on the ways that control of critical resources was the linchpin in these relations. Control over farmland, agricultural taxes, and rural labor were central to maintaining power over local peoples and were the underpinning of the medieval economy. The potential of changes in land tenure to undermine such systems is explored in our archaeological fieldwork.

V.1. Food Production, Cropping, and Changes in Land Tenure

For this project, we understand a critical resource as one without which one cannot have food security.[36] The United Nations' Committee on World Food Security defines food security as means the "physical, social, and economic access to sufficient, safe, and nutritious food that meets their food preferences and dietary needs for an active and healthy life".[37] For the study of the peasantry the most important resources are food and water; control over access, production, and consumption was essential for well-being and autonomy. Generally, the state did not interfere in the daily management of state lands, except in the case of estates owned by sultans or amirs, which either produced for lucrative markets or were imperial monopolies.

[36] See Paul Graf "Essential Resources as Bodies of Dependency in Classic Maya Society," *DEPENDENT. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2021-1, 10–11, for a different understanding of "essential resources", based archaeological studies in Latin America: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/cluster-magazin/dependent_21-1_web.pdf

[37] Food Policy Research Institute: https://www.ifpri.org/topic/food-security (last accessed 4 March 2022).

Notorious in this case were the "sugar estates" of the Fayyum, Upper Egypt, and the Jordan Valley riparian system. Interference with the traditional water-sharing system in the Jordan Valley, by diverting much-needed water to cane sugar plantations, was a violent point of conflict between state and peasants. Combined with forced labor (and perhaps slave labor), possibly forced residence, and interference with local crop rotation practices, this industry presents us with one of the most vivid examples of the strong asymmetrical dependency of the local peasantry.[38]

More subtle forms of dependency, however, can be found in other areas of the agrarian sector, namely cereals and garden produce. Certainly, it was in the interest of the medieval Islamic state to collect as much tax income as possible, and particularly on cash crops. These financial objectives, though, had to be balanced with the realities of, literally, providing bread to the masses. This was true of peasants, as well. They participated in exchanges at local "farmers' markets", paid (often exorbitantly high) taxes, and had to feed their families. The choice of what to plant, when, and how was generally in the hands of the peasants, as a group (though under certain pressures from governmental officials). This communal decision-making process has left no trace on the written record. It has, however, in the archaeological record, where botanical remains from key spatial contexts allude to the cropping decisions made by peasants, and even the reasons why.

V.1.1. The Political Ecology of Cereal Production – the Case of Ḥisbān

Peasants had to weigh their options carefully, to avoid risk (the loss of crops by drought, for example) and at the same time meet the market demands of the state and make an income for the household, if possible. Mixed cereal cultivation, as a form of crop diversification, has been historically, as today, adopted as a risk management strategy. The ratio between hulled barley and naked wheat has been recently cited as one way to differentiate between subsistence and market-oriented production.[39] Barley, for example, is a drought-resistant, "hearty" cereal; its hulled variety makes it best suited for long-time storage, because of its resistance to spoiling. *Durum* ("hard" or "naked") wheat is free-threshing; by losing its loose-fitting husk during threshing, it is of lighter weight (and less expensive) for long-distance transport, making it well suited for export to distant markets.[40] A village that cultivated more *durum* wheat than hulled barley, according to this argument, produced primarily for the market. Likewise, although agricultural intensification could be a response to different pressures, it is usually associated with market-production. Archaeobotanical evidence of

[38] The relationship between mono-cropping of this form and famine is not fully understood, and remains an aim of future research by this author.

[39] John M. Marston, "Archaeological Markers of Agricultural Risk Management," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 30.2 (2011): 190–205.

[40] Frits B.J. Heinrich, "Modelling Crop-Selection in Roman Italy: The Economics of Agricultural Decision Making in a Globalizing Economy," in *Rural Communities in a globalizing economy: new perspectives on the economic integration of Roman Italy,* ed. Tymon de Haas and Gijs W. Tol (Brill: Leiden, 2017): 141–69.

intensification in the cereal sector includes irrigation of high-value cereals, identified through the irrigation signals of wheat phytoliths.[41]

Careful sampling and botanical analysis of cereal remains from kitchens, refuse areas, stables, and storerooms at Tall Ḥisbān has revealed changes in the ways peasants cultivated cereals at the site over the course of the Ayyubid and Mamluk periods. There is a sudden diversification of cereal production (cultivating three kinds of wheats and hulled barley) and irrigation of wheats for a few decades in the first half of the fourteenth century, this at a time when the village became a center of administration and hosted a small garrison. The combination of diversification and intensification of cereal cultivation would have been the ideal strategy for responding to (state-driven) market demands, while safeguarding household stocks during times of drought.[42] The replacement of the "bread" wheat more popular in the Ayyubid period with "hard" wheat at this time is likely related to either increased taxes or increased state demands for transport of wheat, in particular, to imperial granaries. We are in the process now of comparing this botanical record with that of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl, in order to see if this was a region-wide pattern and if it was related to other imperial interventions in the local economy and society.

V.1.2. Landesque Investment in Garden Agriculture – the Case of Beit Mazmil

The building of agricultural terraces is a form of landesque investment: it raises the value of the land and increases its productive capacity, by controlling water flow, reducing erosion, and providing level plots for cultivation on hillsides. Until now, we cannot say who made the decision to construct the terraces of central Palestine in the late medieval and Early Modern periods, but one can argue that the status of land tenure may be the key to understanding this process. The decisions to build and the labor behind them are unique windows on how asymmetrical dependencies changed over time in pre-modern Palestine.

The construction and maintenance of agricultural terraces is among the most labor-intensive of farm work of the pre-modern era. Construction involves removing soil down to bedrock (by hand), transporting rocks to the location and building walls, and carrying large quantities of heavy soils to lay behind the terrace walls.[43] Who exactly did this work differed according to the legal category of land tenure and cultivation contract. Peasants were forced to do this labor on *iqṭāʿāt* and endowed lands; it was resented by the peasantry and, according to the legal manuals, a regular source of tension with estate managers. Self-exploitation of one's

[41] Sofia Laparidou and Arlene Rosen, "Intensification of production in Medieval Islamic Jordan and its ecological impact: Towns of the Anthropocene," *The Holocene* 25.10 (2015): 1685–697.
[42] Modern Jordan suffers drought on the average of every five years, and the historical record regularly documents the same for this period. Rainfall even in the Madaba Plains – a region of dry-farming – was irregular.
[43] Building a flower bed is a similar exercise, though on a much smaller, and less back-breaking, scale.

family provided the labor on privately-owned land, as we can reconstruct from ethnographic accounts of the early twentieth century.[44]

The earliest large-scale construction of agricultural terraces in Jerusalem's hinterland occurred in the thirteenth century and accelerated through the Mamluk and Ottoman eras. Although demographic pressure is often cited as a driving force behind terrace construction, it has been rejected as a factor in the Palestinian highlands, where periods of terrace-building do not coincide with population growth.[45] Instead, the rejuvenation of once derelict farmland through terrace-construction may have been a local response to the boom in the rural real estate market and commercialization of agriculture, their participation in which is documented in Mamluk and Ottoman legal records.

Court documents record the active buying, selling, and renting of small garden plots by rural elites and regular peasants from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. An increasingly diverse range of fruits, in particularly, were grown there for sale at markets in Jerusalem and beyond. Archaeological surveys in the vicinity of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl have documented an intensive terracing of the hillslopes in this period, as well as the subsequent subdivision of fields into smaller plots (from further sale or as a result of partitioning under Muslim inheritance law). The impact of such development can, in part, be followed with the physical and functional development of the Ottoman-era farmstead at the site. It remained a private, family residence during this period, in contrast to the semi-official estate of the Mamluk site, the ruins of which it rehabilitated. The material culture associated with it suggests a modest standard of living, a diverse and sufficient diet (also meat-rich), self-sufficiency, and participation in a monetarized market system (as cash in the form of coinage was always kept on hand).

This farmstead, however, was abandoned at some point in the eighteenth century, to be resettled (and significantly rebuilt) decades later by new residents. Significantly, there is at yet no evidence for building or maintenance of terraces nearby at this time, as well. The reasons for the apparent failure of this family farm are difficult to determine at this point. There is no evidence of military conflict or earthquake in the archaeological ruins. The cause is like to be sought in economic factors, which are the ones that long plagued peasants living in this region.

V.2. Migration

Medieval rural populations were always highly mobile, moving from one village to another for joint harvests, market days, on pilgrimage, to work lands at some distance from their homes,

[44] Gustaf Dalman, *Work and Customs in Palestine,* vols. 1 and 2, trans. Nadia Abdulhadi-Sukhtian (Ramallah: Dar Al Nasher, 2013).

[45] See Bethany J. Walker, Yuval Gadot, Yelena Elgart-Sharon, and Omer Ze'evi, "Agricultural Terracing and Rural Revival in Late Medieval Palestine.," in *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2, ed. Lorenz Korn and Anja Heidenreich, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020): 651–61 for a bibliography of the relevant work by Gadot and Porat.

and for economic and professional opportunities.[46] Communal migration represents the extreme of these modalities of mobility. Peasant migration under duress – leaving the village for good and abandoning the land – was generally seen as a disaster, both by the state and local peasants.[47] The decision to leave one's village and farmland was never taken easily. Syrian historians of the late Mamluk period, for example, understood peasant flight as the result of human suffering caused by a failing state and years of drought; hunger, poverty, and war were responsible for the emptying out of the countryside.[48] On the other hand, peasant migration was an action of opportunity and hope for new starts: a community can retain its integrity as a social unit by migrating to a new place *as* a group, and leaving the homeland behind. This is a kind of communal resilience. The place is sacrificed for the survival of the community.

Migration was also imposed on local communities. When the migration was a result of state initiative, the dynamics of resettlement and its social impact were quite different. The Ottoman state was notorious for moving populations around, mostly for political and military reasons. The Mamluk state did, as well, occasionally, often for financial reasons: to repopulate the town of Ajlun, for example, in 1328, when a flood swept away people and property[49], or to revitalize the Balqa in 1357, when the Mamluk state moved the garrison, civil servants, market, and, apparently, peasants from Ḥisbān to Amman.[50] Forced migration leaves a different spatial and material pattern: large numbers of people appear suddenly, and bring their material culture with them. Construction and repairs are done quickly, to settle the arrivees efficiently.

V.2.1. An Archaeology of Migration

Rural migration rarely enters the written record, except when it is large-scale and immediately impacts the financial and political lives of the ruling elite. It does, however, leave a physical trace; identifying this in the archaeological record, however, and making sense of the factors driving it, are methodological challenges. The best evidence "on the ground" of forced migration is settlement abandonment, appearance of new settlements or the reoccupation of

[46] Bethany J. Walker, "Mobility and Migration in Mamluk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers 'on the Move'," in *Proceedings of the Conference "Everything is on the Move: The 'Mamluk Empire' as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks"*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014): 325–48.

[47] The Ottomans considered the abandonment of villages in sixteenth-century Palestine to be such as threat to the local economy, a social crisis, and challenge to their authority that they went to new legal and armed efforts to keep peasants in their villages and maintain cultivation, and to bring back (by force) those that had fled elsewhere, see Amy Singer, *Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[48] Yousef D. Ghawanmeh, *Dimashq fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyyah* (Amman: Dār al-Fikr, 2005).

[49] Ellen Kenney, "'Reconstructing'" Mamluk ʿAjlūn: The 728/1328 Flood Report as a Source on Architectural Patronage," *Studies on the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 (2009): 787–94.

[50] Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011): 71–72, 76–78.

ruined sites, and epigraphical traces (namely travelers' graffiti).[51] On the scale of the individual archaeological site (or "settlement"), one can draw on the composition and quantity of household goods (the "assemblage"), spatial organization of the site (and its neighborhoods), chronology of the occupational phasing, and architectural interventions (if a site once in ruins is suddenly resettled) to distinguish modalities of migration (in what manner, how quickly, and under what pressures) a group of migrants arrived and successfully resettled.[52] In those exceptional cases where burials have been recovered, oxygen and strontium isotope analysis of dental enamel is becoming an important laboratory method of determining the origins of the migrant population.[53]

Many modalities of mobility are visible archaeologically. Forced migration is the most extreme form of mobility. It is done under duress, either as a form of escape (outside of suicide, it is the ultimate "exit strategy") by dependents or under pressure of those exerting power over the emigrees. Extreme migration is forced migration on a large scale, where entire regions empty out, creating new patterns of settlement in the landscape and resulting in discernable demographic change. In the archaeological record, we can document two periods of "extreme migration" in the period covered by this project in Transjordan and Palestine: in the thirteenth century (in the form of resettlement of places in ruin) and again in the late fourteenth/fifteenth centuries (in settlement abandonment). While the trigger for the first wave of migration remains a focus of ongoing research[54], the later process appears to have

[51] Increasingly more "desert graffiti" are being documented at the Early Islamic desert castles and in Jordan's eastern steppe (Demetri Baramki, "an-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya fī-l-bādiya as-sūriīyya,," *al-Abḥāth* 17.3 (1963): 339–461; Khaled Suleman al-Jbour, "Bayān asʿār al-ḥinṭa fī naqsˇ mamlūkī min al-bādiya al-urduniyya fī ʿamay 757 H/1347M wa 764 H/1363 M," *Journal for History and Archaeology* 5.4 (2011): 1–18; and Ahmad Lash, "Kitābāt ʿalaa-l-Jidrān Qusayr ʿAmrah al-Umawii," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 58 (2017): 7–36, Arabic section). Some of these inscriptions are lengthy, describing the harsh circumstances that pushed people to leave their villages.

[52] Migration archaeology is a growing area of research. Recent scholarship has focused on such methodological issues, see Jan Driessen, ed., *An Archaeology of Forced Migration: Crisis-induced mobility and the Collapse of the 13th century BCE eastern Mediterranean* (Louvain: Presses universitaires de Louvain, 2018); Cormac McSparron, Colm Donnelly, Eileen Murphy, and Jonny Geber, "Migration, Group Agency, and Archaeology: A New Theoretical Model," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 24 (2020): 219–32; Nicolò Pini, "The Different Fates of Architectures," *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 8.1 (2021): 23–51; Bethany J. Walker, "Searching for a Home in Long-Abandoned Places: the Resettlement of Late Medieval Syria," in *Humanistische Anthropologie. Ethnologische Begegnungen in einer globalisierten Welt. Festschrift für Christoph Antweiler zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Freund*innen und Kolleg*innen*, ed. Trang-Dai Vu, Oliver Pye, Hans Dieter Ölschleger and Günther Distelrath (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2021): 451–72.

[53] Iranzu Guede, Luis Angel Ortega, Maria Cruz Zuluaga, Ainhoa Alonso-Olazabal, Xabier Murelaga, Miriam Pina, Francisco Javier Gutierrez, and Paola Iacumin, "Isotope analyses to explore diet and mobility in a medieval Muslim population at Tauste (NE Spain)," *PLOS One* (2017) (https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0176572).

[54] Bethany J. Walker, "Mobility and Migration in Mamluk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers 'on the Move'." *Proceedings of the Conference "Everything is on the Move: The 'Mamluk Empire' as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks"*, ed. Stephan Conermann (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014): 325–48 and idem, "Searching for a Home in Long-Abandoned Places: the Resettlement of Late Medieval Syria," in *Humanistische Anthropologie. Ethnologische Begegnungen in einer globalisierten Welt. Festschrift für Christoph Antweiler zu seinem*

been done by peasant initiative, in reaction to unsustainable economic, environmental, and political conditions in the Syrian countryside.[55] The methodological challenge, as with cropping, is to distinguish the "hand of the state" in peasant migration from the agency of the peasants themselves.

It is the sudden full-time reoccupation of long-abandoned places in the thirteenth century, which followed what appears to have been large-scale movements of peoples, that concerns us here. Places of diverse heritage and function were resettled: amiral estates, castle towns, villages of various size, hamlets, isolated farmsteads, monasteries, and towns. In general, the ruins of these places could be rehabilitated: the walls of houses still stood, and cisterns and reservoirs did as well, though not maintained for centuries. Reoccupation of such sites was not gradual at each site: it happened suddenly and involved what appear to have been several family units. Roofs were repaired, cisterns cleaned out and replastered, fields once again cultivated, and agricultural terraces built to expand cultivation and control water runoff. These sites were only partially restored, however, and the local residents appear to have continued to live side-by-side with ruins for a long time. This pattern has been identified in all regions of southern Syria: in the Negev, the central Palestinian highlands, the Petra Valley, the central plateaus of Jordan, the northern Jordanian highlands, the southern Hawran of Syria and Jordan, in salvage excavations throughout Israel, and recently in the Golan.[56]

In many cases, ruins were repurposed. Church buildings that had not been used for worship since the eighth and ninth centuries, for example, were converted to industrial centers and cemeteries. Frankish forts of the Crusader era were repurposed as farmhouses. Elsewhere, old farmhouses found new life as granaries. In the Decapolis cities and Late Antique towns, some neighborhoods were rebuilt as agglomerated housing units, dispersed throughout the old urban fabric, and functioned as farmsteads, while the ruins of buildings in others were converted to garden plots. The same pattern has been identified with the resettlement of the so-called Early Islamic desert castles in modern Syria and Jordan. Entire towns could be repurposed. Different patterns of reoccupation can be traced throughout Transjordan and Palestine, suggesting that more than one factor may have driven resettlement at this time.

*fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Freund*innen und Kolleg*innen*, ed. Trang-Dai Vu, Oliver Pye, Hans Dieter Ölschleger und Günther Distelrath (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2021): 451–72.

[55] Bethany J. Walker, "The Phenomenon of the 'Disappearing' Villages of Late Medieval Jordan, as Reflected in Archaeological and Economic Sources," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 60 (2011): 223–37 and idem, Settlement Abandonment and Site Formation Processes: Case Studies from Late Islamic Syria," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 2016*, ed. Markus Ritter and Mattia Guidetti (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018): 681–94.

[56] Bethany J. Walker, "Searching for a Home in Long-Abandoned Places: the Resettlement of Late Medieval Syria," in Humanistische Anthropologie. Ethnologische Begegnungen in einer globalisierten Welt. Festschrift für Christoph Antweiler zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Freund*innen und Kolleg*innen, ed. Trang-Dai Vu, Oliver Pye, Hans Dieter Ölschleger und Günther Distelrath (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2021): 451–72.

Moreover, the timing of the resettlement may not have been the same everywhere. The poor dating of local handmade pottery continues to make site phasing difficult.[57]

Many strategies were adopted to make these places liveable again. At well-preserved sites, collapse was removed, levelling-fill laid, and construction done on fill. Elsewhere, structurally unsound buildings and walls were simply demolished, with new construction done on bedrock.[58] This practice, combined with heavy recycling of dismantled building blocks, rather characterizes construction of the period. These are efficient ways of building quickly and at lowest cost, a strategy that might have been adopted when populations needed to be (re)settled quickly, or in response to an imperial directive that required immediate action (such as construction of a garrison in response to a military threat, or the need to quickly relocate officials of the state during administrative restructuring, as at Ḥisbān). It was not only abandoned settlements that were rehabilitated; their agricultural lands were, as well.[59] One of the most vivid examples of this resettlement can be found at Tall Ḥisbān, where the village and its hinterland were revived at this time.

V.2.2. Migration and Resettlement at Tall Ḥisbān

Few medieval-era rural sites are as well-preserved or well-stratified as that of the eight-hectare Tall Ḥisbān. The town of Ḥisbān, mentioned by early Arab geographers and historians, disappears from medieval texts for at least a couple of centuries. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the place name is suddenly and richly documented. It is at this time its ruins were suddenly resettled, its water infrastructure revitalized, and its lands cultivated once again, by what appears to be a sizeable group of people. Its occupational history thereafter mirrors that of many villages across Transjordan and Palestine: exponential growth and evidence of urbanization during the fourteenth century, and a gradual or phased abandonment over the course of the fifteenth century, as one neighborhood after another were left to ruin and the population dispersed to smaller settlements in its vicinity.[60]

The most recent season of excavations in October 2021 aimed to answer very specific questions related to this initial phase of occupation, to investigate locally patterns of migration

[57] Bethany J. Walker, "Southern Syria," in *Oxford Handbook of Islamic Archaeology*, ed. Bethany J. Walker, Timothy Insoll, and Corisande Fenwick (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020): 56–57.

[58] Georg Kalaitzoglou, "A Middle Islamic Hamlet in Jerash: its Architectural Development," in *Middle Islamic Jerash (9th century – 15th century): Archaeology and History of a Ayyubid-Mamluk Settlement*, ed. Achim Lichtenberger and Rubina Raja (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018): 97–116; Nicolò Pini, "The Different Fates of Architectures," *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 8.1 (2021): 23–51

[59] For central Palestine, see note 45; for the Madaba Plains in central Transjordan, see Robert D. Ibach, Jr., *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods* (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987). The relic terraces of the Wadi Ḥisbān will be the target of joint study soon by the University of Bonn and the German-Jordanian University in Madaba.

[60] Bethany J. Walker, "Settlement Abandonment and Site Formation Processes: Case Studies from Late Islamic Syria," in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 2016*, ed. Markus Ritter and Mattia Guidetti (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018): 681–94.

documented throughout the region. We wanted to be able to determine when exactly (and how rapidly) this resettlement took place, to explore possible scenarios of what initially drove people to resettle here, and to determine, if possible, who the people were that came back to this site and where they came from. We have worked out patterns of spoliation and architectural reuse, demolition, and new construction that may be markers of rapid resettlement of many people on the move. We hoped to determine what the triggers were for this demographic phenomenon, whether a forced migration by the late Ayyubid state, crisis-induced, or done for financial opportunities. Through our ongoing study of the intrusive medieval cemetery in the ruins of one of the Christian basilicas at the site, we aimed to determine from where this population came in the thirteenth century, what may have pushed them to leave, and what impact the relocation had on the health of the resettled population.

A series of thick, plaster floors across the site provide an excellent stratigraphic separation between thirteenth- and fourteenth-century phases of occupation in these structures, a chronology confirmed by C14, along with ceramic imports, glass, and some coins. The occupational levels on and above these floors were excavated in previous seasons, and have produced fourteenth-century assemblages of pottery and glass that include many imports, with a large component of Damascene imports, evidence of local industrial activity, and a rich botanical and faunal record (demonstrating a varied diet with high content of meat and fruit). The strata below these floors – dated to the early thirteenth century – were excavated for the first time in 2021, and produced a material culture of a strongly rural character, with a poorer botanical record (suggesting a more modest, and monotonous, diet). Moreover, the pottery appears to be non-local, a hypothesis that will be tested in 2022 with petrographic analysis in Bonn.

One room of the farmhouse cluster in Field O, to the southwest of the tell, was of particular interest. The plaster floors covered what was once a large cooking facility of the thirteenth century. It appears to have been at the time an open space, and included at least four *tannurs* (domed-shaped clay ovens fired from the inside) and a complete ceramic cookpot used as a kind of *tabun* (cylindrical clay oven heated form the outside). Botanical samples were taken of all oven and cookpot contents, to reconstruct cooking practices and diet. This public kitchen could have served multiple households. It was used in this fashion for only a short period of time. When it went out of use, the clay ovens were demolished and their foundations and cookpot plastered over by the first of the floors, and a vaulted roof built over the space, transforming a rural, pubic kitchen to a private, urban-style house. While the process of this transformation still needs to be studied in more detail, the picture is emerging of the ways populations may have been quickly settled and new communities formed.

In order to address the question of *who* resettled Ḥisbān in the thirteenth century, we turned to the intrusive, medieval cemetery in the North Church, which was an early Byzantine construction used into the Umayyad period and located off the tell. Over eighty graves were

uncovered by John Lawlor in 1978 during the only large-scale excavation of the church.[61] They were dated at the time to the Mamluk period, on the basis of the handmade pottery found in the fill, suggesting the church ruins were reused hundreds of years later as a long-term, communal cemetery. More cists were uncovered in the south half of the church by Calvin College in 2018. In October 2021 the University of Bonn continued the study of the cemetery by excavating five cist graves, located outside the southern aisle, cut into and laid on a flagstone pavement. Samples of dental enamel were taken for isotope analysis, in order to determine where the population came from and what they ate; histological analysis of select non-dental skeletal samples will shed light on the general health of the population.[62] A single legible coin, recovered from fill above one capstone and dating to the early thirteenth century, and thirteenth and fourteenth-century pottery from fill above the graves, provides our only chronological markers. The interred represent all age groups and both genders, suggesting this may be the cemetery of the late Ayyubid and Mamluk village, which has never been identified as such in over five decades of intermittent fieldwork.[63]

The 2021 excavation of these farmhouses and the cemetery have raised many key questions about the conditions under which people resettled the site in the thirteenth century, as well as their standard of living. The critical issues of who these people were and what happened to them in the long run will be addressed by laboratory work in Bonn and abroad in the next year.

V.2.3. The "Hand of the State"

The question remains, then, why this long-abandoned site was resettled at this time – like many others in the larger region – and under what conditions. *Waqf* documents in the Endowments Ministry in Cairo may provide an answer. To cite one example, one lengthy *waqfīyya* of 777H/1375 CE lists all of the urban and rural properties in Egypt and Greater Syria donated by the Mamluk Sultan Shaʿbān for the financial support of his madrasa complex in Cairo.[64] Farmland and villages in the Kerak and Shobak region figure prominently in this text. The longest Transjordanian entry describes in detail the potential income-producing real estate of the village of Adar near Shobak: houses (both occupied and empty), mills and shops, caves (for storage), cisterns (both in use and derelict), and fields (cultivated, for pasturage, and abandoned). The houses (all vaulted stone buildings) were listed as potential rental

[61] John I. Lawlor, "The Excavation of the North Church at Ḥesbân, Jordan: A Preliminary Report," *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 18.1 (1980): 65–76.

[62] The osteological study from the North Church is being done by Prof. Megan Perry, a bioarchaeologist at East Carolina University in the U.S.

[63] On the Roman and Byzantine necropolis excavated in the 1970s, see S. Douglas Waterhouse, *The Necropolis of Hesban: A Typology of Tombs*. (Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1998). For the Ottoman-era "Bedouin" cemetery on the Citadel, see Bethany J. Walker, "The Late Ottoman Cemetery in Field L, Tall Hisban," *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322 (2001): 47–65.

[64] *Wizārat* al-Awqāf, Cairo, Waqfiyya 49. For a longer analysis of this document, see Bethany J. Walker, *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2011): 158–61.

properties, not as estimates of population. Many of these houses were in ruin at the time. Using what we know about the urban real estate of the Mamluk period, much rural housing would have been rented, particularly by people recently arrived or staying for a short period of time.

This *waqfiyya* highlights another relevant point. Adar was well equipped with a water infrastructure and was close to markets, with roads tying it to Shobak and other larger towns. These are the kinds of amenities that, according to administrative documents of the Ottoman period, made places attractive for imperial investment and settlement.[65] Perhaps it is no surprise that the majority of the sites reoccupied in this manner in the thirteenth century also had ready access to marketplaces, a dependable water supply, and were on well-travelled roads.

V. Conclusions

Deep-time, micro-historical studies of small-scale communities allow us to trace gradual changes in social relations over time. The strongly asymmetrical dependency of peasants on the state in the pre-modern Levant cannot be denied. Peasants were not, however, docile bystanders or mere victims of an oppressive political system. They were quite capable of taking advantage of opportunities to assert themselves, through actions described above. One of the "unanticipated consequences"[66] of the sale of state lands during times of imperial financial insolvency, was that peasants came to buy the small plots of land they and fellow villagers had been cultivating for years. Some became small-scale farmers, and actively participated in the growing rural real estate market and urban market agriculture from the sixteenth century. Financial capital gave them social capital, and this is one mechanism through which some regions gained political autonomy in the later Ottoman centuries. At this point they were able to literally enjoy the "fruits of their labor", through self-exploitation in labor, exchanging market knowledge within the community, and sharing seed and tools. A combination of factors – privatization of agricultural land and expanded cooption of rural leaders into state service – were responsible, over time, in the development of new social classes (tax farmers and state-recognized tribal sheikhs) and new forms of village organization (the Ottoman throne villages of the central Palestinian highlands, for example).[67] The withdrawal of Ottoman forces from much of the region after the sixteenth century allowed for the emergence of autonomous sheikhdoms.[68]

[65] Engin Deniz Akarlı, Some Ottoman Documents on Jordan: Ottoman Criteria for the Choice of an Administrative Center in the Light of Documents on Hauran, 1909–1910 (Amman: University of Jordan, 1989).

[66] Here we adopt the classic concept of the American sociologist Robert Merton, which refers to human actions that do not go as planned, which have unexpected consequences (Robert K. Merton, "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action," *American Sociological Review* 1.6 (1936): 894–904).

[67] Kamal Abdulfattah, "Throne Villages of the Highlands: Local Nobility and Their Mansions in Ottoman Palestine," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 70.1 (2007): 43–50.

[68] Among the most powerful were the al-Zayadina of northern Palestine and Lebanon.

Not everyone benefited from these developments, however. More peasants ended up impoverished through debt to (absentee) tax farmers, endowments managers (who were largely urban-based clerics), and local tribal sheikhs. Tribal leaders became the new local elites, exerting much of the same pressures on peasants that the Ayyubid, Mamluk, and Ottoman states did previously. Peasants were pushed to pay off Bedouin tribes to prevent attacks on their villages. Peasant dependency, in fact, continued relatively unaltered until the era of the Ottoman Tanzimat, when the medieval system of land tenure and military slavery came to an end. Rural peoples were then able to register land they have cultivated for generations in their own names, a process that gave them full legal tenure of agricultural land, but also subjected them to new forms of taxation and military subscription.[69] While the specifics of the dependent relationships changed over time, the basic structures of inequality did not.

Many questions about the dynamics of state-peasant relations remain open. Future work on this project will focus on regional differences, in order to distinguish possible local factors in creating and maintaining these dependencies, as well peasant health and the extent and nature of forced labor. The details of rural labor organization in Palestine and Transjordan in this period have yet to be documented, and this will be a priority of this author's research this coming year.

[69] The Tanzimat era marks an important watershed in the history of the Middle East. It introduced wide sweeping social, political, and economic changes in the region, and for this reason is not included in this study.

Bibliography

Abd Allatif, Zuhair. “al-Timār (al-Iqṭāʿ al-ʿAskarī) fī Filisṭīn fī al-Qarn al-ʿĀshir al-Hijrī. (The Timar in Sixteenth-Century Palestine).” *Jordan Journal for History and Archaeology* 4.2 (2010): 26–56 (in Arabic).

Abdulfattah, Kamal. “Throne Villages of the Highlands: Local Nobility and Their Mansions in Ottoman Palestine.” *Near Eastern Archaeology* 70.1 (2007): 43–50.

Abdulkarim, Ameenah. *Building Craftsmen in Mamluk Society 648-923/1250-1517: The Professional Muhandis in Context*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University College London-St. Mary, 2017.

Akarlı, Engin Deniz. Some Ottoman Documents on Jordan: Ottoman Criteria for the Choice of an Administrative Center in the Light of Documents on Hauran, 1909–1910. Amman: University of Jordan, 1989.

Baramki, Demetri. “an-Nuqūsh al-ʿarabiyya fī-l-bādiya as-sūrīīyya.” *al-Abḥāth* 17.3 (1963): 339–461.

Borsch, Stuart. *The Black Death in Egypt and England*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005.

Curtis, Edward E., IV. “The Ghawarna of Jordan: Race and Religion in the Jordan Valley.” *Journal of Islamic Law and Culture* 13.2–3 (2011): 193–209.

Dalman, Gustaf. *Work and Customs in Palestine,* vols. 1 and 2, trans. Nadia Abdulhadi-Sukhtian. Ramallah: Dar Al Nasher, 2013.

Darling, Linda. A History of Social Justice and Political Power in the Middle East. Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2012.

Driessen, Jan, ed. An Archaeology of Forced Migration: Crisis-induced mobility and the Collapse of the 13th century BCE eastern Mediterranean. Louvain: Presses universitaires de Louvain, 2018.

Fuess, Albrecht. “Waqfization in the late Mamluk Empire: A deliberate policy or chaos management?”. Working Paper 1 (June 2020), EGYLandscape Project (https://www.egylandscape.org/papers/June2020_Fuess_WorkingPaper.pdf)

Ghawanmeh, Yousef D. Dimashq fī ʿAṣr Dawlat al-Mamālīk al-Thāniyyah. Amman: Dār al-Fikr, 2005.

Graf, Paul. “Essential Resources as Bodies of Dependency in Classic Maya Society.” *DEPENDENT. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2021-1, 10–11.

Gray, David Miguel. “Asymmetrical and Symmetrical Dependency: A Particular Problem.” *Aporia* 6 (1996): 17–34.

Guede, Iranzu, Luis Angel Ortega, Maria Cruz Zuluaga, Ainhoa Alonso-Olazabal, Xabier Murelaga, Miriam Pina, Francisco Javier Gutierrez, and Paola Iacumin. “Isotope analyses to explore diet and mobility in a medieval Muslim population at Tauste (NE Spain)”, *PLOS One* (2017) (https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0176572)

Heinrich, Frits B.J. “Modelling Crop-Selection in Roman Italy: The Economics of Agricultural Decision Making in a Globalizing Economy.” In *Rural Communities in a globalizing economy: new perspectives on the economic integration of Roman Italy,* edited by Tymon de Haas and Gijs W. Tol, 141–169. Brill: Leiden, 2017.

Ibach, Robert D., Jr. *Archaeological Survey of the Hesban Region: Catalogue of Sites and Characterization of Periods.* Hesban 5. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1987.

Igarashi, Daisuke. *Land Tenure, Fiscal Policy, and Imperial Power in Medieval Syro-Egypt*. Chicago: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, The University of Chicago, 2015.

al-Jbour, Khaled Suleman. "Bayān asʿār al-ḥinṭa fī naqsˇ mamlūkī min al-bādiya al-urduniyya fī ʿamay 757 H/1347M wa 764 H/1363 M." *Journal for History and Archaeology* 5.4 (2011): 1– 18.

Kalaitzoglou, Georg. "A Middle Islamic Hamlet in Jerash: its Architectural Development". In *Middle Islamic Jerash (9th century – 15th century): Archaeology and History of a Ayyubid-Mamluk Settlement*, edited by Achim Lichtenberger and Rubina Raja, 97–116. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Kenney, Ellen. "'Reconstructing'" Mamluk ʿAjlūn: The 728/1328 Flood Report as a Source on Architectural Patronage." *Studies on the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 10 (2009): 787–94.

Laparidou, Sofia and Arlene Rosen. "Intensification of production in Medieval Islamic Jordan and its ecological impact: Towns of the Anthropocene." *The Holocene* 25.10 (2015): 1685–697.

Lash, Ahmad. "Kitābāt ʿalaa-l-Jidrān Qusayr ʿAmrah al-Umawii." *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 58 (2017): 7–36, Arabic section.

Lawlor, John I. "The Excavation of the North Church at Ḥesbân, Jordan: A Preliminary Report." *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 18.1 (1980): 65–76.

Levanoni, Amalia. "The al-Nashw Episode: A Case Study of 'Moral Economy.'" *Mamluk Studies Review* 9.1 (2005): 207–20.

Marston, John M. "Archaeological Markers of Agricultural Risk Management." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 30.2 (2011): 190–205.

McSparron, Cormac, Colm Donnelly, Eileen Murphy, and Jonny Geber. "Migration, Group Agency, and Archaeology: A New Theoretical Model." *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 24 (2020): 219–32.

Merton, Robert K. "The Unanticipated Consequences of Purposive Social Action." *American Sociological Review* 1.6 (1936): 894–904.

Mikhail, Alan. *Nature and Empire in Ottoman Egypt: An Environmental History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Petry, Carl. "Waqf as an Instrument of Investment in the Mamluk Sultanate: Security vs. Profit?" In *Slave Elites in the Middle East and Africa*, edited by Miura Toru and John Edward Philips, 99–116. London: Kegan Paul, 2000.

Pini, Nicolò. "The Different Fates of Architectures." *Journal of Islamic Archaeology* 8.1 (2021): 23–51.

Rapoport, Yossef. Rural Economy and Tribal Society in Islamic Egypt. A Study of al-Nābulusī's Villages of the Fayyum. Turnhout: Brepols, 2018.

Redman, Charles L. "Resilience theory in archaeology." *American Anthropologist* 107.1 (2005): 70–77 (https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2005.107.1.070).

al-Sabagh, Munther H. *Before Banks: Credit, Society, and Law in Sixteenth-Century Palestine and Syria*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of California-Santa Barbara, 2014.

Sato, Tsugitaka. State and Rural Society in Medieval Islam: Sultans, Muqta's and Fallahun. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Shopov, Aleksandar. "The Vernacularization of Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Agricultural Science in its Economic Context." In *Living with Nature and Things: Contributions to a New Social History of the Middle Islamic Periods*, edited by Bethany J. Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz, 639–681. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020.

Shoshan, Boaz. "Grain Riots and the 'Moral Economy': Cairo, 1350–1517." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 10.3 (1980): 459–78.

Singer, Amy. Palestinian Peasants and Ottoman Officials: Rural Administration around Sixteenth-Century Jerusalem. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Stichweh, Rudolf. "How Do Divided Societies Come about? Persistent Inequalities, Pervasive Asymmetrical Dependencies, and Sociocultural Polarization as Divisive Forces in Contemporary Society." *Global Perspectives* 2.1 (2021) (https://doi.org/10.1525/gp.2021.25658).

Stichweh, Rudolf. "Values, Norms, and Institutions in the Study of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency." *DEPENDENT. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2022-1, 4–8.

Walker, Bethany J. "The Late Ottoman Cemetery in Field L, Tall Hisban." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 322 (2001): 47–65.

Walker, Bethany J. "The Tribal Dimension in Mamluk-Jordanian Relations." *Mamluk Studies Review* 13.1 (2009): 82–105.

Walker, Bethany J. *Jordan in the Late Middle Ages: Transformation of the Mamluk Frontier*. Chicago Studies on the Middle East 8. Chicago: Middle East Documentation Center, University of Chicago, 2011.

Walker, Bethany J. "The Phenomenon of the 'Disappearing' Villages of Late Medieval Jordan, as Reflected in Archaeological and Economic Sources." *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 60 (2011): 223–37.

Walker, Bethany J. "Mobility and Migration in Mamluk Syria: The Dynamism of Villagers 'on the Move'." In *Proceedings of the Conference "Everything is on the Move: The 'Mamluk Empire' as a Node in (Trans-) Regional Networks"*, edited by Stephan Conermann, 325–348. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014.

Walker, Bethany J. "The Struggle over Water: Evaluating the 'Water Culture' of Syrian Peasants under Mamluk Rule." In *Developing Perspectives in Mamluk History: Essays in Honor of Amalia Levanoni*, edited by Yuval Ben-Bassat, 287–310. Leiden: Brill, 2017.

Walker, Bethany J. "Settlement Abandonment and Site Formation Processes: Case Studies from Late Islamic Syria.". In *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 2016*, edited by Markus Ritter and Mattia Guidetti, 681–94. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018.

Walker, Bethany J. "Southern Syria." In *Oxford Handbook of Islamic Archaeology*, edited by Bethany J. Walker, Timothy Insoll, and Corisande Fenwick, 49–79. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.

Walker, Bethany J. “Peasants, rural economy and cash crops in medieval Islam.” In *Markets, “money” and exchanges: Their economic logics in pre-modern societies*, edited by Juan Carlos Moreno García, 91–113. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2021.

Walker, Bethany J. “Searching for a Home in Long-Abandoned Places: the Resettlement of Late Medieval Syria.” In Humanistische Anthropologie. Ethnologische Begegnungen in einer globalisierten Welt. Festschrift für Christoph Antweiler zu seinem fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag von seinen Freund*innen und Kolleg*innen, edited by Trang-Dai Vu, Oliver Pye, Hans Dieter Ölschleger und Günther Distelrath, 451–472. Bonner Asienstudien. Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2021.

Walker, Bethany J. “The Changing Face of Agricultural ‘Estates’ in 15th and 16th-c Palestine: the Commercialization of Khirbet Beit Mazmīl.” In *The Mamluk-Ottoman Transition: Continuity and Change in Egypt and Bilad al-Sham in the Sixteenth Century,* vol. 2, edited by Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen. Göttingen: V&R unipress, forthcoming for 2022.

Walker, Bethany J., Sofia Laparidou, Annette Hansen, and Chiara Corbino. “Did the Mamluks Have an Environmental Sense?: Natural Resource Management in Syrian Villages.” *Mamluk Studies Review* 20 (2017): 167–245.

Walker, Bethany J. and Benjamin Dolinka. *“Ḫirbet Bēt Mazmīl*, Investigations of Medieval Jerusalem’s Hinterland: Interim Report on the 2015 and 2017 Field Seasons.” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Palaestina-Verein* 136.2 (2020): 191-234.

Walker, Bethany J., Yuval Gadot, Yelena Elgart-Sharon, and Omer Ze’evi. “Agricultural Terracing and Rural Revival in Late Medieval Palestine.” In *Proceedings of the 11th International Conference on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 2, edited by Lorenz Korn and Anja Heidenreich, 651–61. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020.

Waterhouse, S. Douglas. *The Necropolis of Hesban: A Typology of Tombs*. Hesban 5. Berrien Springs, MI: Andrews University Press, 1998.

Winnebeck. Julia, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler, and Stephan Conermann. 2021. BCDSS Concept Paper 1. *On Asymmetrical Dependency*. Bonn: BCDSS, University of Bonn.

Wollina, Thorsten. Zwanzig Jahre Alltag: Lebens-, Welt- und Selbstbild im Journal des Aḥmad Ibn Ṭawq. Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2012.

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.1. Theoretical and Methodological Avenues

Introduction

By studying strong asymmetrical dependencies within social orders, the BCDSS strives to reconcile a structuralist approach and a praxeological approach to social history. The BCDSS suggests studying social orders and the way they produce and challenge strongly asymmetrical structures between and within societies, groups and individuals. In the BCDSS social orders are understood as a system of institutions, social relations, value orientations and practices, and as the structuring and structured processes of social reality. Similar to Anthony Giddens' structuration theory, which examines the bipolar nature of social structures both as medium and as outcome of social agency, the creative power of social orders is stressed. As several sociologists have suggested, attention must be paid to the social construction of reality, which not only consists of the subjectively meaningful conduct of lives of the members of society, but also of the thoughts and actions of these members, who then maintain this world as 'real'. In this sense, even if social orders tend to maintain, conserve and enforce behavior and thoughts, they should not be seen as a given or be contrasted to social chaos. In fact, social orders are generated by the interplay of both social and political institutions and individual worldviews. On the one hand, institutions encompass behavioral regularities – often of transgenerational duration – which manifest themselves as rules with a particular claim to be obeyed, thus constituting binding rules for the individual. These rules may be binding even if single actors do not know or have forgotten them. On the other hand, individuals may carry out habitual acts without reflecting upon the acts themselves, while their decisions are unique in situations where routines are challenged by new contexts or figurations. Whereas habitus, (shared) mental models/ideologies, 'structuration', habits and frames and symbolic *Sinnwelten* have previously been used independently and in a multidisciplinary manner within the social sciences, the BCDSS summarizes these terms under the umbrella term 'worldview'. The manifestation of worldviews takes place along patterns of real and sensory experience, sedimentation and storage and, finally, accumulation of knowledge. Therefore, the worldview is a concrete social product with a specific history. By analyzing types of dependency in a wide range of different historical contexts, we aim to identify and describe actors' individual (emic) worldviews so as to utilize them for a fully differentiated typology of asymmetrical dependencies. This approach not only contributes to a transcultural comparative analysis, but also constitutes an important corrective to the emic and etic descriptions of asymmetrical (bondage) relationships. The topic the BCDSS would like to present for discussion for general social history is the exact way in which institutions and the cognitive patterns of actors interrelate. Social order and its 'producers' stand in a dialectic relationship with one another, implying that social reality is the product of human exchanges, while it simultaneously re-impacts the interactions which produce it.

Furthermore, the BCDSS – as any research structure within the humanities with a transcultural, diachronic and/or global perspective – must confront two fundamental methodological questions: how to overcome the macro vs. micro-divide, and how to operationalize comparisons across time and space. As far as the first question is concerned, the BCDSS follows Francesca Trivellato's approach of a "global history on a small scale"[1] by using a "spatially aware mindset

[1] Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers. The Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Francesca Trivellato, et al., *Religion and Trade. Cross-Cultural Exchanges in World History, 1000–1900* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

and methodology"[2]. For many years, microhistory has been equated with local history and global history with macro-history. The 'local' was conceived as a stable, rigid and reactive place in history standing in stark opposition to the 'global' as a fluid, flexible and active power in history. Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, however, have successfully argued for transcending this dichotomy by suggesting the concept of "translocality", focusing on translocal relations and investigating the tensions between "order" and "movement" in order to contribute to a social history from below.[3] In a similar vein, Angelika Epple has recently argued that the only way for global history to avoid the danger of relativizing history and of diminishing explanatory power is to draw upon translocal relations as the basic unit of analysis.[4] The BCDSS thus adheres to the micro-spatial approach suggested by Christian S. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen. In order "to overcome the binary division between global and local", De Vito and Gerritsen propose a productive combination of micro and spatial history. "Micro-history can offer the epistemological foundations […] through its sensitivity to contextualisation and historical distinctiveness through time and space. At the same time, spatial history can help micro-history to overcome its tendency to remain confined in geographically limited spaces and to conceptualize localities as self-sufficient units"[5]. In this sense, our objective is to collect comparative microhistories of strong asymmetrical dependencies that can then lead to a new empirical basis for transcultural and diachronic comparison.

The question of how to overcome the macro vs. micro-divide leads directly to the second question of how to compare empirical findings across time and space. Long-term comparative history and connected or entangled history have been conceived of as two opposing and competing methodological approaches to transcultural and global history. Recent debates, however, have focused more and more on the question of how comparisons and connections may be combined in studies with a transcultural or global perspective. The BCDSS relies on an old claim of microhistorians seeking to correlate the specific with the universal. While searching for the normal exceptional case and the exceptional case of normality, historians have sown the seeds of a comparative approach that attempts to constantly pivot between close-ups on the micro-level and extreme long shots on the macro-level, oscillating between 'snapshots' and a longue durée perspective. The BCDSS thus pursues a decentering way of comparison.

---

[2] Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen, eds., *Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labor* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 2–3.

[3] Ulrike Freitag and Achim von Oppen, eds., *Translocality. The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 5, 8.

[4] Angelika Epple, „Lokalität und die Dimensionen des Globalen. Eine Frage der Relationen," *Historische Anthropologie* 21, no. 1 (2013): 4–25, 25.

[5] Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen, eds., Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labor (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017): 15.

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.1. Theoretical Avenues

A Phenomenological Overview

Michael Zeuske. “Slavery and Slaves as ‘Global and Globalizing’?” in *Comparative and Global Framing of Enslavement*, eds. Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud R. Toledano and Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 7-42.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-002

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.

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-002

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).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 97

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 98

"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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 99

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

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 101

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).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 105

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):

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 107

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).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 108

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).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 109

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 110

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]

---

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 111

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 113

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

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 114

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).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 115

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."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 119

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."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 121

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.

Bibliography

Sources

Humboldt, Alexander von. "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): 113–87.

Rossum, Matthias van, Alexander Geelen, Bram van den Hout and Merve Tosun. *Testimonies of Enslavement: Sources on Slavery from the Indian Ocean World* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).

Saco, José Antonio. *Historia de la esclavitud*, vol. 1, Biblioteca de Clásicos Cubanos (Havana: Imagen Contemporánea, 2002).

Saco, José Antonio. *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).

Saco, José Antonio. *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).

Saco, José Antonio. *Historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*, vols. 1–2 (Paris: Kugelmann, 1875), vol. 3 (Barcelona: Jaime Jepús, 1878).

Sa'id, Mohammad Ali. *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].

Secondary Literature

Adiele, Pius Onyemechi. *The Popes, the Catholic Church and the Transatlantic Enslavement of Black Africans 1418–1839* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2017).

Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de. "Brazil in the South Atlantic: 1550–1850," *Mediations* 23, no. 1 (2007): 125–74.

Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de. "Le versant brésilien de l'Atlantique-Sud: 1550–1850," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 61, no. 2 (2006): 339–82.

Allen, Richard B. "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.

Almeida Borges, Graça. "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].

Almeida Mendes, António de. "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.

Almeida Mendes, António de. "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.

Baptist, Edward E. *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).

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

Beckert, Sven, and Seth Rockman, eds. *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Bentley, Jerry H., Renate Bridenthal and Kären Wigen, eds. *Seascapes: Maritime Histories, Littoral Cultures, and Transoceanic Exchanges* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

Blackburn, Robin. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern, 1492–1800* (London: Verso, 1997).

Bodel, John, and Walter Scheidel, eds. *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2017).

Bonialian, Mariano. *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).

Borucki, Alex, David Eltis and David Wheat. "Atlantic History and the Slave Trade to Spanish America," *American Historical Review* 120, no. 2 (2015): 433–61.

Brown, Laurence. "'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.

Burnard, Trevor, and John Garrigus. *The Plantation Machine: Atlantic Capitalism in French Saint-Domingue and British Jamaica* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016).

Cameron, Catherine M. "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.

Cameron, Catherine M. "How People Moved among Ancient Societies: Broadening the View," *American Anthropologist* 115, no. 2 (2013): 218–31.

Cameron, Catherine M. *Captives: How Stolen People Changed the World* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2016): 19–42.

Cameron, Catherine M. "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.

Campbell, Gwyn, ed. *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London/Portland: Frank Cass, 2004).

Campbell, Gwyn, Suzanne Miers and Joseph C. Miller, eds. *Women and Slavery*, 2 vols. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007–2008).

Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. "How the 'Reformation' Invented Separate Catholic and Protestant Atlantics," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformation History* 108, no. 1 (2017): 245–54.

Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Carrington, Selwyn H.H., 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.

Coclanis, Peter A. *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organization, Operation, Practice, and Personnel* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

Conermann, Stephan. "South Asia and the Indian Ocean," in *Empires and Encounters: 1350–1750*, ed. Wolfgang Reinhard (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015): 389–552.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 123

Conermann, Stephan, 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.

Conermann, Stephan, and Michael Zeuske, eds. *The Slavery/Capitalism Debate Global. From "Capitalism and Slavery" to Slavery as Capitalism* [= *Comparativ*: *Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 30, no. 5–6 (2020)].

Cooper, Frederick. *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya, 1890–1925* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980).

Cooper, Frederick. *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997).

Crailsheim, Eberhard. "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.

Crewe, Ryan Dominic. "Connecting the Indies: The Hispano-Asian Pacific World in Early Modern Global History," *Estudos Históricos* (Rio de Janeiro) 30, no. 60 (2017): 17–34.

Dalrymple-Smith, Angus, 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.

Darmangeat, Christophe. "Paiements, esclavage et exploitation: éléments d'un triptyque," *Cahiers d'économie Politique* 75, no. 2 (2018): 227–53.

Draper, Nicholas. *The Price of Emancipation: Slave-Ownership, Compensation and British Society at the End of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Drescher, Seymour. *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

Drescher, Seymour. "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.

Eagle, Marc, andDavid 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.

Eltis, David. "O significado da investigação sobre os africanos escapados de navios negreiros no século XIX," *História: Questões & Debates* 52, no. 1 (2010): 13–39.

Eltis, David, 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.

Eltis, David, and David Richardson. *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010).

Eltis, David, and David, Richardson, eds. *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

Ewald, Janet J. "African Slavery and the African Slave Trade: A Review Essay," *American Historical Review* 97 (1992): 465–85.

Felipe-González, Jorge. "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.

Ferreira, Roquinaldo. "Negociantes, fazendeiros e escravos: o tráfico ilegal de escravos no Brasil," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 18–22 (1999): 9–28.

Fett, Sharla M. *Recaptured Africans: Surviving Slave Ships, Detention, and Dislocation in the Final Years of the Slave Trade* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

Flynn, Dennis O., and Arturo Giráldez. “Born Again: Globalization’s Sixteenth Century Origins (Asian/Global versus European Dynamics),” *Pacific Economic Review* 13, no. 3 (2008): 359–87.

Fogel, Robert William. “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.

Fragoso, João Luís Ribeiro, Roberto Guedes and Thiago Nascimento Krause. *A América portuguesa e os sistemas atlânticos na Época Moderna* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2013).

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

García-Montón, Alejandro. “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 (Porto: CITCEM/Edições Afrontamento, 2017): 11–34.

García-Montón, Alejandro. “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.

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

Green, Tobias. “Fear and Atlantic History: Some Observations Derived from Cape Verde Islands and the African Atlantic,” *Atlantic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2006): 25–42.

Green, Toby. “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.

Green, Toby. *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Grenouilleau, Olivier. *La révolution abolitionniste*, Bibliothèque des histoires (Paris: Gallimard, 2017).

Gronenborn, Detlef. “Zum (möglichen) Nachweis von Sklaven/Unfreien in prähistorischen Gesellschaften Mitteleuropas,” *Ethnologisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift* 42, no. 1 (2001): 1–42.

Hall, Catherine, 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.

Harris, John. *The Last Slave Ships: New York and the End of the Middle Passage* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2020).

Herrera Reviriego, José Miguel. “Manila y la gobernación de Filipinas en el mundo interconectado de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII” (PhD diss., Universitat Jaume I, n.d.), https://www.academia.edu/30718539 [accessed 02.10.2019].

Hezser, Catherine. *Jewish Slavery in Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

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

Hopper, Matthew S. *Slaves of One Master: Globalization and Slavery in Arabia in the Age of Empire* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

Houben, Vincent, andJulia 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.

Hu-DeHart, Evelyn. “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.

Hu-DeHart, Evelyn. “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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 125

Hu-DeHart, Evelyn, and Kathleen López. "Asian Diasporas in Latin America and the Caribbean: An Historical Overview," *Afro-Hispanic Review* 27, no. 1 (2008): 9–21.

Hunt, Nadine. "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.

Jayasuriya, Shihan de Silva. *The Portuguese in the East: A Cultural History of a Maritime Trading Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017).

Klooster, Wim. *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

Klooster, Wim, and Gert Oostindie. *Realm Between Empires: The Second Dutch Atlantic, 1680–1815* (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2018).

Kobayashi, Kazuo. "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.

Krämer, Gudrun. "Fürstendiener und Pfortensklaven," in *Der Vordere Orient und Nordafrika ab 1500* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2016): 81–90.

Kristiansen, Kristian, 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).

Lachenicht, Susanne. "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.

Law, Robin, 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).

Lenski, Noel. "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.

Leonard, Adrian, and David Pretel, eds. *The Caribbean and the Atlantic World Economy: Circuits of Trade, Money and Knowledge, 1650–1914* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

Lewis, David. "Near Eastern Slaves in Classical Attica and the Slave Trade with Persian Territories," *Classical Quarterly* 61, no. 1 (2011): 91–113.

Lewis, David. *Greek Slave Systems in Their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Linden, Marcel van der, 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).

Lopes Filho, João. "Tráfico clandestino," in *Cabo Verde: Abolição da escravatura; Subsídios para o estudo* (Praia: Spleen, 2006): 45–75.

Lovejoy, Henry B. "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.

Lovejoy, Paul E. "Identidade e a miragem da etnicidade: A jornada de Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua para as Américas," *Afro-Ásia*, no. 27 (2002): 9–39.

Lovejoy, Paul E. "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.

Lowe, Lisa. *The Intimacies of Four Continents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015).

Lucena Salmoral, Manuel. "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): 178–205.

Machado, Pedro. "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.

Machado, Pedro. *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Major, Andrea. *Slavery, Abolition and Empire in India, 1772–1843* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2012).

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

Manning, Patrick, Scott Nickleach, Bowen Yi and Brian McGill. "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].

Marichal, Carlos. "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.

Marques, Leonardo. *The United States and the Transatlantic Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776–1867* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016).

Marquese, Rafael de Bivar, and Ricardo Salles, eds. *Escravidão e capitalismo histórico no século XIX: Brasil, Cuba e Estados Unidos* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2015).

Marrero Cruz, Eduardo. "Traficante de esclavos y chinos," in *Julián de Zulutea y Amondo: Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba* (Havana: Ediciones Unión, 2006): 46–79.

Martin, Bonnie. "Slavery's Invisible Engine: Mortgaging Human Property," *Journal of Southern History* 76, no. 4 (2010): 817–66.

Martin, Bonnie, and James Brooks, eds. *Linking the Histories of Slavery in North America and Its Borderlands* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2015).

Martineau, Anne-Charlotte. "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.

Martínez Shaw, Carlos, and Marina Alfonso Mola, eds. *La ruta española a China* (Madrid: El Viso, 2007).

Martínez Shaw, Carlos, and José Antonio Martínez Torres, eds. *España y Portugal en el mundo (1581–1668)* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2014).

Mazumdar, Sucheta. "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*].

McCormick, Michael. *Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

McCormick, Michael. "New Light on the 'Dark Ages': How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy," *Past & Present* 177 (2002): 17–54.

McKeown, Adam. "Global Migration, 1846–1940," *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (2004): 155–90.

McKeown, Adam. "Chinese Emigration in Global Context, 1850–1940," *Journal of Global History* 5, no. 1 (2010): 95–124.

Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: Le ventre de fer et le argent* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1986).

Miers, Suzanne. *Slavery in the Twentieth Century: The Evolution of a Global Problem* (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 2003).

Miller, Joseph C. "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.

Miller, Joseph C. "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.

Miller, Joseph C. *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012).

Montaud, Inés Roldán de. "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 Press, 2015): 127–55.

Muaze, Mariana, and Ricardo H. Salles, eds. *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos quadros da Segunda Escravidão* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2015).

Muaze, Mariana, and Ricardo H. Salles, eds. *A Segunda Escravidão e o Império do Brasil em Perspectiva Histórica* (São Leopoldo: Casa Leiria, 2020).

Núñez, Xosé-Manoel. "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.

Nwokeji, G. Ugo, and David Eltis. "Characteristics of Captives Leaving the Cameroons for the Americas, 1822–37," *Journal of African History* 43, no. 2 (2002): 191–210.

Nwokeji, G. Ugo, 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.

Ollé, Manel. *La empresa de China: De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila* (Barcelona: Acantilado, 2002).

Ortiz, Fernando. *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos; Estudio sociológico y de derecho público* (Havana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916).

Ortiz, Fernando. *Los negros esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1976).

Pargas, Damian Alan. "Slavery as a Global and Globalizing Phenomenon: An Editorial Note," *Journal of Global Slavery* 1 (2016): 1–4.

Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Pietschmann, Horst. "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.

Pinto, Paulo Jorge de Sousa. "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.

Piqueras, José Antonio, ed. *Esclavitud y capitalismo histórico en el siglo XIX: Brazil, Cuba y Estados Unidos* (Santiago de Cuba: Casa del Caribe, 2016).

Polónia, Amélia, and Cátia Antunes, eds. *Mechanisms of Global Empire Building* (Porto: CITCEM/Edições Afrontamento, 2017).

Postma, Johannes Menne. *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Pritchard, James. *In Search of Empire: The French in the Americas, 1670–1730* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

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

Ribi Forclaz, Amalia. *Humanitarian Imperialism: The Politics of Anti-Slavery Activism, 1880–1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Richardson, David, 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.

Riello, Giorgio. *Cotton: The Fabric That Made the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Riello, Giorgio, and Prasannan Parthasarathi, eds. *The Spinning World: A Global History of Cotton Textiles, 1200–1850* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Riello, Giorgio. "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.

Rodrigo y Alharilla, Martín, and Lizbeth J. Chaviano Pérez, eds. *Negreros y esclavos: Barcelona y la esclavitud atlántica (siglos XVI-XIX)* (Barcelona: Icaria Editorial, 2017).

Rodrigo y Alharilla, Martín, and María del Carmen Cózar Navarro, eds. *Cádiz y el tráfico de esclavos: De la legalidad a la clandestinidad* (Madrid: Sílex Ediciones, 2018).

Rood, Daniel B. *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

Rotman, Youval. *Byzantine Slavery and the Mediterranean World*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009).

Rotman, Youval. "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.

Salau, Mohammed Bashir. *Plantation Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate: A Historical and Comparative Study* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2018).

Salvucci, Linda K. "Atlantic Intersections: Early American Commerce and the Rise of the Spanish West Indies (Cuba)," *Business History Review* 79 (2005): 781–810.

Satia, Priya. *Empire of Guns: The Violent Making of the Industrial Revolution* (New York: Penguin Press, 2018).

Saupin, Guy, ed. *Africains et Européens dans le monde atlantique: XVe-XIXe siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

Scheller, Benjamin. "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.

Schmidt, Martin. "Die Welt des Eumaios," in *Geschichte und Fiktion in der homerischen Odyssee*, ed. Andreas Luther (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006): 117–38.

Schmitz, Winfried. "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.

Schneider, Elena A. "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.

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

Scott, Rebecca J. "O Trabalho Escravo Contemporâneo e os Usos da História," *Mundos do Trabalho* (Florianópolis, Brazil) 5, no. 9 (2013): 129–37.

Scott, Rebecca J., 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].

Sears, Christine E. "'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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 129

Seibert, Julia. "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.

Seibert, Julia. *In die globale Wirtschaft gezwungen: Arbeit und kolonialer Kapitalismus im Kongo (1885–1960)* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 2016).

Seijas, Tatiana. "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.

Seijas, Tatiana. *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

Simek, Rudolf. "Undesirable Biographies: Victims of Viking Slavery and Ransom Payments," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 23 (2018): 111–24.

"SlaveVoyages: Home Page," SlaveVoyages, 2021, https://www.slavevoyages.org/ [accessed 26.01.2023].

Sousa, Lúcio de. *The Jewish Diaspora and the Perez Family Case in China, Japan, the Philippines, and the Americas (16th Century)*, trans. Joseph Abraham Levi (Macao: Fundaçao Macau, 2015).

Stone, Erin. "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.

Tappe, Oliver, andUlrike Lindner. "Global Variants of Bonded Labour," in *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives (18th–21st Century)*, ed. Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf, Ulrike Lindner, Gesine Müller, Oliver Tappe and Michael Zeuske (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2016): 9–34.

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

Testart, Alain. *L'institution de l'esclavage: Une approche mondiale* (Paris: Gallimard, 2018).

Toledano, Ehud R. *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression, 1840–1890* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982).

Toledano, Ehud R. *State and Society in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Toledano, Ehud R. "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.

Toledano, Ehud R. *Slavery and Abolition in the Ottoman Middle East* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998).

Toledano, Ehud R. *As if Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic Middle East* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007).

Toledano, Ehud R. "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.

Toledano, Ehud R. "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.

Toledano, Ehud R. "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.

Tomich, Dale. "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.

Tomich, Dale. "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.

Tomich, Dale, ed. *Slavery and Historical Capitalism During the Nineteenth Century* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2017).

Tomich, Dale, 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)].

Tomich, Dale W. *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Boulder, CO: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004).

Torres-Cuevas, Eduardo. "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): 1–25.

Truchuelo, Susana, and Emir Reitano, eds. *Las fronteras en el Mundo Atlántico (siglos XVI-XIX)*, HisMundI 1 (La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, 2017).

Valladares, Rafael. *"Por toda la Tierra": España y Portugal: globalización y ruptura (1580–1700)* (Lisbon: CHAM, 2016).

Venegas Delgado, Hernán. *Trinidad de Cuba: Corsarios, azúcar y revolución en el Caribe* (Havana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello, 2005).

Warren, James Francis. "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.

Winroth, Anders. *Die Wikinger: Das Zeitalter des Nordens* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2016).

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

Zeuske, Michael. "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].

Zeuske, Michael. "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.

Zeuske, Michael. "Atlantic Slavery und Wirtschaftskultur in welt- und globalhistorischer Perspektive," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 66, no. 5–6 (2015): 280–301.

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

Zeuske, Michael. "Versklavte und Sklavereien in der Geschichte Chinas aus global-historischer Sicht: Perspektiven und Probleme," *Dhau: Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* 2 (2017): 25–51.

Zeuske, Michael. "Out of the Americas: Slave Traders and the *Hidden Atlantic* in the Nineteenth Century," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 15, no. 1 (2018): 103–35.

Zeuske, Michael. *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

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

Zeuske, Michael. *Sklaverei: Eine Menschheitsgeschichte von der Steinzeit bis heute*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2021).

Zeuske, Michael. "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.

Zeuske, Michael, 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.

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.1. Theoretical Avenues

A Global-Historical Approach

Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum. “Slavery and Labour Coercion in Asia: Towards a Global History,” in *Slavery and Bondage in Asia, 1550–1850: Towards a Global History of Coerced Labour*, eds. Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 3-16.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-001

Opening Thoughts

Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum

Slavery and Labour Coercion in Asia – Towards a Global History

The study of slavery and coerced labour in a global perspective currently sparks new interest. The last years have shown how much we have to gain from wide-ranging comparisons and open-ended discussion about how coercion in the past should and could be understood.[1] In these new explorations of labour coercion and slavery where comparisons are made on a global scale, the world beyond the Atlantic, especially the Indian Ocean, Indonesian Archipelago, and East and Central Asia, has an important part to play in widening and enriching our understanding. Nevertheless, when discussing labour coercion, and slavery in particular, the dominant concepts and most commonly used examples are still derived from the Atlantic world and the histories of those societies seen as 'classic' slave-societies. For a long time, the history of coerced labour has suffered from a dual Eurocentric bias: Slavery has primarily brought to mind the images of Atlantic chattel slavery, and studies of work have either outright or implicitly been based on a model of the northern European wage labour.[2] This book constitutes an attempt to re-centre that story to Asia in order to explore how this can help us reassemble (global) histories of slavery and labour coercion.

On the cover of this volume we meet a woman.[3] From the detail with which her portrait was drawn we can see that she is an individual, her unique features recorded by the artist. Her portrait is part of a series of three, and from the details accompanying each portrait, we know their (given) names: Flora, Bietja, and Sara. Their portraits are marked by a clear tension. They show the three women as types, or moulds, depicted in profile with no context, and unrecognisable to today's viewers. The woman on the cover is someone, or anyone. Her likeness reminds us of the perhaps better-known silhouettes of African enslaved people, depictions that were

1 See for example: Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111; Marcel van der Linden, "Global Labor History: Promising Challenges," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (2013): 218–25; Hideaki Suzuki, *Abolitions as a Global Experience* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2015); Damian Alan Pargas and Felicia Roşu, *Critical Readings on Global Slavery*, 4 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Kostas Vlassopoulos, "Does Slavery Have a History? The Consequences of a Global Approach," *Journal of Global Slavery* 1, no. 1 (2016): 5–27; Matthias van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research Agenda," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (2021): 566–98.

2 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): 291–322.

3 Silhouette portraits of Flora, Bietja and Sara, by Jan Bandes (1780–85). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-001

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 135

part of Atlantic slavery's repertoire of domination.[4] As we know, however, these three women were named Flora, Bietja, and Sara, and at the time they were being sketched they lived as enslaved persons in Batavia, the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company in Asia, in the household of the artist who painted them. We think the portrait of this enslaved woman presents an interesting, and perhaps fruitful, set of tensions that run through the chapters in this book. Trying to make sense of histories of slavery, we are aiming to understand coerced mobilities, regimes and transformations through everyday experiences and practices, but are engaging with and trying to read against the grain of the sources of states, companies and other elites that all too often left out enslaved and other people, or referred to them as unnamed, elusive individuals. And while attempting to move beyond a multitude of dichotomies ('Asian' versus 'Atlantic' slavery; 'free' versus 'unfree' labour), we are continuously confronted with the lingering shadows of greyscale or even black-and-white analytical schemes that they produced. This edited volume aims to use these tensions in such a way that they can form the starting point for fruitful contributions to globalizing perspectives.

The histories of slavery, bondage and labour coercion in Asian worlds still occupy too peripheral a place in these global debates on coercion and labour. This does not mean that there is a lack of historical studies of coercion for these parts of the world, but it certainly says something about the studies of slavery and coercion, and how area studies centred on Asia have treated these topics. In order to rethink slavery and labour coercion, and to incorporate it into a global history, we need to move beyond the current fragmentation of the field, in which the work within area studies and within nationally oriented history are less than seamlessly integrated into comparative debates of coercion.[5] For this reason, the first challenge in creating a global history of labour coercion that includes Asia will be to build bridges between existing but to some degree separate historiographies, as well as to acknowledge both the value of such diverse historiographies and their current limitations. In traditional understandings of regimes of slavery and coerced labour, coercion in Asia has commonly been understood as being somehow softer and less brutal, or as a local or 'indigenous' phenomenon, compared to slavery in the Atlantic. This strand of thought can even be made to go so far as suggesting that it was somehow less disruptive to the societies involved than its supposedly European-driven counterpart in the maritime Atlantic world.

In the face of that view of Asian coercion, much can be gained by applying global historical approaches. We understand these as using comparisons as well as connections in order to see historical processes in a potentially different light.

---

4 Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal, eds., *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

5 Titas Chakraborty and Matthias van Rossum, "Slave Trade and Slavery in Asia: New Perspectives," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 1 (2020): 1–14.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 136

This is where this book fits in. Some of the facets of coercion thought to be specific to certain regions are not, other things thought to be general throughout the continent, or for slavery globally, might not be. In this book, therefore, while the studies pay attention to local developments of slavery, they also connect them to intercultural exchanges and contacts.

To date, area studies focusing on these regions rarely put the theme of coercion at centre stage. For a long time, coercion and slavery were either ignored, or seen as traditional parts of Asian societies, for example in perspectives on the centrality of bondage in state formation in Southeast Asia, or the emphasis on the role of coercion in 'oriental' or tributary modes of production in the historiography of South Asia. As we increasingly have come to understand, the slave trade and slavery not only transformed Africa and the Americas, but slavery and wider forms of bondage and labour coercion were not simply static, traditional or unchanging phenomena in Asia either. Instead, slavery and coerced labour were at the root of major transformations throughout the Indian Ocean, the Indonesian Archipelago and East and Central Asia: before, after and especially during European colonial expansion.[6]

In this context it might be helpful to remind ourselves not only of the presence of European colonialism, but also of the Asian empires that effected the transformation and the upholding of coercive regimes. However, only in recent decades have Asian empires been included in historical debates of empire and colonialism. The European colonial expansion, especially in the Indian Ocean and the Indonesian Archipelago, led to the increase of coerced human mobility, most notable in the form of slave trading and to the expansion of slavery and *corvée* labour regimes.[7] Slavery and coercion, however, were not limited to the European colonial spheres, and a one-sided emphasis on European regimes might lead to the danger of connecting slavery solely to European colonialism.[8] This volume aims to apply a broad perspective on the development and transformations of slavery and coerced labour, and therefore includes contributions that study Asian cases of human trafficking, enslavement and coerced labour as well as colonial ones. These histories contribute

6 Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Slavery in Early Modern China," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 186–214; Angela Schottenhammer, "Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China (Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries)," *Slavery & Abolition* 24, no. 2 (2003): 143–54.

7 See for example: Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500–1850* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2015). On the expansion of *corvée*, see for example: Matthias van Rossum and Merve Tosun, "Corvée Capitalism: The Dutch East India Company, Colonial Expansion, and Labor Regimes in Early Modern Asia," *Journal of Asian Studies* 80, no. 4 (2021): 911–32.

8 See for example Geoff Wade, ed., *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia* (Abingdon, NY: Routledge, 2015).

to better situate trajectories of slavery and labour coercion regimes in Asian histories, as well as to highlight how the inclusion of cases of Asian histories can advance and benefit the study of slavery globally.

This book represents a shift in the history of coercion: it is part of a general attempt to overcome the fragmentation in the studies of slaveries in Asia – a state that to some degree remains despite the important studies we have seen produced in the last decade.[9] This fragmentation has taken many shapes. There has been a geographic fragmentation in which certain regions – such as South Asia or the Western Indian Ocean – receive attention to the exclusion of inter-regional connections. There is a conceptual fragmentation, whereby e.g. slavery, serfdom, coolie trade and convict labour are treated separately and seen as unconnected phenomena. Finally, there is a fragmentation within the historiography based on temporal divides. Often driven by the different official timelines of formalisation and abolitions of slavery and other forms of coercion in specific places, the histories of different centuries have remained segmented.

Advancing the debates on slavery, coercion, and bondage it is vital to attempt to untangle some of the conceptual nuances. Although deeply connected, these are not the same, and in bringing together slavery, coercion and bondage within the scope of a single study and framework, it is not our intention thereby to conflate them. We regard slavery as a distinct social formation that is marked by a simultaneous claim over the bodies of enslaved individuals or groups (property rights) *and* over their actions and behaviour (usage right). Slavery as constituted by these two claims manifested itself in different ways, but was often accompanied by distinct, inferior social conditions in which enslaved people had fewer rights, or even none at all, than other segments of a society's population. In the 'classic' traditions of slavery, the claims and rights over enslaved people were formalized by legal frameworks and could be transferred through trade. This commodification of enslaved people was not limited to colonial contexts, but was certainly a central feature of colonial slavery and increased strongly with the expansion of European colonial empires across the globe. The subsequent abolitions of first the slave trade and later of legal slavery itself curbed the global expansion of legalized slave trading and slavery, but did not end the existence of slavery itself: it merely transformed its appearance.

9 Such works include Alessandro Stanziani, *Bondage: Labor and Rights in Eurasia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2014); Christoph Witzenrath, ed., *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015); Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020); and go back to early works including Anthony Reid, ed., *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983).

In response to the waves of abolitions, old and new ways of coercing and binding labour were circulated, implemented, and expanded. Again, the role of Asian histories and developments are not to be ignored here. Long before being implemented in the Atlantic, the practice of indentured labour migrations developed in local and colonial contexts throughout South, Southeast and East Asia, with highly coercive contract forms that bound workers to employers, oftentimes through recruitment that was less than voluntary or through binding mechanisms rooted in debt relations. Simultaneously, *corvée* labour regimes were adapted and expanded under early European colonialism in Asia, for example in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dutch East India Company empire, where it became key to the production of global commodities such as cinnamon and later coffee. These *corvée* systems, in which those coerced to work were considered not property but subjects, were copied and implemented by colonial powers in nineteenth-century Africa. Such other forms of coercive labour regimes thus existed alongside slavery and the slave trade in early modern Asia, and were marked by distinct but deeply interconnected developments. It is thus crucial to distinguish between slavery and other forms of coercion and bondage while understanding how they developed in their local contexts, in the wider contexts of global and long-distance connections and processes, and in the interconnections between different manifestations of labour coercion.

These specific social formations are all part of a wider spectrum of relations that are marked by coercion and bondage. Perhaps we can best consider these relations as located within a triangle in which the three points represent the relative degree to which the elements coercion, dependency and autonomy constitute these relations. Coercion as a mechanism to make people act (or not act) in specific manners by the use or threat of force has in the past (and present) manifested itself in a variety of ways. Slavery as a relation is defined to a high degree by coercion in the various ways in which people are compelled to work and are controlled, in the ways in which ownership is organized, and so on. But it might be clear that not all coerced labour is slavery (think of convict labour, *corvée* labour). Coercion and slavery are often mentioned together with bondage as a way to signify the existence of and to conceptualize wider coercive relationships. What distinguishes bondage, however, is not so much a different or deeper manifestation of the element of coercion, but rather a link with the element of dependency. The condition of having to rely on someone, and the subsequent subordination, can result not only from coercion, but also for example from precarity. Both coercion and dependency constrain the autonomy of people but, even when strongly limited, degrees of autonomy and agency can remain within the most coercive and dependent states of human being.

We propose that to analyse and consider these three different elements – coercion, dependency and autonomy – will help to further develop our understanding of slavery and other forms of labour coercion. In doing so, we cannot ignore the ways in which these intersected in the past, with each element appearing in different and overlapping manifestations. Moving away from understanding slavery and other

labour regimes within a dichotomy of 'free' and 'unfree' labour, it can perhaps be tempting to consider the different sides of such a coercion-dependency-autonomy triangle as separate spectrums. We would instead argue that these elements overlap and coexist, and reappear in every manifestation of slavery and other coercive labour relation.

This approach, rather than confining ourselves to strictly defined manifestations of slavery or other coercions, proposes that attempts at untangling these concepts are a necessary part of trying to overcome the fragmentation that has characterised past scholarship. Investigating how slavery, coercion and bondage relate to one another and manifested in the past – within, between and connecting empires and polities, and over time – is exactly the task taken up by the contributors to this volume.

This book spans the period of early globalization, roughly from the early sixteenth to the late nineteenth century, and ranges from Russia to Japan, from China down to different parts of Indonesia. It includes maritime links and connections with European actors such as the Portuguese and the Dutch, but also overland regimes such as that of Nepal. Spanning a broad temporal and geographical scope, the chapters show dramatic events, such as abolitions and massacres, as well as the enduring patterns of coercion that precede – and succeed – such shifts. The examples of this book offer a comprehensive view into coerced labour in the Indian Ocean, Indonesian Archipelago and East and Central Asian worlds, regions that also need to form part of the global history discussion of slavery and coercion. What is more, their differences and similarities in approaches and findings help contribute to a general understanding of how to study and understand coercion in the past.

First, the studies underline the current position that a narrow understanding of slavery as the antithesis to 'freedom' obscures as much of past relations of power and oppression as it would illuminate: the authors in this book use various contextual definitions of coercion, slavery and imprisonment, all depending on their temporal and spatial contexts, while highlighting the similarities and connections between these contexts – and bringing them out in comparative sections at the end of each chapter.

Second, the book's long chronological scope helps explore historical transformations across different types of coercion. Rather than considering any formal declaration of abolition, whether national, colonial or imperial, as the end of a regime of coercion, we are enabled to see how labour regimes and structures shifted and transformed, often preserving and remaking ethnic, racialised and gendered hierarchies of power, rather than abolishing them.

Third and finally, this book engages not only in a comparative exercise, but also takes connections into account. Connections are analysed in a regional, geographic sense, as well as in terms of identifying links and transfers between polities and across timeframes, for example through mercantile, cultural and discursive ties. Often these connections should also be considered as part of discursive means to understand and make sense of the self and the other, such as in the case of early missionaries in

Japan, or of the rulers of the Gorkhali state, who combined local and external norms to create something new. This could shape not only practices of coercion, but also the terms and concepts in which these were fashioned, or sometimes disguised. This is a book considering such connections between regions and regimes as much as it is offering thought-provoking comparisons; in both cases, it ties together cases and historiographies that have too often been considered separately.

1 A Global Approach to Slavery in Asia

In this volume, we hope to overcome geographical and conceptual fragmentation, as well as overly strict conceptual divides within the broad and elusive field of coercion in Asia. To bring together these past labour regimes, connections and transformations, we suggest a three-pronged approach that draws on the strengths of comparative research, the study of global connections and of (social) micro-historical approaches that understand slavery as a practice and explore historical developments and dynamics from the level of everyday interactions.

The chapters of this book explore three overlapping themes – coerced mobilities, regimes, and transformations – and interrogate how these play out and interact in different cases across time and space. Our approach to coerced labour thus comprises a dual path towards the definition of coercion itself, one that combines a thick local history, based on emic understandings and practices of coercion, with an entangled view of history, i.e. an understanding that interregional connections also change and shift historical developments.

To some extent this book is also an exercise in overcoming limitations generated by dominant trends in global history, limitations that include solely comparative studies, instead of studies that also explore connections between regions and systems, and top-down and institutionalist readings of history instead of moving to thick everyday levels and understandings of past historical realities.[10] In order to balance these limitations, this book suggests an approach to the history of coercion inspired by global micro-history. Micro-historical studies, especially such that are combined with a global approach, represent a way to analyse coercion that requires a balanced dealing with different historical layers, with the human and individual perspective in relation to structures, and between the micro, meso and macro levels of historical development. The history of labour coercion is one of the domains in

10 Some of these criticisms are put forward in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "On Ignored Global 'Scientific Revolutions'," *Journal of Early Modern History* 21 (2017): 420–32; other of these critiques, as well as counter-arguments, can be found in Richard Drayton and David Motadel, "Discussion: The Futures of Global History," *Journal of Global History* 13, no. 1 (2018): 1–21.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 141

which the historian is forced upon the crossroads between these levels of analysis, and thus makes for a good case to work them out.[11]

The authors in this book explore radically different contexts and understandings of coerced labour: some have been called slave labour, others not. Translation is a key and recognisably problematic part of the work of any scholar who examines slavery, coercion and bondage in their diverse manifestations in the past. How do we translate between different languages the labels given to practices, mechanisms and relationships in the past, whether they existed in the formal sphere of law or in the informal arena? The English language (as in this volume) has traditionally dominated the study and conceptual understanding of slavery and other forms of labour. To limit our study to a formally applied label of slavery might on the surface seem to produce coherency. Going into the thick local historical descriptions, however, such a limitation might actually obscure more than it reveals. For one thing, if we exclude everything that was not legally called slavery, we risk blinding ourselves to forms of coercion that might not neatly fit into the standard usage of that term. This would echo the biases in the study and definition of slavery that focus on its formal and 'chattel' form, but also often exclude female labour, reproductive labour, and specifically informal and female forms of coercion and exploitation.[12] To focus, as this book does, on the entire spectrum of coercion from plantation slavery in Banda to the ambiguous position of prisoners of war in the Dzungar Empire, allows also for a discussion of the limits, exit points and possible opportunities of systems of coercion. Most importantly, it sets the stage for a comparison of systems that might appear different, formally and legally, but that oftentimes produced similar practices.

Throughout this work, we use the term 'regime' to describe how coercion was organised in larger systems of joint conceptual understandings, and joint practices. This should not be understood as a parallel to a Wallersteinian world systems approach: rather, regimes of coercion are temporal as much as geographical, and could overlap – even be created by an overlap – in terms of polities involved, regions covered, or of the long and short-term historical developments they are used to describe.

Thereby, this book should be understood not only as an empirical contribution to the field of coercion in Asia, but also a methodological inspiration, demonstrating the importance and the value of both connecting different past labour regimes in Asia, and placing them side by side in a careful comparison. To do so brings with

11 This is well argued in Christian G. de Vito and Anne Gerritsen, "Micro-Spatial Histories of Labour: Towards a New Global History," in *Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labour*, ed. Christian G. de Vito and Anne Gerritsen (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 1–28; Tonio Andrade, "A Chinese Farmer, Two African Boys, and a Warlord: Toward a Global Microhistory," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 4 (2010): 573–91; Mark Gamsa, "Biography and (Global) Microhistory," *New Global Studies* 11, no. 3 (2017): 231–41; Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (London: Faber & Faber, 2006).

12 Van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 142

it theoretical and methodological concerns, demanding a nuanced discussion. For this reason, our book starts with a reflection by Matthias van Rossum on how to carry out global studies of coercion, and the pitfalls and opportunities that await us there. This thread is then picked up by Claude Chevaleyre who highlights the problematic nature of how to translate terms in studying slavery and coercion in China, and how these themes have, or rather have not, been developed in the historiography. Together, the opening contributions highlight the difficulties in combining fields that have so long developed separately.

2 Three Themes of Coercion in Asia

The empirical chapters in this book are grouped around the key themes of coerced mobilities, regimes, and transformations. As will be evident, many of these chapters could easily have fallen into more than one of those categories. The themes are not meant to be conclusive, delineate boundaries or act as closed containers for certain debates: they serve to group chapters in order to bring them into dialogue with each other. For that reason, the choice of themes intentionally resists temporal and geographical homogeneity, to instead produce comparisons, tensions and juxtapositions between contexts, regimes and periods that are otherwise rarely put side by side. The similarities, ruptures and contradictions are highlighted in the final section of each paper, where the authors offer a comparative outlook with other contributions in this volume.

The themes of coerced mobilities, regimes, and transformations help underline the three main arguments that run through this book. First, that coercion is not best understood in terms of a binary opposition between slavery and freedom, but as a continuum on which a person's experience and understanding of their position can shift over time. Secondly, that it is more rewarding to trace transformations and shifts between types of coercion, showing both dramatic rifts and lingering norms, than to focus on set points of formal abolitions. Thirdly, this book undertakes deliberate comparisons between regions and regimes rarely considered side by side. It does, however, combine this comparative approach with the notion of connections, showing the importance of considering ties between both regions and regimes to explain seemingly emic developments.

2.1 Coerced Mobilities

The chapters in the first section question how coerced mobilities tie together different places and contexts, and how these connect, impact and transform slavery and coercive labour regimes. The chapters explore coerced mobilities in two ways. On

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 143

the one hand, focusing primarily on maritime connections, they address the routes along which coerced people were transported, both at a regional level, as outlined in Hans Hägerdal's contribution on the Banda islands, and over larger distances, as brought to the fore in Mònica Ginés-Blasi's work connecting China, the Philippines and Latin America. On the other hand, the chapters address the impact of those routes on the places from which coerced men, women and children were transported as well as on their places of unchosen arrival. Thereby, global coerced mobilities and human trafficking alike are put forward as driving historical change.

The chapters all begin from the understanding that not all coerced mobilities are the same and thus try to distinguish different forms and their particular dynamics in specific times and places. Sometimes such coerced mobility was a practice driven by the expansion of early modern colonial regimes, such as that shown by Samantha Sint Nicolaas in Batavia, or Hägerdal in Banda. As Ginés-Blasi shows for the case of the Iberian empire, however, coerced mobility was also used within – and to consolidate – modern imperial regimes. This section thus explores not only the coerced mobilities in and of themselves, but also how they connected different places and contexts. That makes it possible not only to relate coerced mobilities to intercultural connections, that is to show when one was part of the other, but also to consider the *role* played by the intercultural contact, and to what degree we can consider intercultural contacts as possible causes or effects of coerced mobility. Such a question also necessitates methodological considerations, such as whether intercultural contacts and language differences could obscure transformations in coercive regimes, and blur analytical understandings both for contemporaries and for present-day scholars trying to unravel the social relations and practices. In short, the chapters all present examples of how to study coercive regimes in a framework that allows for both unifying and differentiating analyses.

Based on a new dataset of ship arrivals at Batavia, Sint Nicolaas' chapter shows the shifting and changing patterns of maritime coercive mobilities. By analysing the details of enslaved people on board vessels arriving at the port of Batavia, Sint Nicolaas augments Markus Vink's circuits of Indian Ocean slaving with the regional routes and changing flows of forced migrants who entered the city. Her chapter demonstrates the potential of the ongoing database creation for Indian Ocean slave voyages.

Turning our view further east in the VOC world, Hägerdal's chapter investigates the interconnections of European and local slaving through the case study of the Banda Islands. Hägerdal traces the maritime slave routes that were used to supply the nutmeg plantations with enslaved labourers, and analyses the demographics of the enslaved. In particular, he highlights the issues of gender and age, and how to trace these in the sources. Based on his analysis of slave registers, company *dag-registers*, and ship captains' logs, Hägerdal reveals the importance of regional slave trade routes and elements of continuities between slaving before and after the VOC conquest of the Banda Islands.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 144

Finally, Mònica Ginés-Blasi turns our attention to a slightly later point in time, namely nineteenth-century forms of coercion that succeeded the formal commercial flows of slavery. Tracing flows of coolie labour and their coercive contracts, her study demonstrates long-distance coerced mobility within the Iberian empire, and how this simultaneously was an imperial affair and connected Chinese and middle American labour regimes.

2.2 Regimes of Coercion

The second section of the book deals with coercive regimes through five in-depth analyses. The chapters are guided by three questions: how do coercive regimes function; how do coerced mobilities connect and impact coercive regimes; and how do coerced regimes connect, interact with and influence each other?

A particular challenge of studying coercive regimes is the nature of the surviving source material. For many coercive regimes the most accessible material is often the official or normative view, that is the reading of past coercion through legal, political, official documentation. In this section, the chapters demonstrate ways in which such sources can be used to get beyond the normative view. Sanjog Rupakheti for example demonstrates that an 1854 legislation in Nepal was a conscious use of the legal idea and practice of slavery to consolidate a state. This new legal code has been presented as a natural culmination of societal and religious developments over a long time, but might in effect be best understood as a part of a power struggle within a particular time and place. Having established the societal role of the legalisation of slavery, Rupakheti's paper brings up the various entry points into slavery, and the characteristics they share with those in Nepal and Ceylon, despite their different ruling authorities, legal frameworks and time periods, notably how coerced labour was legally linked with certain groups and places.

Kate Ekama's chapter is based on similarly official, legal sources through which she explores the idea of enslaveability in coastal Ceylon under Dutch East India Company rule. Her reading of the Company's ordinances reveals routes into a condition of slavery that was regulated by the Dutch, as well as those routes which the Company periodically tried to close off. Familiar mechanisms of enslavement – such as, for instance, an inherited legal status or via debt – come to the fore in varied and unevenly applied ways in the specific context of VOC Sri Lanka. Ekama presents a thick description of the coercive regime which the company established in its ordinances, at least as an ideal.

Another way to get around this problem is to use sources that, while normative, are not part of that particular regime of coercion. Lisa Hellman's chapter uses the accounts of Swedish prisoners of war in Russia to provide accounts from the experience of coercion itself. Following the way these prisoners moved between systems of coercion, and encountered and reflected on other coerced actors, provides an on-the-

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 145

ground view of not only the Russian regime of coercion for prisoners, but also regimes of slavery in Central Asian polities, and of forced mobility in the Qing Empire.

Such on-the-ground studies also carry the potential to reconsider general historiographical claims. As Vinil Paul explores practices of slavery in Southwest India, he shows the long historical roots of slavery in the region, and how these need to consider the social structure of the caste system. What is more, he demonstrates, not only how Portuguese and Dutch slavers made use of and continued these local practices when establishing their settlements, but also how these foreign interventions shifted how caste hierarchies related to practices of slavery.

The shift from one system of coercion to another was not necessarily a smooth, or a clear one. As James Fujitani shows, the Portuguese went through several legal iterations when establishing a system of coercion in Maluka. Their poor understanding of the local norms of payment and hierarchies within the coerced groups made the system falter both in terms of stability and in securing labour. Yet, the colonial regime did not acquiesce, but eventually established a system different both from the precolonial system of slavery, and from that initially conceived, demonstrating the ongoing transformation of regimes of coercion, and their intercultural conception.

2.3 Transformations

The final section of the book takes as its theme transformations. We have resisted the inclination to consider abolition as the idea around which these chapters cohere. The reason behind this gets to our understanding of the multiple abolitions which unfolded in Asia: these should be understood as processes, sometimes with long and complicated prehistories, rather than single and fateful events. Only then can we understand the ways and forms in which some practices of coercion persisted. While abolitions of the slave trade and of slavery could signal the end – at least from a legal point of view – of certain slaving regimes, labour coercion often shifted and transformed. The multiple abolitions of the slave trade and slavery thus interacted with continuities in coerced mobilities and transformations of coercive regimes.

In this section, the chapter authors ask what new and different regimes of coercive labour mobilization emerged or became more prominent in the context of post-abolition. How did these regimes relate to earlier and continuing forms of bondage and slaving practices? To what extent were emergent regimes in fact transformations of practices rather than something new? These questions tie the chapters into the two preceding sections precisely because it is the changing connections and regimes which are the focus of this third section.

The chapters focus on three closely related issues, namely how the multiple abolitions of slave trade and slavery impacted coerced regimes and connections between them. Providing examples from very different contexts, the chapters explore

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 146

how these multiple abolitions, ranging from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, impacted both global dynamics and local situations and contexts. This approach allows us to think about informalization and regulation of labour coercion outside the spectrum of slavery or non-slavery, as neither the temporal nor the legal boundary pre- and post-abolition is completely clear-cut. As a result, it becomes possible to include the histories of other coercive labour forms, and of the transformation of one form of coercion into another.

There have been many moments of abolition, targeting slavery and the slave trade in different contexts at different points in time. Rômulo Ehalt directs our attention to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan and its early abolishment of slavery. He ties this closely not only to the intervention by European missionaries and their discussion on the nature of slavery, but also to the Japanese connections with China and Japanese national concerns, showing how abolition was neither a result of an outside force changing the Japanese system, nor was it a completely endogenous development: it is through connecting these factors that we understand the cultural background to the coerced regime, and how it changed.

Nor is it easy to pinpoint a definitive date for the end of abolition. We are reminded of this, of course, by the informalization and continuation of slavery practices into 'modern slavery', but the meaning and impact of abolitions can also be studied from the perspective of wider forms of coercive labour relations. With a focus on poor relief in the form of emergency work contracts, Amal Shahid explores forms of coerced labour in postcolonial India. With the laws abolishing slavery duly in place, colonial regimes of coercion shifted to other forms, sparking the question to what degree the regime had been replaced by the abolition, or merely transformed in shape and name while retaining many of the same practices, justifications and a focus on the same groups of labourers.

3 Looking ahead

This book demonstrates the continued importance of regulations on coercion, coerced mobilities and the parallel and intertwined dynamics of regimes of coercion. As shown from the spread in time and colonial circumstances within this book, such regimes of coercion, human trafficking and slavery were enacted, supported and changed by local elites and colonial actors alike – they were neither something natural and unavoidable in each culture, nor something that came entirely from outside.

Taken together, the chapters help to break down any binary understanding of slavery or coercion, to show transformations as well as slow-changing norms in the regulations of labour, and not only compare regimes of coercion but also show connections between them. It is through these kinds of unifying studies that we can show the specificities of coerced mobilities and regimes of coercion within different

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 147

Asian historical contexts, as well as discussing how such mobilities and regimes fit into discussions of the global developments of the same.

All authors conclude their chapters with a general reflection, tying the findings of the local thick descriptions to the general themes of the book. These reflections highlight not only the great differences we need to acknowledge between different regimes in different regions and times, but also the many similarities, such as the role intermarriage has played to conserve a labour force, the importance ascribed to caste and kinship ties, and the way that interregional connections have underpinned and changed human trafficking.

It is in deliberate comparisons like the ones presented in this book, breaking through perceived natural historical divisions of space and time – such as the early nineteenth-century abolition movement – that scholars have the opportunity to overcome the fragmented historiographies of early modern Asian history. As Chevaleyre points out in his chapter, one of the challenges in integrating examples from Asia into a global discussion of slavery is that the field has been driven forward as much by researchers within area studies as within history, making the conversation more based on regional and linguistic fault lines than on historical contingencies. Conversely, there has been a perceived rather than an analysed qualitative difference between coercion in Asia and that in the Atlantic world, one that has led the field of slavery to primarily focus on the latter.

The field studying slavery and coerced labour from global perspectives stands on the shoulders of giants, but has itself only just left the starting blocks. In a promising development, the field now witnesses a quickly increasing number of studies taking seriously Asian regimes of coercion. With this edited volume, we hope to contribute to facilitating and furthering joint discussions, spanning large regions and overcoming traditional analytical divisions of empires, lands or seas, and allowing for a truly global discussion.

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.1. Theoretical Avenues

A Global-Historical Approach

Claude Chevaleyre. “Beyond Maritime Asia. Ideology, Historiography, and Prospects for a Global History of Slaving in Early-Modern Asia,” in *Slavery and Bondage in Asia, 1550–1850: Towards a Global History of Coerced Labour*, ed. Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 31-50.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-003

Claude Chevaleyre

Beyond Maritime Asia. Ideology, Historiography, and Prospects for a Global History of Slaving in Early-Modern Asia

1 A Decade of Significance

Ten years ago, I concluded my first publication with the following statement: 'Time has come to reintegrate the Chinese experience in the world history of bondage.'[1] One decade later, significant progress has been made in the fields of slavery and forms of coerced labour in early-modern Asia. An active network of (global) historians exploring the dynamics of slavery and slave trading across the Indian Ocean World and Eurasia has emerged. Milestone monographs have been added to the short list of studies published since the 1980s[2] – like Richard Allen's *European Slave Trading in Asia*, Tatiana Seijas' *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, Jeff Eden's *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia*, and Lúcio de Sousa's *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan*, to name only a few.[3] In addition, collaborative research projects designed to further bridge the gaps in the history of slavery and coerced labour in early-modern Asia have been set in motion;[4] conferences and workshops have been organized worldwide; and several edited volumes and special issues have been published or are in preparation.[5] Noteworthy enough, early-modern Asia and the Indian

1 Claude Chevaleyre, "Acting as Master and Bondservant: Considerations on Status, Identities and the Nature of 'Bond-servitude' in Late Ming China," in *Labour, Coercion, and Economic Growth in Eurasia, 17th–20th Centuries*, ed. Alessandro Stanziani (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 272.

2 James L. Watson, ed., *Asian and African Systems of Slavery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980); Anthony Reid, ed., *Slavery, Bondage, and Dependency in Southeast Asia* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1983); Georges Condominas, ed., *Formes extrêmes de dépendance. Contributions à l'étude de l'esclavage en Asie du Sud-Est* (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1998); Gwyn Campbell, ed., *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London: Frank Cass, 2006).

3 Richard B. Allen, *European Slave Trading in Asia, 1500–1850* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014); Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Jeff Eden, *Slavery and Empire in Central Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Lúcio de Sousa, *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan: Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Slaves* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

4 E.g., "Exploring Slave Trade in Asia" (Amsterdam: International Institute of Social History), https://iisg.amsterdam/en/research/projects/slave-trade-asia. Samantha Sint Nicolaas, Matthias van Rossum, and Ulbe Bosma, "Towards an Indian Ocean and Maritime Asia Slave Trade Database: An Exploration of Concepts, Lessons and Models," *Esclavages et Post-Esclavages* 3 (2020), https://doi.org/10.4000/slaveries.2192.

5 Gwyn Campbell, ed., *Bondage and the Environment in the Indian Ocean World* (Cham: Palgrave McMillan, 2018); Alicia Schrikker and Nira Wickramasinghe, eds., *Being a Slave: Histories and Legacies*

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-003

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 150

Ocean World have made their way into historical handbooks of world slavery (like the *Cambridge World History of Slavery* and the recently-published *Les mondes de l'esclavage*),[6] while East Asian studies seem to progressively acknowledge the necessity to engage with the questions raised by this emerging trend.[7]

Over the past decade, historians have thus shone new light on the ubiquity of slavery across the Indian Ocean World and Asia, and on its transcontinental connections; they have started to map and to quantify trades in enslaved people that may well have been numerically as important as the transatlantic slave trade;[8] they have underlined the role of individual and private actors, in addition to states and companies; and they have singled out the multidirectionality of slave trading networks, as well as the complex articulations between the diverse regimes of coercion that these networks connected. By 'provincializing Europe'[9] and the Atlantic, they also have significantly contributed to questioning the centrality of modern Europe (its experience and categories) as a universal reference for analysing slavery and coerced labour in a global perspective.

In light of the progress recently achieved, questions arise as to the directions that historians should take to further develop research on slavery and other forms of coercion in early-modern Asia. From my perspective as a historian of early-modern China (by training) with one foot in global slavery and labour history (by chance), the principal challenge will be the capacity to broaden the perspective beyond the spatialities and the temporalities shaped by the European presence. To obtain a truly global overview of the history of slavery and coerced labour in early-modern Asia requires that historians also investigate these dynamics in Asia before, beyond, and alongside the European presence. What is at stake is our ability to understand

---

of European Slavery in the Indian Ocean (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020); Titas Chakraborty and Matthias van Rossum, "Slave Trade and Slavery in Asia. New Perspectives," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 1 (2020): 1–14.

6 Volumes 3 and 4 of the *Cambridge World History of Slavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 and 2017), for instance, include chapters on early-modern and modern Indian Ocean World, India, China, East and South-East Asia. Paulin Ismard, Benedetta Rossi, and Cécile Vidal, eds., *Les mondes de l'esclavage. Une histoire comparée* (Paris: Seuil, 2021). See also Gwyn Campbell and Alessandro Stanziani, eds., *The Palgrave Handbook of Bondage and Human Rights in Africa and Asia* (Cham: Palgrave McMillan, 2019).

7 Johanna Ransmeier's *Sold People: Traffickers and Family Life in North China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017) is one of the rare publications engaging with the issue of slavery in modern China to have been published in the past years. More recently, the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* endeavored to dedicate a special issue to the topic of slavery in Asia (vol. 81, forthcoming 2022).

8 Matthias van Rossum, "Towards a Global Perspective on Early Modern Slave Trade: Prices of the Enslaved in the Indian Ocean, Indonesian Archipelago and Atlantic worlds," *Journal of Global History* 17, no. 1 (2021): 1–27, https://doi.org/10.1017/S1740022821000139.

9 Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference. New Edition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 151

not only the complexity of the networks of human trafficking and the multiplicity of coercion regimes that pre-existed and continued to exist alongside European networks, markets, and sites of coercion, but also the ways in which pre-existing and more distant regimes of coercion actually connected to, interacted with, were influenced by, and in return influenced European-driven dynamics. What is at stake, ultimately, is the chance of truly 'decentering' Europe by operating a further translation movement (in the Latin sense of *translatio*): to look at European history from an Asian perspective (and thereby contribute to properly recontextualize Europe and 'unthink' the universal categories inherited from its modern history).[10]

At an individual level, such a project may be utopian at best. At a collective level, however, it can serve as a guideline and an incentive to increase our engagement with other historiographies and with historians investigating 'non-European' slaving contexts – in particular through translations, closer collaborations, and sustained dialogue. Doing so also requires us to investigate the reasons for the relative absence of 'non-European' Asian contexts in the current trend of research about slavery in Asia. Why are Chinese regional and local contexts, for instance, so absent from the narrative, despite the salient presence of Chinese actors all across maritime Asia – not only as enslaved and coerced workers, but also as entrepreneurs, as slave-owners, and as middlemen and facilitators?[11]

2 Ideology and Slavery in Early-Modern East Asian Historiography

The lack of 'local' sources only partly explains this situation. In some contexts, slavery and other forms of coercion are mainly documented by the massive paper trails produced by European companies, courts, and individual actors in the process of acquiring, exchanging, transporting, and using enslaved people. Yet, despite the many losses in primary documentation (due to destruction and the passage of time), historical archives from early-modern China still abound. One difference with European archives, though, is that data on enslavement remains scattered and fragmentary. The illicit nature of the commercial trade in human beings (which must be distinguished from the legitimate transactions which were at the core of the reproductive strategies of the Chinese family, like marriage and adoption) makes the identification of relevant information highly contingent on cases surfacing unpredictably in judicial archives

10 Christian G. de Vito, Juliane Schiel, and Matthias van Rossum, "From Bondage to Precariousness? New Perspectives on Labor and Social History," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 2 (2020): 644–62, https://doi.org/10.1093/jsh/shz057.

11 E.g., Adam Clulow and Fei Si-yen, "The Slaves of Widow Tsieko: Chinese Slave Owners and the Enslaved in the Dutch Empire," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 81 (forthcoming 2022).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 152

and other sources. Despite such differences and limitations, preliminary research demonstrates that reconstructing networks of human trafficking in early-modern China is possible, and that among the most far-reaching of these networks some were probably more directly connected to European slave-trading activities than is usually acknowledged.[12]

Another factor explaining the relative absence of 'non-European' contexts in the emerging trend of research about slavery in early-modern Asia might be sought in what Moses Finley called 'ideology'.[13] The recent eastward expansion of slavery studies has undoubtedly been made possible by an increased availability of European archives, in particular in digitized form. It is also an outcome of the flourishing field of global history, of which slavery and labour studies have been two major driving forces. But it is also undeniably a response and a contribution to current societal and political debates on the legacies of early-modern European expansionism.[14] From this perspective, it is hardly surprising that the history of European slavery in (maritime) Asia has received little attention in societies less dramatically and less directly affected by European colonialism and slave trading (all things being relative). One cannot be surprised, for instance, that the topic is nowadays of lesser concern to Chinese historians and to the Chinese public than, for instance, the exactions committed on Chinese soil in the first half of the twentieth century by Japan's military expansionism (which included the forced mobilization of workers, prisoners of war, and women for sexual exploitation). This, however, does not explain why research on early-modern 'local' forms of slavery and coercion remains so unprolific. One wonders, for example, why no large-scale comparative study of slavery accross early-modern East Asia has been published so far – despite the crucial conceptual role that categories like 'slaves' (奴婢: read *nubi* in Chinese transliteration, *nuhi* in Japanese, and *nobi* in Korean) and 'debased people' (賤民: *jianmin*, *senmin*, *cheonmin*) played at different times and levels in the organization, the justification, and the perpetuation of the social hierarchies that allowed the slavery-like exploitation of individuals and communities in China, Japan, and Korea.

Ideological factors continue to play a significant role in overshadowing research about slavery in early-modern East Asia. Joy Kim perceptively demonstrated that Japanese ideologues manipulated references to slavery in the Chosŏn period (1392–1910) to legitimize the colonization of Korea, and that this manipulation contributed to the long 'silencing' of a historical phenomenon of major social and

12 Claude Chevaleyre, "Human Trafficking in Late Imperial China," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden: Brill, 2021): 150–77.

13 Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980): chap. 1.

14 For instance, the acknowledgment that slavery in the Dutch colonial period (including Asia) 'is an integral part of the history of the Netherlands' was at the core of the 'Slavery' exhibition organized by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam in 2021: https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/whats-on/exhibitions/slavery (accessed 2 June 2021).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 153

economic significance.[15] Contemporary China has a different 'problem with slavery', to borrow a catchphrase recently used by Michael Zeuske (and before him by Eduard Erkes).[16] Simply put, the debate about the importance of slavery in Chinese history was locked in the 1950s with the adoption of the Stalinist five-stage model of development as the historiographical doxa of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The 'slavery theory' spearheaded by historian and politician Guo Moruo (1892–1978)[17] made 'slavery' a necessary stage in China's linear development path toward modernity and socialism, and thereby an exclusive feature of pre-imperial times, as illustrated in the introduction to a general *History of Slavery* published in 1973:

> The slave-owning system is the first social mode of production established on class antagonisms. [It] developed into the feudal serfdom system, and the feudal serfdom system developed into the capitalist wage-labour system, which are the three successive forms of exploitation in the development path of class societies. [. . .] History is entirely a history of class struggles, and the slave society is the starting point of the history of class struggles. [. . .] The slave society is a necessary stage in the development of human societies. [. . .] The idea [. . .] that there was no slave society in China, is an anti-Leninist and anti-Maoist thought.[18]

Intrinsically tied to a 'mode of production', a 'stage', or a 'system', slavery could be of no significance in an imperial period characterized by 'feudal' relations. At best, one could recognize 'remnants of slavery' (*nulizhi canyu* 奴隸制殘餘) in early-modern China, but relations of 'exploitation' (*boxue* 剝削), 'class contradictions' (*jieji maodun* 階級矛盾), 'class struggles' (*jieji douzheng* 階級鬥爭), and 'peasant movements' (*nongmin zhanzheng* 農民戰爭) – which historians studied extensively in the second half of the twentieth century[19] – were perceived as being in essence of a feudal nature. As a consequence, and despite ongoing debates about the nature of Chinese feudalism,[20] there was and still is no place for 'slavery' in early-modern China, either as a social reality or as an abstraction.

---

15 Joy Sunghee Kim, "Representing Slavery: Class and Status in Late Chosŏn Korea" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2004): 38–60.

16 Eduard Erkes, *Das Problem der Sklaverei in China* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1952); Michael Zeuske, "Versklavte und Sklavereien in der Geschichte Chinas aus global-historischer Sicht. Perspektiven und Probleme," *Dhau. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte* 2 (2017): 25.

17 Guo Moruo, *Nulizhi shidai* (Shanghai: Xinwenyi Chubanshe, 1952).

18 Shi Xing, *Nuli shehui* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1973): ii. The 'slavery theory' has been contested since the late 1970s, in particular by the 'no-slave' (*wunu*) historiographical school. See Huang Xianfan, *Zhongguo lishi meiyou nuli shehui* (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 1981).

19 E.g., Gu Cheng, *Mingmo nongmin zhanzheng shi* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1984).

20 Cf. Feng Tianyu, *Fengjian kaolun* (Wuhan: Wuhan Daxue chubanshe, 2006).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 154

3 The 'Problem' with Slavery

To be clear, I am not arguing in favour of recklessly transposing the master narrative of slavery 'as an institution' onto every historical context where extreme forms of human subjugation can be observed. On the contrary, I would be more inclined to follow Joseph Miller's exhortation to radically 'historicize' slavery and to pay greater attention to the contextualized dynamics of 'slaving' as a process, rather than to infinitely expand the scope and meaning of slavery as an abstract category (even for the purpose of broader global comparison).[21] As a historian of bondage and servitude in early-modern China, I know only too well the inevitable distortions that the stereotypes conveyed by the invocation of 'slavery' introduce in contexts where it was not previously recognized (like early-modern China), whatever the degree of contextualization. I am also familiar with the utterly undesirable effects that avoiding such a central and paradigmatic analytical framework produces (among which are the risks of perpetuating unintelligibility, cultural relativism, and the marginalization of those same contexts within the field of global slavery studies). In this regard, my own attitude has often shifted from one position to the other, without finding satisfaction in any, but with a growing sense that the categories that we have learned to consider universal are historical constructs rooted in the recent past of the world-dominating West.

Nevertheless, in the case of early-modern China, the ideologically driven and unquestioned rejection of 'slavery' has led to a somewhat schizophrenic position. Despite their insistent reluctance to translate the above-mentioned *nubi* category as 'slaves', many historians still implicitly define *nubi* in reference to archetypal 'slaves', that is as saleable persons subjected to extreme social and legal discrimination, over whom masters exercised rights tantamount to 'property' for the sole purpose of their exploitation. Besides being the main cause for the relative absence of China from global narratives, this a priori rejection of the interpretative framework of 'slavery' has not only obliterated its heuristic value as a potentially fertile ground for critical debate and comparison. It has also hampered research on phenomena usually considered to be features of slavery.

To take one example, in the introduction to his comparative study of ancient 'slave societies' across the world (entitled 'The slave-owning system is a necessity in the historical development of human societies'), the influential ethnologist and historian Hu Qingjun asserted that the fundamental difference between a slave and a feudal society is that the former mobilizes labour through the 'abduction of people', while the latter

21 Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2012): chap. 1, esp. 4–10.

'usually does not resort to the abduction and the selling of people'.[22] As anachronistic 'remnants of the slave system', the abduction, trading, and trafficking of human beings in early-modern China have been deemed historically insignificant and have received only limited attention. Approaching *nubi* bondage through the prism of slavery – as distorting as it can be – would nonetheless have led historians to inquire about the existence of human trafficking, about its specific meaning in the imperial context, and about its possible connections with the wider Eurasian and Indian Ocean World slaving web.

The progressive opening and liberalization of the PRC since the 1980s has undoubtedly led to a relative toning down of the Marxian-inspired doxa in historical research which, combined with the increased availability of central and local archives, has permitted a revival of research on bondage in early-modern China (both in China and abroad). Numerous studies on local forms of bondage in Huizhou prefecture (Anhui province) have been published since the 1980s, thanks to the exceptional preservation of hundreds of thousands of 'Huizhou documents'.[23] Bonded women in the early-modern period (concubines and maidservants in particular) have been the topic of important and innovative studies.[24] Human trafficking has also been explored, in more retrospective ways, by legal historians attempting to trace the evolution of the legal framework of the struggle against trafficking since the Chinese abolition of slavery in 1910.[25] Despite such progress, the weight of the feudal paradigm still seems to prevail in Chinese early-modern historical studies. Historians have not yet begun to address issues such as the dynamics of trafficking, let alone its global entanglements. Interest in social relations of exploitation and coerced labour also seems to have weakened in recent years, especially compared to the times when economic and social historians fully engaged with the (Marxian) study of class struggles as an historical driving force.

---

22 Hu Qingjun and Zhou Yongyi, "Nuli zhanyouzhi shi renlei shehui lishi fazhan de biran," in *Zaoqi nuli shehui bijiao yanjiu*, ed. Hu Qingjun (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1996): 4.

23 Harriet T. Zurndorfer, *Change and Continuity in Chinese Local History. The Development of Huichou Prefecture 800 to 1800* (Leiden: Brill, 1989); Joseph P. McDermott, *The Making of a New Rural Order in South China*, vol. 2, *Merchants, Markets, and Lineages, 1500–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). On the 'Huizhou documents', see Li Bian "One Thousand Years of Historical Relics: The Huizhou Documents," *Journal of Modern Chinese History* 10, no. 2 (2016): 248–68.

24 Wang Xueping, *16–18 shiji binü shengcun zhuangtai yanjiu* (Harbin: Heilongjiang daxue chubanshe, 2008); Li Qingrui, *Qianlong nianjian Sichuan guaimai furen anjian de shehui fenxi* (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2011); Bao-hua Hsieh, *Concubinage and Servitude in Late Imperial China* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014); Matthew H. Sommer, *Polyandry and Wife-Selling in Qing Dynasty China: Survival Strategies and Judicial Interventions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015); Wang Xueping, *Mingdai binü qunti yanjiu* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2019).

25 Liu Xianquan, *Daji guaimai renkou fanzui de falü duice* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003); Bonny Ling, "Human Trafficking and China: Past and Present" (PhD diss., National University of Ireland, Galway, 2014).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 156

This being said, if the next step is to move beyond Europe in the study of slavery in early-modern Asia, it is necessary to carefully evaluate the recent contributions of Chinese scholarship in this domain. Since the accession of Xi Jinping to the highest office of General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 2012, the PRC has entered a 'New Era' marked by new ideological paradigms emphasizing the 'great rejuvenation of Chinese culture' and the prevalence of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'. Chinese historians have unambiguously been called on to take part in the project of society designed and steered by the Party.[26] The question is thus whether the new ideological context is likely to boost or to impede research on slavery in early-modern China.

4 Slavery and Coercion in Recent Chinese Historiography (2011–2020)

To help answer this question, I attempted to evaluate the level of engagement of recent Chinese-language scholarship with the fields of slavery and coerced labour in China, Asia, and the Indian Ocean World by surveying articles published in PRC history journals between 2011 and 2020.[27] Although Chinese historians are in a crucial position to help fill important data gaps, their research seldom appears in international publications on global slavery. It is therefore important to try and understand whether this was the result of a lack of mutual communication or of diverging interests.

This extensive keyword-based survey revealed a very rich and lively scholarship. As a community, Chinese historians regularly engage with current historiographical debates and frequently report on leading publications in world and global history (mainly from the English-speaking academic world). Their research often resonates with societal and political concerns,[28] and shows a flourishing interest for world and global history (almost thirteen percent of the surveyed articles were attached to keywords relating to 'global', 'world', and 'transnational' history).

---

26 Xi Jinping, "Xi Jinping zhi Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan Zhongguo lishi yanjiuyuan chengli de hexin," *Lishi yanjiu* 1 (2019): 2.

27 This survey was based on a keyword search of the content of Chinese-language history journals published between 1 January 2011 and 31 December 2020 and referenced by the *China National Knowledge Infrastructure* (CNKI, 'most comprehensive gateway of knowledge' in the PRC): https://global.cnki.net/index/Support/en/Introduction.html (accessed 6 June 2021). The sample surveyed contained 29,265 articles and the research was conducted by using 171 different keywords. I intend to publish detailed results in a later article.

28 The year 2020 witnessed a surge of publications on pandemics and medicine history. Articles on the First World War (especially on the role of Chinese workers in the conflict) abound in a decade marked by centenary commemorations, as do articles on the history of anti-poverty policies (the eradication of poverty by 2020 being a major commitment of the CCP in the past decade).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 157

However, according to this survey their interests seem to lie elsewhere than in slavery and coerced labour in early-modern Asia.

From the handful of articles published in the past decade on the 'East India companies', for instance, one would hardly learn anything about the early-modern trade in Asian slaves. Instead, Chinese historians working on European companies are much more concerned with the first economic globalization, European colonialism, and the early-modern trade in global commodities (opium, sugar, coffee, salt, spices, cotton, silk, and most importantly tea). Their production is particularly committed to 'decentring' Europe and putting China back at the centre of world history, both as a major actor of global trade and as a dominant vector of cultural influence across Eurasia and the Indian Ocean World long before the modern period (thanks to the maritime and continental 'silk roads').[29]

One salient result of this survey was that even to Chinese scholarship, labour history is still predominantly a history of modern and contemporary Europe (three quarters of the surveyed articles on 'labour' dealt with the period between the nineteenth and the twenty-first centuries; one half was about labour in European history – versus 20 percent about Chinese history). Once narrowed down to publications on the pre-twentieth century era, the 'labour' sample hardly revealed any renewed interest in the study of forms of coerced labour in early-modern China and in continental and maritime Asia more widely. With very few exceptions (like an article exploring the transformations of the forced labour market throughout the Pacific between 1863 and 1911 and several papers dealing with premodern times),[30] most articles touched upon labour only in relation to incomes and GDP reconstructions, or endeavoured to compare China's long development path with various countries (like England, Japan, and Holland).

Despite the use of numerous keywords, the survey proved surprisingly unsuccessful to unearth even a small body of literature on slavery and coerced labour in early-modern China and Asia. 'Debt', for instance, returned no result at all. Other keywords related to 'coercion', 'dependency', and more specific categories of bonded workers returned very few relevant results – among which were articles on the Dutch *cultuurstelsel* (forced cultivation system) in nineteenth-century Indonesia,[31] on 'tenants' and 'serfs' in 'Ancient' China (often in a comparative perspective),[32] on enslavement in the

29 As an example, see Zhu Lixia, "Haishang sichou zhi lu yu Zhonghua wenming zaoqi chuanbo," *Remin luntan* 11 (2020): 142–44.

30 Wang Hua, "Nan Taipingyang daomin qiangzhi laogong maoyi de fazhan, tedian he yingxiang," *Shijie lishi* 3 (2018): 72–84.

31 Li Cong, "Helan zai Yinni qiangpo zhongzhi dui Huaren de yingxiang," *Xiandai jiaoji* 12 (2017): 163–64; Ban Xiang, "Heshu Dong Yindu Gongsi," *Sixiang zhanxian* 37, no. 1 (2011): 17–20.

32 E.g., Yu Jianing, "Qianxi Zhong-Xi fengjian shehui zhong diannong yu nongnu de tongyi," *Wenhua xuekan* 2 (2019): 236–38.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 158

Korean Koguryŏ period (37 BCE–668 CE),[33] and on the transformations of labour regimes in the *tusi* system (the 'native chieftaincies' used as proxies of indirect rule on China's borders) in the Qing period (1644–1911).[34] 'Slaves' and 'slavery' did return a more substantial number of articles, albeit unsurprisingly focused in their great majority on the transatlantic slave trade and on slavery in the New World and in the Mediterranean world. The topic of slavery in Asian history represented almost ten percent of the 'slavery' sample. However, it showed an overemphasis on the premodern period (mostly on pre-imperial and medieval China, but also on premodern Japan and Korea, 'feudal' Vietnam, and the central Asian slave trade in the second half of the first millennium CE).

More surprising was the fact that idioms and categories of common use in early-modern China returned very few results. Usual expressions for 'self-sales', such as 'enslavement contract', 'commendation', 'pawning', and 'trafficking' returned no result at all; neither did the commonplace dyads 'honourable-mean' and 'master-slave'. Interestingly enough, the term 'mean people' brought forth only one article on *yamen* servants in Qing China,[35] but pointed to several articles on *burakumin* in late-nineteenth and twentieth-century Japan, on the *yangban* (ruling) elite in Chosŏn Korea, on 'slaves' (*nuhi*) and 'household people' (*iejin*) in Heian Japan (794–1185), and on castes in India.

Browsing through the relatively small number of articles published on *nubi* led to similarly mixed results. Besides several articles using the term to speak of bondspeople in ancient Rome, Greece, and medieval Europe, I found six articles on its early-modern Korean equivalent (*nobi*), three on premodern Japanese *nuhi*, and one devoted to demonstrating how slavery developed within the Vietnamese 'feudal' society.[36] As for China, the term was foregrounded in eight articles on premodern history (from early Antiquity to the Song period), but only once in the early-modern context – in a study on the persistence of human sacrifices up to the late imperial period.[37] This manifest interest for the history of slavery in Korean and Japanese (and Vietnamese) history is a welcome development that could pave the way for comparative studies across Eastern Asia. The apparent decline of interest for this category in early-modern China, on the other hand, sounds like a significant step away from a formerly vivid research field.

The results of this brief exploration of recent Chinese-language scholarship demonstrated that, overall, coercion and coerced mobilities still hold an important

33 Liu Ju and Dong Jian, "Gaogouli youren yanjiu," *Shehui kexue zhanxian* 12 (2017): 126–33.

34 Gong Yin, "Guanyu Zhongguo tusi zhidu yuanyuan fazhan yanjiu de shige wenti," *Qinghai minzu yanjiu* 24, no. 1 (2013): 111–18.

35 Xie Jianping, "Gudai bukuai. Yiren congye, sandai buxu canjia keju," *Wenshi tiandi* 5 (2013): 93.

36 Yu Junjun and He Anshun, "Yuenan zaoqi de shehui xingzhi he tedian yanjiu," *Sixiang zhanxian* 39, no. 2 (2013): 203–5.

37 Li Ling, "Zhongguo gudai de renxunzhi," *Shuwu* 7 (2012): 9–16.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 159

place in it, especially for the modern period (where women, captives, and indentured workers appear constantly on the move on a Eurasian and global scale). As for the early-modern period, coercion is still a significant issue but one that remains subsumed in a paradigm that addresses it more in terms of regimes of immobilization and oppression of a peasant workforce tied to the land than in terms of forced mobilities and slavery-like exploitation. Pre-mid-nineteenth-century mobilities of enslaved people and captives within China and across continental and maritime Asia hardly ever surface in the surveyed corpus. Does this mean that there is no trafficking to look for in early-modern China? that there was no market for captives and trafficked people? and that transnational slaving networks stopped at the borders of China? In the next section, we shall see that early-modern Chinese sources point to the contrary.

5 A Case of Harbouring Traffickers and Runaways

In his *Peregrinations to the North*, Zhejiang historian Tan Qian (1593–1657) briefly describes the 'market of human beings' (*renshi* 人市) in Beijing as a place where buyers and sellers openly carried out transactions in people.[38] Tan Qian provides little detail about the ways in which people were brought to the market, their origins, and the transactions held in Beijing in the first years of the Sino-Manchu dynasty. One court record held in the No. 1 Historical Archives of China can help flesh out his depiction.[39] Entitled 'Memoir on a case of harbouring traffickers and runaways', this 5,881-character long document not only gives detailed information about one particular trafficking network. It also provides insights into the dynamics of trafficking in Northern China, possible wider entanglements, and the ways in which the introduction of Manchu slavery created opportunities for traffickers.

Drafted on 25 September 1656 by Udari (Ch. Wudali 吳達禮), Manchu Vice-President of the Office of Arrests (the *dubu yamen* 督部衙門, subordinate to the Board of War), the memoir contains more than 30 statements of cross-examinations held successively by the Beijing Southern Police Patrol (*nannying* 南營) and by the Office of Arrests.[40] At the centre of the case was a man by the name of Pi Si 皮四, accused with several others of harbouring two fugitive bannerwomen (named Er Jie 二姐 and Da Jie 大姐) and of abducting one man (named Yu Er 於二). Despite the

38 Tan Qian, *Beiyou lu* [ca. 1660] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju, 2006): 386.

39 "Wudali ti yinni guaifan taoren shi ben," in *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, ed. Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984): vol. 10, 107–15.

40 On the Office of Arrests and early-Qing regulations on runaways, see Hu Xiangyu, "The Juridical System of the Qing Dynasty in Beijing (1644–1900)" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2011): chap. 6.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 160

contradictions they contain, these statements allow us to reconstruct the ways in which Pi Si's trafficking network operated.

6 Running Away from the Banners in Early-Qing Beijing

In the beginning, the case had nothing to do with trafficking, but with the escape of a woman (Da Jie) from the Beijing Banner garrison – an issue that Manchu authorities took very seriously and against which harsh regulations had been promulgated in 1654.[41] According to the statements, Da Jie – the 'household slave' (*jiaren* 家人) of a bannerman widow[42] – had run away from the Beijing garrison in August 1654. Arriving in Tongzhou, a few miles east of Beijing, she met the shop owner Pi Si, who 'took her with him' (*daihuo* 帶伙) and soon became her lover. One month later, Da Jie was recognized on the streets of Tongzhou by the corporal (Man. *bošokū*, Ch. *boshiku* 撥什庫, also known as *lingcui* 領崔) of her mistress' company (Man. *niru*, Ch. *niulu* 牛錄). As a fugitive slave, Da Jie was arrested, brought to the Office of Arrests, eventually granted a pardon ('I was not beaten', she said), and sent back to her mistress in Beijing. 'Unwilling' to abandon her, Pi Si sold his business a few months later and moved to the capital to commend himself (*tou* 投) to Da Jie's mistress (at the request of the mistress, according to Pi Si's statement) – as many non-banner commoners seeking protection or opportunities did in the first decades of the Qing dynasty despite repeated prohibitions. After discovering that he was of 'commoner' status, Pi Si was expelled from the household. What happened next is not wholly clear, due to contradictory statements.

In his statements, Pi Si claims that he had bought Da Jie in 1655 from her mistress' 'little uncle' (presumably a brother of the mistress' deceased husband and rightful heir to her late husband's property) at the price of 24 taels. In order to do so, he claimed, Pi Si borrowed money and used one of his associates (Jin Chengyuan 金成元) as a middleman. Since leaving the banner system was prohibited, a member of the Bordered Yellow Banner named Li Fengchun 李逢春 was also used as a figurehead:

---

41 Xiangyu Hu, "The Juridical System of the Qing Dynasty in Beijing (1644–1900)": 218–25. The Eight banners were the backbone of the Manchu social and military organization (which was also composed of Han Chinese, Mongols, and Koreans). A large number of bannermen were stationed in the 'inner city', also known as the 'Tartar city'. See Mark C. Elliot, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

42 In the context of the Eight banners, the term *jiaren* (lit. 'household person') is a polysemic one. It can refer to members of a household in general and to enslaved people in particular – also named 'banner slaves' (*qixia nupu* 旗下奴僕). See Guo Runtao, "Qingdai de jiaren," *Ming–Qing luncong* 1 (1999): 376–95.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 161

His name was recorded on the Banner registers as the rightful purchaser of Da Jie. After the widow remarried (on 22 February 1656), her new husband asked Pi Si to commend himself to him. Upon refusing, Pi was punched, insulted, and sent away.

The widow, however, had a very different version of the events (which was later confirmed). On the verge of being sent away to her birth family by her late husband's relatives, she had entrusted Jin Chengyuan with 24 taels to purchase Da Jie from her 'little uncle'. Once she had remarried, Pi Si visited Da Jie and her mistress with the intention of commending himself to the widow's new husband. The new husband refused and sent Pi Si away, on the grounds that he was not a member of the Banners. Eventually, Da Jie ran away on 16 June 1656 to join Pi Si. The couple then hid in a vagrants' house (*qiliusuo* 棲流所) near Dongbian Gate (east of Beijing), where Pi Si's younger brother Pi Er 皮二 had taken residence with another fugitive bannerwoman named Er Jie. There, the Pi brothers and their associates carried on with their trafficking business for a little more than ten days until they were arrested.

7 The Business of Human Trafficking

Pi Si's statements provide various details about his activities as a trafficker (*guaifan* 拐販). He apparently started to make a profession of trafficking people (*guaimai renkou* 拐賣人口) after selling his shop. His first victim earned him 18 taels, which he allegedly spent on purchasing Da Jie. From then onward, Pi Si regularly obtained people procured by a network of associates who 'specialized in abducting people everywhere' (*zhuan zai gechu guairen* 傳在各處拐人). His role in the organization was that of a receiver: He paid a fixed price of 4 taels per captive (approx. 150 grams of silver), whom he resold at an average price of 8 taels to Jin Chengyuan. Jin in turn resold the captives at prices varying from 16 to 30 taels. Between early 1655 and early 1656, Pi Si acknowledged the trafficking of a hundred persons whose names he couldn't all remember. For the first six months of 1656, he was nonetheless able to give the particulars of the 'trafficked' persons (*guailai* 拐來). His initial statement records the names and origins of 17 individuals procured by his associates from various locations. Among them, 12 were from Zhili province (i.e., from around Beijing); three from Zhejiang province; and two from Jiangsu. In addition, Pi confessed to having abducted two persons by himself: An 'old mother' from Tongzhou; and the fugitive bannerwoman Er Jie (abducted in the north of Beijing and given to his younger brother as a wife). His associates also reported the abduction of another individual from Yongping (also in Zhili province) and one from Huguang province (Tab. 1).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 162

Tab. 1: List of the 21 persons funnelled into Pi Si's trafficking network in 1656, according to the information recorded in the case.

Victim Name	Origin	Abductor(s)	Outcome
Mrs. Sun 孫	Tongzhou 通州 (Zhili); an old lady (老媽媽, 老婆子)	Pi Si 皮四	Sold to banner carpenter named Li, in fact Li Fengchun
Bao'er 保兒	Huguang province 湖廣; a 'little child' (*xiaozi* 小子)	Pi Er 皮二 (?)	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Chen Si 陳四	Jinhua 金華府 (Zhejiang)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Er Jie二姐	Abducted near Houzai Gate (Beijing); a fugitive enslaved woman, plain yellow banner	Pi Si 皮四	Given to Pi Er as wife
Hu Da 胡大	Kaiping 開平 (Zhili)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Ma Da 馬大	Yangcun 楊村 (Zhejiang)	Liu Si 劉四, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Si'er 'the cripple' 四兒 (瘸子); also Xiao Si'er 小四兒	Leting 樂亭 (Zhili)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan; sold (16 taels) in Guandong 關東
Song Da 宋大	Caiyu 采育 (Zhili)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Song Er 宋二	Kaiping 開平 (Zhili)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Wang Da 王大	Suzhou 薊州 (Jiangsu)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Wang Er 王二	Hexiwu 河西務 (Zhili)	Liu Si 劉四, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Xiao Erdi小二弟	Luanzhou 灤州 (Zhili)	Liu Si 劉四, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Xiao Erzi 小二子	Sanhe 三河縣 (Zhili)	Liu Si 劉四, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Xiao Ma'er 小馬兒	Yanjiao 煙角 (?)	Liu Si 劉四, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Xiao Run'er 小潤兒	Suzhou 薊州 (Jiangsu)	Liu Si 劉四, Liu Huzi 劉胡子, Zhu Er 朱二, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 163

Tab. 1 (continued)

Victim Name	Origin	Abductor(s)	Outcome
Xiao Si'er 小四兒	Sanhe 三河縣 (Zhili)	Liu Si 劉四, Liu Huzi 劉胡子, Zhu Er 朱二, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan
Yu Er 於二	Sanhe 三河縣 (Zhili); abducted in Tongzhou	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan; too old, remained at Jin's service
Zhang Da 'the bald' 張大 (禿子)	Baodi 寶坻 (Zhili)	Liu Si 劉四, Liu Huzi 劉胡子, Zhu Er 朱二, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan; sold (18 taels) to nomads (*sao dazi* 騷達子) 'beyond the passes'
Zhang Er 張二	Yongping 永平府 (Zhili)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Pi Si
Zhang San 張三	Luanzhou 灤州 (Zhili)	Liu Si 劉四, Liu Huzi 劉胡子, Zhu Er 朱二, Ma Er 馬二	Given to Jin Chengyuan; sold (18 or 22 taels) to a bannerman in Beijing
Zhu Da 朱大	Ningbo 寧波府 (Zhejiang)	Lan Yigui 藍一貴	Given to Jin Chengyuan

Most of the victims therefore appear to have been from the wider area of the capital city (as far as Kaiping district, a hundred miles to the east). Six out of 21 were nonetheless described as coming 'from' distant locations, such as 'Chen Si from Jinhua' (*Jinhua ren* 金華人), 800 miles south in Zhejiang province. From the victims' origins (which might simply refer to their places of residence), one can hardly conclude that Pi Si's men travelled long distances to acquire people. Their victims may well have been travellers abducted near Beijing, like Yu Er 'from Sanhe district' (thirty miles east of Beijing), who was seized in Tongzhou (less than ten miles away). We nonetheless observe that the captives from southern provinces were mainly brought by the same traffickers, like Lan Yigui 藍一貴, who alone procured Pi Si with one person from Jiangsu and two from Zhejiang. Although this is not sufficient evidence to conclude that they actually 'abducted people everywhere', two elements suggest that Pi Si and his suppliers were probably links in a far-reaching commodity chain.

First, we know that the victims were not only men (like Yu Er) and women (like Er Jie and an 'old mother' surnamed Sun 孫), but also, and perhaps mostly, children, who might have been easier to control over long distances than adults. At least six of these captives can be identified as children by their nicknames (they are

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 164

called 'Little . . . ', like Xiao Erdi 小二弟). A seventh one (named Bao'er 保兒) is unambiguously identified as 'a little child' (*xiao zi* 小子). The testimonies provided by the traffickers also make it clear that 'older' people were difficult to sell. Yu Er, for instance, is described as 'too old' to be sold: After 'taking him to the market to be sold three or four times' (*daizhi shishang maile san si ci* 帶至市上賣了三四次), Jin Chengyuan was left with no other choice, he said, than to keep him in his own service. From these elements, it can be inferred that there was an important proportion of children among the victims (at least one third). If Pi Si's men did not travel long distances to kidnap children themselves, they probably acquired them from other traffickers.

Secondly, although the victims were often sold locally in or nearby Beijing, the reseller Jin Chengyuan admitted to selling people 'anywhere' (*fanmai qu gechu* 販賣去各處), and he provides two examples. 'Little Four' (Xiao Si'er 小四兒) from Leting (Zhili province) was for instance sold 'to people from Guandong' (*zhuanmai yu Guandongren* 轉賣與關東人) or 'in Guandong' (*mai zai Guandong* 賣在關東), meaning that the child probably ended up somewhere East of Shanhai Pass, in Manchuria. One Zhang Da 'the bald' (*tuzi Zhang Da* 禿子張大) was for his part sold to 'rancid Tatars' (*saodazi* 騷達子, i.e., to nomad Mongols) 'beyond the walls' (*zai qiangwai* 在牆外) or 'beyond the passes' (*zai kouwai* 在口外), which could mean anywhere north of the Great Wall, most likely in Mongolia. Thus, the picture that emerges places Pi Si and his associates at the centre of a regional market in captive men, women, and children, itself embedded in a wider web of coerced mobilities that reached as far as Jiangnan in the South and Mongolia in the North.

Unfortunately, the text says very little about the techniques and the level of violence involved to make the victims submit and accept their fate. All are simply said to have been 'abducted' (*guai* 拐). However, 'abduction' is as much a description of the actions taken to funnel people into trafficking as a legal incrimination.[43] In addition to kidnapping people, Pi Si and his associates resorted to 'decoying', as in the case of the fugitive enslaved bannerwoman Er Jie, whom Pi Si allegedly 'seduced' (*hongguai* 哄拐) away from the capital city before handing her over to his brother as a wife. They also resorted to deceit. The old lady Sun from Tongzhou was apparently sold by her husband willingly because of poverty (at the low price of 2.5 taels). According to her statement, Pi Si talked the husband into selling his wife on the pretence of marrying her himself (which was already illicit despite being a common practice). Yet, as she would later discover, the contract had been forged: Unstamped, it named a person other than her husband as the seller, and it made no mention of marriage. The case of Yu Er also illustrates the uses traffickers made of

43 I have attempted to clarify the distinction between legal transactions in people (marriages, adoptions, and enslavement) and what was regarded as trafficking in early-modern China in another book chapter. See Claude Chevaleyre, "Human Trafficking in Late Imperial China."

debt to trap their victims. En route to the capital, Yu Er fell ill in Tongzhou, where Lan Yigui 'lured' (*hong* 哄) him into accepting money to buy lifesaving medicine and food. Recovered but unable to pay off his debt, Yu Er was brought by Lan Yigui to the capital city and sold to Jin Chengyuan.

Finally, an interesting point can be made as to how their organization operated. Pi Si had become Jin Chengyuan's sworn brother and partner in early 1655. As a 'person of the household' (*jiaren*) of a banner officer (also named Jin), Chengyuan was an essential component in their lucrative business. Besides finding ultimate purchasers, his main function was that of a 'launderer' for their human merchandise. His connections within the banners' administration gave him access to population registers (*dangzi* 檔子), on which the trafficked persons were 'falsely recorded' (*jiachong* 假充) under the names of actual banner officers. The process – which also involved the payment of the relevant taxes to the Sales Tax Office (*shuikesi* 裡稅課司) – made the ownership of illicitly acquired people look genuine (although under the name of a figurehead owner) and their resale lawful. It ultimately allowed Jin Chengyuan to bring them 'to the market' (*shangshi* 上市) – maybe the same market described a few years earlier by Tan Qian – where they were sold legally.

The case of Pi Si and his associates is only one in a growing 'China Human Trafficking and Slaving Historical Database' project.[44] It demonstrates that available sources can be fruitfully mobilized to (partially) reconstruct the dynamics of human trafficking in early-modern China. It also gives an illustration of the wide-ranging, multidirectional, and potentially transnational dynamics of a phenomenon that flourished before the arrival of European traders and that persisted far into the twentieth century by adapting and taking advantage of the evolutions of the socio-normative environment. Association with a member of the Eight banners was clearly a facilitating factor in Beijing in the 1650s. Therefore, this case reminds us that the necessary expansion of the study of 'slavery in early-modern Asia' requires a fine-grained understanding of the various markets and changing contexts connected by slaving networks.

'Human trafficking' in late imperial China should not be conflated with 'slave trading' as we usually comprehend it and as European operators practiced it in the Indian Ocean World at the same period. As it already was to their Ming (1368–1644) predecessors, trafficking was a 'serious violation of the law' (*dagan faji* 大幹法紀) to the new Manchu authorities – who brought their own tradition of enslavement with them – and even more so when practiced in the 'restricted area of the capital city' *(Jingshi jindi* 京師禁地). Yet in a context where enslaveability was regulated by the law and where saleability (especially of women and children) was socially constitutive of the productive and reproductive strategies of 'transactional families',[45]

44 "China Human Trafficking and Slaving Database" (Lyon: Institut d'Asie Orientale, CNRS), https://iao.cnrs.fr/recherche/projets-de-recherche-2/china-human-trafficking-and-slaving-database/.

45 See Johanna Ransmeier, *Sold People*: 2–20.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 166

trafficking took on a particular significance. 'Trafficking' did not encompass all transactions in human beings, nor was it restricted exclusively to transactions in slaves. Trafficking was the narrower, illegal side of a commonplace 'market' in people. It flourished within the interstices of a society that had a constant demand for people for a wide variety of purposes, and where selling people was a crucial part of survival and wealth strategies.

Without increased efforts to (re)contextualize 'slaving', the diverse manifestations of slavery and the variety of coerced labour regimes at the scale of maritime *and* continental Eurasia, no truly global history of slaving in early-modern Asia is likely to emerge. The task is nonetheless daunting. It does not simply require scholars to collect relevant sources and documentation. It also calls on us to reconsider dominant narratives, question current ideologies, and sometimes to think outside the boxes of universal categories and national historiographies. Bearing all of this in mind, early-modern China could be a promising field for the study of 'slaving' dynamics (as defined by Joseph Miller) rather than 'slavery', as the case study presented above suggests. Despite its richness and the diversity of the research questions it addresses, recent Chinese historiography, as a whole, does not seem to be on the brink of taking on the challenges raised by the growing field of research about slavery in early-modern Asia. As a last example, as of 14 July 2021, the *China National Knowledge Infrastructure* referenced no review of Joseph Miller's *Slavery as History* in any Chinese history journal and only referenced one review for Johanna Ransmeier's *Sold People* (written in English by Japanese scholar Kishimoto Mio).[46] There are even good reasons to assume that exploring the wider continental entanglements of maritime slavery does not fit with the narratives that Chinese historians are increasingly called on to support in order to sustain the development of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics'.[47] This should nonetheless be taken as an incentive for historians of slavery in Asia to increase their engagement with (East-)Asian historiographies and historians. The time has come to bring Asian history fully into a dialogue with the world history of slavery.

46 Kishimoto Mio 岸本美緒, "Review: Sold People: Traffickers and Family Life in North China, by Johanna S. Ransmeier," *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 67 (2018): 307–15.

47 See the discourse pronounced in January 2019 by Xi Jinping to celebrate the foundation of the Institute of History of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: Xi Jinping, "Xi Jinping zhi Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan."

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Introduction

Due to the wide range of the BCDSS' expertise, the center is ideally suited for engaging in a transcultural and diachronic comparison and for finding answers to the questions associated with the social and cultural constellations outlined above.

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Ancient China

Susanne Adamski. “Indefinite Terms? Social Groups in Early Ancient China (ca. 1300–771 BC) and ‘Strong Asymmetrical Dependency’,” in *Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependencies: Semantics and Lexical Fields*, eds. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022): 283-331.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-002

Susanne Adamski

Indefinite Terms? Social Groups in Early Ancient China (ca. 1300–771 BC) and "Strong Asymmetrical Dependency"

In this paper,[1] I am going to explore the question whether social relations of "strong asymmetrical dependency" can be identified during the earliest historical periods of ancient China: the late Shāng 商 (ca. 1300–ca. 1045 BC) and Western Zhōu 西周 (ca. 1045–771 BC). Although many cultural, social, paleographic, and linguistic features of later "China" originate in them, and important social and political processes beginning under the Western Zhōu eventually led to the formation of the Chinese empire in 221 BC, society in these periods differs to some extent from that of later periods. I will therefore look for examples of "strong asymmetrical dependency" in epigraphic sources, paying particular attention to designations of social groups. This entails, in a first step, a re-evaluation of previous scholarship regarding the presumed existence of "slaves" in early Chinese antiquity, because ancient China often has been regarded as a so-called "slave society" in certain historical stages, thus problematizing the usage of later social terminology for far earlier social phenomena.[2] In a second step, I am going to look at possible cases of "strong asymmetrical dependency" in ancient inscribed texts: How can they be identified? And finally, I shall consider alternative

1 I am very grateful to Maxim Korolkov for valuable comments on this paper that helped to improve it, and to Chai Jianhong, John Gillingham, Matthias Richter, Anne Sapich, Christian Schwermann, and Alain Thote for their helpfulness; I also express my thanks to Zhonghua Book Company for permission to reproduce inscription rubbings. An earlier and narrower version of this paper was presented under the title "On the Problem of Identifying 'Slavery' in Early Bronze Age China (ca. 1300–771 BC)" at the international workshop "Cumulative Chinese Culture and the Study of Early China," July 6–7, 2019, at the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München. I would like to thank all the participants of that workshop for a stimulating discussion and helpful comments, and Armin Selbitschka and Yitzchak Jaffe for their kind invitation. My further thanks go to the editors of this volume for inviting me to the workshop "Semantics and Lexical Fields of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependency" at the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS), and to the workshop's participants for their fruitful remarks. Any shortcomings are my own.

2 In doing so, this paper follows the methods of conceptual history in a wider sense. This seems justified by the words of Reinhart Koselleck, who underscores the intimate link between conceptual and social history: "[W]elche Geschichte gäbe es, die nicht als solche begriffen werden müßte, bevor sie zur Geschichte gerinnt? Die Begriffe und deren sprachliche Geschichte zu untersuchen gehört so sehr zur Minimalbedingung, um Geschichte zu erkennen, wie deren Definition, es mit menschlicher Gesellschaft zu tun zu haben." Reinhart Koselleck, "Sozialgeschichte und Begriffsgeschichte," in *Begriffsgeschichten: Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politisch-sozialen Sprache*, auth. Reinhart Koselleck, Ulrike Spree, and Willibald Steinmetz (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006): 9.

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-002

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 170

approaches to the study of the relevant epigraphic sources with regard to social relations of dependency.

Indigenous sources, in particular from the late Shāng, are unearthed divination inscriptions on oracle bones or turtle shells, as well as commemorative inscriptions cast in or on bronze vessels, especially from the Western Zhōu.[3] I will look at other finds of manuscripts written on bamboo, wood or silk, with administrative, legal, philosophical, religious or other content from the Eastern Zhōu 東周 (770–221 BC) and early imperial periods (beginning 221 BC), with regard to extant analyses and research. I argue that "strong asymmetrical dependency" cannot be proved within the early Chinese epigraphic record that has been discovered and published so far.

My aim is not criticism, but fruitful discussion.

1 "Slavery" in Scholarship on Early Chinese Epigraphy

1.1 State of Research

Both transmitted and excavated texts of late pre- and early imperial China reveal information on the lowest social strata. For example, some legal statutes from the first imperial dynasty Qín 秦 (221–206 BC) relate to "convicts" and "slaves."[4] However, epigraphic texts of the earlier Shāng and Western Zhōu dynasties (ca. 1300–771 BC) are largely non-descriptive of these social groups. In fact, we need to question the degree to which they are mentioned at all.

During the twentieth century, modern historians influenced by Marxist-Leninist stage theory tried to prove that ancient Chinese society was slave-based.[5] Most

3 Although transmitted textual sources in some instances date back to the Western Zhōu period, such as parts of the classic "Book of Songs" (*Shī jīng* 詩經), a collection of early poetry, or of the collected royal speeches, dialogues and announcements in the "Book of Documents" (*Shū jīng* 書經 or *Shàng shū* 尚書), about half of which are considered forgeries (cf. Edward Shaughnessy, "*Shang shu* 尚書 (*Shu ching* 書經)," in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe [Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993]: 376–89), these works were edited during the far later Hàn 漢 dynasty (206 BC–220 AD). Since changes may have been made to the structure and wording of these texts, their information should not be unthinkingly mixed with that of the indigenous Shāng and Western Zhōu textual sources.

4 See, for instance, Robin D.S. Yates, "Slavery in Early China: A Socio-Cultural Approach," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3, no. 1–2 (2001): 283–331.

5 Adherents to historical materialism as developed by Karl Marx identify an initial stage of "primitive society" also in ancient China, followed by a "slave society," "feudal society," and further stages in social development. Endymion Wilkinson remarks that there is, however, no consensus on the timing of the transitional phases: "[T]he transition to slave society [. . .] varies according to

influential in this respect was Guō Mòruò 郭沫若 (1892–1978), who in his *Study of Ancient Chinese Society* (*Zhōngguó gǔdài shèhuì yánjiū* 中國古代社會研究) from 1930 cited several Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions mentioning people given as a "gift" and people being "sold" or put under the authority of others. Without much further analysis, he concluded that these people were "slaves."[6] In the late Western Zhōu Bù Qí *guǐ* 不其簋 inscription (*Jíchéng* #4328)[7] for instance, *chén* 臣 are given to the official Bù Qí, along with other items, for his merits in battle: "(I) bestow on you a bow, a bundle of arrows, five families of *chén*, (and) ten fields." 賜汝弓一矢束臣五家田十田.[8] Epigraphic terms designating apparently "unfree" people mainly are: *chén* 臣, *pú* 僕, *yù* 馭, *rénlì* 人鬲, *qiè* 妾, *shùrén* 庶人, or *zhòng* 眾, most of which already occur in late Shāng oracle-bone inscriptions. Some of these have also been lexicalized as denoting "slaves." During the past decades, scholars with a focus on Shāng and Western Zhōu social stratification have either confirmed this view, understanding some or all of these terms as referring to "slaves," for instance Yīn Wéirén 殷伟仁 1983 and Yīn Jìmíng 殷寄明 1990;[9] some generally argued for the existence of an ancient slave society (such as Dǒng Lìzhāng 董立章

---

the historian from different periods of the Longshan culture (third millennium BC), the Xia, or the Shang dynasties. The end of slave and the beginning of feudal society [. . .] are variously placed in the Western Zhou, the Spring and Autumn, the Warring States, the Qin unification, the Later Han, or the Wei-Jin periods." Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual. Revised and Enlarged*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 52 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000): 8. For a summary and discussion of different related theories in China since the 1980s, see Guō Shànbīng 郭善兵, "Èrshí shìjì bāshí niándài yǐlái dàlù xuéjiè xiān Qín shèhuì xìngzhì wèntí yánjiū shùpíng 二十世紀八十年代以來大陸學界先秦社會性質問題研究述評," *Zhōngguó shǐ yánjiū* 中國史研究 73 (2011): 283–302.

6 "Zhōu period slaves really were an important kind of property!" 周代的奴隸, 正是一種主要的財產! Guō Mòruò 郭沫若, *Zhōngguó gǔdài shèhuì yánjiū* 中國古代社會研究 (n.p.: n.p., 1930; Reprint, n.p.: Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 人民出版社, 1954): 229.

7 Bronze inscriptions within the text are cited, unless otherwise indicated, with their number in the standard reference work *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 殷周金文集成, abbreviated *Jíchéng* (Shànghǎi 上海: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中华书局, 1984–1994).

8 Example taken from line nine of the inscription. Punctuated transcription from the concordance *Jīnwén yǐndé* 金文引得: *Yīn Shāng Xī Zhōu juàn* 殷商西周卷 (Nánníng 南宁: Guǎngxī Jiàoyù Chūbǎnshè 广西教育出版社, 2001): no. 5054, 326; cf. transcription and rubbing in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén* 殷周金文集成释文, vol. 3 (Hong Kong: Xiānggǎng Zhōngwén Dàxué Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Kǎogǔ Yánjiūsuǒ 香港中文大學中國社會科學院考古研究所, 2001): no. 4328, 463. Compare the citation in Guō Mòruò, *Zhōngguó gǔdài shèhuì yánjiū*: 227.

9 Yīn Jìmíng 殷寄明, "Jiǎ, jīnwén zhōng de núlì míngchéng kǎolüè 甲、金文中的奴隶名称考略," *Jiāngxī jiàoyù xuéyuàn xuébào* 江西教育学院学报 1990, no. 2: 25–27, argues for a great variety of "slave" designations in oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions, due to building principles of ancient Chinese characters, sex differentiation etc., relying on both inscriptions and traditional texts; Yīn Wěirén 殷伟仁, "'Cì . . . rénlì, zì yù zhìyú shùrén' jiě '锡 . . . . . 人鬲, 自驭至于庶人'解," *Rénwén zázhì* 人文杂志 (*The Journal of Humanities*) 1983, no. 6: 70–71, discusses the terms *rénlì* 人鬲 (in his view a coordination of *rén* 人 and *lì* 鬲), *yù* 馭 and *shùrén* 庶人 in line fifteen of the Dà Yú *dǐng* 大盂

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 172

2000);[10] or found evidence to refute the identification of one or more specific terms as "slaves," often rejecting the idea of an early "slave society" as seen mainly from the Shāng or Western Zhōu epigraphic texts, for example David Keightley 1969 and 2012,[11] Shī Wěiqīng 施伟青 1987,[12] Raimund Kolb 1991,[13] Huáng Wǔqiáng 黄武強 1994,[14] Huáng Xiànfán 黄现璠 2015,[15] Susanne Adamski

鼎 inscription (*Jíchéng* #2837, see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 2837, 410–11), arguing rather unconvincingly for their inverted sequence in the sentence, and identifies *yù* as "slaves" (*núlì* 奴隶).

10 Dǒng Lìzhāng 董立章, "Xī Zhōu bìng fēi shíxíng zhǒngzú núlì zhì 西周并非实行种族奴隶制," *Journal of South China Normal University* 华南师范大学学报 2000, no. 6: 61–66 argues against the "traditional doctrine" of "ethnic" slavery in particular during the Western Zhōu (for instance by way of "enslaving" the overthrown Shāng), mostly using transmitted texts. According to Dǒng, the dynasties prior to the Eastern Zhōu only had "slaves" who were prisoners of war – these, however, he reckons to have been quite numerous. He thereby distinguishes "ethnic" from "common" slavery, the former still prevailing wrongly "in both university and school textbooks."

11 David N. Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in the Shang and Western Chou" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969), analyzes oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions of the Shāng and Western Zhōu, and David N. Keightley, *Working for His Majesty: Research Notes on Labor Mobilization in Late Shang China (ca. 1200–1045 B.C.), as Seen in the Oracle-Bone Inscriptions, with Particular Attention to Handicraft Industries, Agriculture, Warfare, Hunting, Construction, and the Shang's Legacies*, China Research Monograph 67 (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2012), in particular the oracle-bone evidence from the late Shāng.

12 Shī Wěiqīng 施伟青, "'Lì' fēi núlì biàn '𠂤'非奴隶辩," *Xiàmén dàxué xuébào* 厦门大学学报 1987, no. 3: 72–76, argues against identifying bronze inscriptional *lì* 𠂤 as "slaves."

13 In his study of the early Chinese infantry, Raimund Kolb argues against the identification of all of the above-mentioned epigraphic terms as "slaves" – following the definition by Moses I. Finley, in his book *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980) –, in Shāng oracle-bone corpora and Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions published until the end of the 1980s. See Raimund Theodor Kolb, *Die Infanterie im alten China*: *Ein Beitrag zur Militärgeschichte der Vor-Zhan -Guo-Zeit*, AVA Materialien 43 (Mainz: Philip von Zabern, 1991); compare also his review article "Bemerkungen zu Ulrich Lau: *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Zeit*," *Oriens Extremus* 42 (2000/2001): 191–206.

14 Huáng Wǔqiáng 黄武強, "Xī Zhōu Chūnqiū shèhuì xíngtài xīntàn 西周春秋社会形态新探," *Guǎngxī shèhuì kēxué* 广西社会科学 1994, no. 1: 51–60. Huáng refutes Guō Mòruò's interpretation of bronze inscriptional evidence regarding "slaves" by contextual analysis of the terms *chén* 臣, *zhòng* 眾, *yù* 馭, *lì* 𠂤 and *rénlì* 人𠂤, concluding that none of these were "slaves." However, in moving the phase of slave society to the previous Xià 夏 (according to traditional Chinese historiography) and Shāng dynasty instead, he sees even stronger support for the Marxist-Leninist stage theory and for the existence of "slaves" in Chinese antiquity.

15 Huáng Xiànfán 黄现璠 (1899–1982, birth name Gān Jǐnyīng 甘锦英) had long finished and revised his book "There was no Slave Society in Chinese History: Combined Discussion of the World's Ancient 'Serfs' and Social Formations" (Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì – jiānlùn shìjiè gǔdài nú jiqí shèhuì xíngtài* 中国历史没有奴隶社会––兼论世界古代奴及其社会形态 [Guìlín 桂林: Guǎngxī Shīfān Dàxué Chūbǎnshè 广西师范大学出版社, 2015]) in 1981, shortly after the reform, but it was only recently published in full length. Huáng makes a thorough study of the ancient Chinese

2017b,[16] or Chén Mínzhèn 陈民镇 2017.[17] Leaving aside the different aims and scopes of these works, they found that the "giving" (*fù* < **p(r)o-s* 付)[18] or "providing" (*cì* < **s-lek-s*

terms identified by Guō Mòruò as "slaves" (*núlì* 奴隶), as well as of relevant Sumerian, Babylonian, ancient Indian, and ancient Greek and Latin terms regarding their semantic ranges. Based on his findings, he argues against the equation of ancient Chinese terminology with the modern concept "slave," rejecting the highly persistent idea of an ancient Chinese "slave society." Terminologically, Huáng differentiates between historically documented *nú* 奴, who are found in a great variety throughout Chinese history in transmitted pre-imperial and imperial texts (perhaps best understood as "servant, menial, serf"), in different areas of obligations and of various origins, and *núlì* 奴隶, "slave," a foreign concept having only been adopted during the process of China's modernisation, and which he defines as "a living, speaking tool, without an independent human personality, any freedom or rights, having lost all means of production and subsistence. Slaves are one of the most important producers within a slave society [. . .]" 奴隶是一种活着的没有独立人格、没有任何自由和权力, 又丧失了一切生产资料和生活资料的会说话工具. 奴隶属于奴隶社会的主要生产者 [. . .] Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 195–96. Huáng emphasizes the difference in Marxist terminology between "serfs"/"serfdom" (*nóngnú* 农奴/*núyìzhì* 奴役制) and "slaves" (*núlì*), the latter having been used in "domestic slavery" (*jiātíng núlìzhì* 家庭奴隶制) since ancient times, while "slaves" in a "slave society" are a peculiarity that only appeared in later ancient Greek and Roman societies (termed "classical ancient labor slavery" [*gǔdiǎn gǔdài láodòng núlìzhì* 古典古代劳动奴隶制] by Marx and Engels) (Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 197). He thinks that "slaves" (*núlì*) in human history were mostly prisoners of war, acquired via slave trade, or coastal settlers captured by pirates (the Barbary corsairs), or could also be born into slavery; but "as far as those *nú* ['servants, menials'] in ancient society are concerned who had sold themselves or had been convicted etc., those belonged to [the category of] *núbì* 奴婢 ['male and female servants/serfs/menials'], and were not *núlì* ['slaves']." 之余古代社会的卖身为奴、罚罪为奴等一类奴，当属奴婢，而非奴隶. Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 208 (my insertions). Dealing primarily with Guō's argumentation and focusing on the Marxist concept of a "slave society," Huáng almost naturally follows a structuralist conception of society too, and concludes that "most ancient societies did not go through a stage of slave society, but from primitive society directly entered into feudal society" 世界各国古代历史绝大多数都没有经过奴隶社会, 而是从原始社会直接进入封建社会 (Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 583). Huáng could not include archaeological evidence found and subsequently published since the 1970s, such as Warring States and early imperial bamboo manuscripts, and newly excavated oracle-bone corpora or bronze inscriptions.

16 See Susanne Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann? Einige Überlegungen zum Status von *chén* 臣 in der West-Zhōu-Zeit (1045–771 v.Chr.)," in *Rechtsdenken und Gerechtigkeitssinn in China*, Jahrbuch der Deutschen Vereinigung für Chinastudien 11, ed. Kerstin Storm and Jonas Polfuß (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017).

17 Chén Mínzhèn 陈民镇, "Núlì shèhuì zhī biàn – chóngshěn Zhōngguó núlì shèhuì jiēduàn lùnzhēng 奴隶社会之辩 – 重审中国奴隶社会阶段论争," *Lìshǐ yánjiū* 历史研究 2017, no. 1: 159–78. Chén approaches the structuralist view of Chinese history that has been so influential in scholarship, re-examining the classification of the Shāng period as a "slave-holding society" as well as the identification of *zhòng* and *mín* as "slaves" in excavated and transmitted sources, including the newly published Qīnghuá 清华 bamboo manuscript "Shāng shū" 商書 dating from the Zhànguó 戰國 (481–221 BC) period. All in all, he argues for studying Chinese history primarily from the indigenous sources instead of using an overarching theoretical framework.

18 In the present paper, Old Chinese reconstructions (marked by an asterisk) follow, if not otherwise mentioned, William H. Baxter and Laurent Sagart, *Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese reconstruction*,

賜) of people, usually from the king or sometimes the head of a lineage to another élite member, which we often find in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, cannot be tied to a "slave" status, because they clearly included members of the nobility. The famous Dà Yú *dǐng* 大盂鼎 inscription (*Jíchéng* #2837) dated to the early Western Zhōu period states that "four Firstborns (*bó* 伯) who govern the *bāng* 邦-territories" 邦 (司)四伯, along with over six hundred and fifty charioteers and other personnel, were given to the official Yú 盂 of the Nángōng 南宮 lineage.[19] These "Firstborns" or "Elders" often were or became the leaders of their lineages, and in this case already were in an administrative capacity.

Further, an example of the "redemption" (*yù* < **luk* 賣 or **[l][iw]k* 儥) or "employement" (*yòng* < **loŋ-s* 用) of individual *fū* 夫 ("men, individuals"), *rén* 人 ("men"[20]) or *chén* 臣 in the well-known Hū *dǐng* 曶鼎 inscription, dated to the middle Western Zhōu period, cannot be securely identified as referring to "slaves" or "bondservants," due to the lack of certain information.[21] We will come back to this specific case in part two of this paper. Therefore, because a) no specific term can be securely identified as "slave" according to recent definitions of the term, and b) there is still no real consensus on the social status of the people denoted by these particular terms, we must conclude that "slaves" cannot be found within the Shāng and Western Zhōu epigraphic texts that have been published so far.

Nonetheless, both Chinese and Western scholars in general believe in the existence of such a "class" or social status in earliest China. For instance, Zhāng Yàchū 張亞初 and Liú Yǔ 劉雨 1986 conclude that those Western Zhōu *pú* 僕 and *yípú* 夷僕 who served in a military capacity "seem to differ from those *pú* who are slaves" (以上诸器铭文中的僕、夷僕与奴隶之僕似有所不同).[22] David N. Keightley in 2012 stated that "[t]he Shang certainly had some slaves – mainly prisoners of war – but were not a slave economy."[23] He does not provide an inscriptional example of a "slave," nor does he explain how we can identify prisoners of war as such. His statement that the Shang "certainly had some slaves" seems to be based on assumptions. As a third example,

---

version 1.1 (September 20, 2014), http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/BaxterSagartOCbyMandarinMC2014-09-20.pdf [accessed 17.05.2022].

19 For this example, compare Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann": 28. For rubbing and transcription see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 2837, 410–11, as well as the transcription in *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 4024, 253–54. A partial translation of the Dà Yú *dǐng* inscription can be found in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006): 127.

20 The Chinese term is gender neutral, already in early inscriptions referring to men and women alike.

21 Issues in identifying the individual's status as "slave" have been problematized in Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann": 21–24. See also 2.1.1 below.

22 Zhāng Yàchū 張亞初 and Liú Yǔ 劉雨, *Xī Zhōu jīnwén guānzhì yánjiū* 西周金文官制研究 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1986): 55.

23 Keightley, *Working for His Majesty*: 65.

an inscribed Western Zhōu bronze vessel excavated in 2005, the so-called "Sù *yǒu*" 肅卣, has been interpreted as evidence for a class of "bondservants" or "slaves" by Dǒng Shān 董珊 in 2014: "The inscription recorded a rare case of degrading the social class of *shuren* (common people). This case hinted that in the Western Zhou Dynasty, the common people had personal freedom."[24] The "Sù *yǒu*" inscription, dated early mid-Western Zhōu, contains two terms we know from later textual sources, *pú* 僕 and *shùrén* 庶人, and was interpreted by Dǒng Shān as recording the social degradation of six families of "free men," *shùrén*, to *pú*, which according to his reading of certain graphs were recorded in a special "register" (*jí* < **[dz]Ak* 籍), from which they were "erased" after successful "remonstration" (*jiàn* < **kˤran?(-s)* 諫).[25] From the article it transpires that Dǒng understands *pú* 僕 to mean "bondservants" or "slaves," in Chinese *púpú* 奴僕 (simplified: 奴仆). This chain first occurs in Hàn 漢 dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) texts such as the "History of the Hàn" (*Hàn shū* 漢書), completed around 110 AD, or the argumentative socio-critical text "Comments of a Recluse" (*Qiánfū lùn* 潛夫論) by the Later Hàn scholar Wáng Fú 王符 (82–167 AD),[26] and is commonly used in the modern Chinese lexicon.[27]

In modern Chinese, *nú* 奴 or *núlì* 奴隶 is defined as "a person suppressed, exploited, and being used, without personal freedom or other political rights" (旧社会中受压迫、剥削、役使而没有人身自由等政治权利的人),[28] in English: "a slave,"[29] and *pú* 僕, being short for *púrén* 僕人, means "servant" or "attendant."[30] The composite *núpú* is also lexicalized as "people formerly carrying out various tasks in a master's home (generic term)" (旧时在主人家里从事杂役的人(总称)), as in the modern Chinese dictionary *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* 现代汉语词典 of 2002.[31] The term *nú* does not yet occur in the epigraphic sources of the Shāng and Western Zhōu published so far, and neither does the composite *núpú*.[32]

---

24 See Dǒng Shān 董珊, "Shānxī Jiàng xiàn Héngshuǐ M2 chūtǔ Sù yǒu míngwén chūtàn 山西绛县横水M2出土肃卣铭文初探," *Wénwù* 文物 2014, no. 1: 50–55 (quote from the English abstract).

25 See Susanne Adamski, "The 'Sù *yǒu* 肅卣' Inscription and the Debate on Western Zhōu Social Dependence (1045–771 B.C.)," in *n.n.*, ed. Enno Giele, Christian Schwerman and Kerstin Storm (Munich: Iudicium, forthcoming).

26 The search was performed using the Chinese Ancient Texts (CHANT) database Pre-Han and Han 先秦两汉, of the Research Centre for Chinese Ancient Texts, Chinese University of Hong Kong (http://www.chant.org, accessed August 30, 2020 via CrossAsia [https://crossasia.org/]).

27 See *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn* 现代汉语词典 (Běijīng: Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn 商务印书馆, 2002): 937.

28 *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn*, 937.

29 Cf. for example *Xīn Hàn Dé Cídiǎn* 新汉德词典 (Běijīng: Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn, 1996): 597: "Sklave; Knecht."

30 "People employed to fulfill various tasks and services in a household" 指被雇到家庭中做杂事、供役使的人 (*Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn*, 987).

31 *Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn*, 937.

32 As stated by David N. Keightley for the Shāng period, "[a]ttempts to assign a slave status to particular groups recorded in the inscriptions, or to read a particular oracle-bone graph as *nu* 奴,

As presented elsewhere in more detail, Dǒng Shān's interpretation of the "Sù *yǒu*" inscription has influenced several other interpretations that followed shortly after Dǒng's article, none of them doubting that the term *shùrén* 庶人 denotes "free men," most of them following the interpretation of *pú* as *núpú* – "bondservants" or "slaves," except for Lǐ Kǎi 2018, who also scrutinizes the inscriptional term *pú*, but relies completely on Dǒng Shān's transcription.[33] The "Sù *yǒu*" inscription poses several paleographic and epigraphic issues, in particular, a) interpreting the bronze graph *xī* 昔 as a loan for *jí* 籍, "register," is an assumption; b) other crucial graphs

'slave', have generally involved more theoretical assertion than paleographic demonstration" (Keightley, *Working for His Majesty*: 57). For instance, an interpretation of the incomplete graph on bone fragment *Héjí* #22462 (see *Jiǎgǔwén héjí* 甲骨文合集, vol. 7 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1999): no. 22462, 2925) as *nú* 奴, so given in the Ancient Chinese Texts (CHANT) Jiaguwen 甲骨文 database, is not seen in the reference work *Jiǎgǔwén héjí shìwén* 甲骨文合集释文, ed. Hú Hòuxuān 胡厚宣, vol. 2 (Běijīng: Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxué Chūbǎnshè 中国社会科学出版社, 1999): no. 22462. Before the 1980s, having discussed the earliest graphic forms and usages of *nú* and *núpú* as well as different scholarly interpretations of them, Huáng Xiànfán already noted that neither they nor the early imperial *núbì* 奴婢 (traditionally interpreted as "slaves") fall under the category of being completely "owned" by another person, as was the case in classical Greece and Rome, and that oracle-bone inscriptions and transmitted sources provide no evidence as to whether there existed any Shāng dynasty "slaves" in the Marxist definition (Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 444; see also: 10–15 for *nú*, 24–31 for *núpú*). The absence of *nú* 奴 from oracle-bone inscriptions has not changed since publication of the more recent corpora excavated from the Yīnxū 殷墟 site at Huāyuánzhuāng Locus East (*Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨) as well as from the center and south of Xiǎotún Village (*Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨), cf. the concordances *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨刻辭類纂 (Běijīng: Xiànzhuāng Shūjú 綫裝書局, 2011); *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔwén lèizuǎn* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨文類纂 (Fúzhōu 福州: Fújiàn Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 福建人民出版社, 2016); and *Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨刻辭類纂 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中華書局, 2017). However, the graph 奴 in itself clearly has a history. So far it appears on several bronze weapons and vessels of the early Chūnqiū 春秋 (771–481 BC) and Zhànguó periods (481–221 BC), as part of a personal name. For example, on the Fú Nú Fù *dǐng* 弗奴父鼎 vessel (*Jíchéng* #2589), excavated in 1972 in Zōu 鄒 county, Shāndōng 山东 Province (see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 2589, 278). Here the graph clearly consists of the two components 女, "woman," and 又, "hand," as in the seal script character given in the second century AD character dictionary *Shuōwén jiězì* 說文解字; it is also already seen in the donor's name of the Western Zhōu bronze vessel Sī Nú bǎo *yǎn* 𡚴人奴寶甗 (*Jíchéng* #851): , the only Western Zhōu epigraphic occurrence so far, of which, however, only the transmitted rubbing exists (see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 1, no. 0851, 576). Compare the seal character form and epigraphic evidence given in Zāng Kèhé 臧克和 and Wáng Píng 王平, eds., *Shuōwén jiězì xīndìng* 說文解字新訂 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2002): 819. The etymology of the word *nú* < $^{*}n^{\varsigma}a$, according to Axel Schuessler, is uncertain: while possibly "cognate to TB-Mru *nar* 'servant'," the word has been related "to $nǔ_1$ 'woman'; this has semantic parallels, especially among foreign loans," or to a word form "with the basic meaning 'tense' (incl. $nǔ_1$ 弩, $nǔ_2$ 努), hence 'press into service'" (Axel Schuessler, *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (Honululu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007): 404).

33 Cf. Adamski, "'Sù *yǒu* 肅卣' Inscription," providing an alternative transcription and translation, leaving unclear graphs unidentified, and taking into consideration several possibilities of translation.

are as yet unidentifiable (such as), having been transcribed and interpreted quite differently, making their normalization even more precarious (e.g. the reading of the graph as 隸 and its normalization to *lì* 隸, "subordinate, slave," or the interpretation of /芟 as "erase"); c) the bronze inscriptional term *pú* 僕 quite clearly is no status term, since several bronze inscriptions strongly indicate a military function of the people it denotes; d) while *shùrén* is either a status term or generic designation of a broader social category during the early imperial period, there is so far no clear earlier Western Zhōu epigraphic evidence to read *shùrén* as a status term either, and thus the inscription cannot be said to record the degradation of status.[34]

These examples show that the question of the existence of "slavery" is either not an issue in contemporary scholarship on early China, or not within the author's focus. With regard to the extant epigraphic material, we thus find two assumptions in early China scholarship, a) "slavery" was an institution of high social and/or economic significance that can be identified in the contemporary sources;[35] or b) if not identifiable in contemporary terminology, "slavery" was a social phenomenon of no obvious social and/or economic importance, but existed all the same.[36] But if there is no real evidence for "slaves" in the indigenous texts, did the Shāng and Western Zhōu have "slaves" at all? Obviously, this leads to the question of defining "slavery," which is often circumvented.

34 See Adamski, "'Sù *yǒu* 肅卣' Inscription."

35 As prominently argued by Guō Mòruò, *Zhōngguó gǔdài shèhuì yánjiū*.

36 Cf., for instance, Li Feng, "The Western Zhou State," in *Routledge Handbook of Early Chinese History*, ed. Paul R. Goldin (London: Routledge, 2018): 101: "[. . .] *Renli* 人鬲[. . .] probably meant 'slaves.' We still do not know their exact status, but it is likely they were war prisoners brought into Zhou society during the great early Western Zhou expansion." Raimund Kolb also considers the possibility that slaves existed in ancient China: "Da die *zhong-ren* keine Sklaven waren und die Wirtschaft des Shang-Yin-Staates auf ihren Schultern ruhte, kann nicht von einer Sklavenhaltergesellschaft gesprochen werden, womit jedoch nicht behauptet werden soll, es hätte keine Sklaven gegeben" (Kolb, *Die Infanterie im Alten China*: 48); "Bei den *li* könnte es sich mithin sowohl um Sklaven als auch um Kriegsgefangene gehandelt haben" (61); "Die Qualität der Produkte der Manufakturen der WZ [= Western Zhōu] spricht für herausgehobene Handwerker; Sklaven könnten für Hilfsarbeiter beschäftigt gewesen sein" (114). Huáng Xiànfán, who also worked with a clear definition of "slaves" (*núlì*), did not reject the possibility of their existence particularly in Shāng China, but reasonably pointed out that aside from the lack of clear evidence, it would be crucial to know their exact numbers in order to be able to decide whether they may have constituted a social class in the Marxist sense (compare Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 446); further, as to "slaves" bought via the slave trade, he states that these "are almost not seen" in Chinese pre-imperial history (for his discussion of slave trade in general, see 203–7).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 178

1.2 Definition of "Slavery"

As we are aware, there is no scholarly consensus on a precise meaning of the terms "slave" and "slavery." Lexicalizations, such as for example in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, commonly state that

> [t]he slave was a species of property; thus, he belonged to someone else. In some societies slaves were considered movable property, in others immovable property, like real estate. They were objects of the law, not its subjects. [. . .] The slave usually had few rights and always fewer than his owner, but there were not many societies in which he had absolutely none. [. . .] The slave was removed from lines of natal descent. Legally, and often socially, he had no kin.[37]

But to define the boundaries of the term is no easy matter. As the historian Michael Zeuske points out in his 2013 global history of slavery *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*, it is hard to define and differentiate "slavery" and other terms such as "serfdom," because there seem to be several gradations of these phenomena at different times in different societies all over the world.[38] He therefore speaks of "slaveries" in the plural.[39] Due to such difficulties, it seems to be a good idea to go beyond traditional terms, as the Cluster of Excellence 2036 "Beyond Slavery and Freedom" does, taking "'strong asymmetrical dependency' as a new key concept" in the study of pre-modern societies, in which "slavery" seems to be understood as

---

37 Richard Hellie, "Slavery," *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, last updated August 17, 2020, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/548305/slavery [accessed 17.05.2022].

38 For the terminological diversity of the concept "servitude, serfdom," German *Leibeigenschaft*, see also the concise summary by Anne-Marie Dubler, "Leibeigenschaft," *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, June 13, 2012, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/008967/2012-06-13/ [accessed 17.05.2022]: "Die Bezeichnungen für leibherrl. Abhängigkeit sind vielfältig bei z.T. umstrittener Bedeutung. Die Sklaven der Antike (Sklaverei) wurden als Sache behandelt und waren rechtlos. Dagegen genossen die *servi (mancipii*, *ancillae)* des Früh- und HochMA und später die Leibeigenen als Personen beschränkte Rechte. Der vom vieldeutigen mittelhochdt. *eigen* abgeleitete Begriff des 'Eigenmanns' bezeichnete den Unfreien schlechthin; dem dt. 'Eigenleute' entsprechen franz. *hommes propres* und ital. *uomini propri* (lat. *homines proprii*). Mit der spätma. Aufspaltung der Herrschaftsrechte in grund-, gerichts- und leibherrl. Rechte drängte sich zur Unterscheidung des leibherrl. Anspruchs vom grundherrl. Eigen am Boden (Grundbesitz) eine Präzisierung auf: mit dem *lib eigen* oder leibeigen. Der Begriff 'Leibeigener' wurde im dt. Sprachraum erst um 1500 gebräuchlich; bis ins 16. Jh. wurden persönlich Abhängige in der Deutschschweiz noch häufiger als 'Eigenleute' denn als 'Leibeigene' bezeichnet. Rechtssprachl. Schöpfungen, keine Quellentermini sind die Begriffe 'Unfreie' für unterschiedl. Formen der Unfreiheit, 'Hörige' ('Grundhörige') für schollengebundene Bauern der Grundherrschaft und 'Halbfreie' für Leute unterschiedlichen minderen Rechts, z.B. Freigelassene."

39 See Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2013): especially 108–15. A second, enlarged edition of this work was published in 2019.

the "most extreme" form of "human bondage and coercion."[40] However, if we want to know how to find out if "extreme forms of dependency" such as "slavery" existed particularly in late Shāng and Western Zhōu China, we should be clear about what we mean by these forms in this specific historical context. In short, we need to define what we are looking for.

While "slavery" has traditionally been defined within concepts of "ownership" or the "means of production," as in extant lexicalizations, such attempts were rejected by Orlando Patterson in 1982 in his comparative study *Slavery and Social Death*, because, a) "Proprietary claims and powers are made with respect to many persons who are clearly not slaves."[41] This fact had already been shown by Max Weber, who wrote on the concept of *Herrschaft* ("authority") that, for example, a family head according to ancient Roman law could even legally kill or sell his wife or children, or rent them out.[42] b) The terms "free" or "unfree" equally cannot be applied to define "slavery,"

40 Cf. the cluster's website (Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [BCDSS], "Research," https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/research [accessed 17.05.2022]): "Despite the many different forms that human bondage and coercion have taken over time, academic debates in the modern West primarily focused on the most extreme one: slavery [. . .] This is why we decided to employ a more neutral terminology, and so move beyond the binary opposition of 'slavery versus freedom'. Instead, we suggest 'asymmetrical dependency' – or, more precisely, 'strong asymmetrical dependency' as a new key concept, which includes debt bondage, convict labor, tributary labor, servitude, serfdom, and domestic work as well as forms of wage labor and various types of clientage and patronage." The difficulty of avoiding established concepts such as "slavery" is shown in their continued use in the description of research areas, which "approach the phenomenon of slavery and other types of strong asymmetrical dependencies," or "enslavement and other forms of asymmetrical dependencies" (see Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, "Semantics – Lexical Fields – Narratives," https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/research-areas/semantics_lexical-fields_narratives.pdf, and "Embodied Dependencies," https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/research-areas/embodied-dependencies.pdf [both accessed 17.05.2022]).

41 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, With a New Preface* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018): 21. He regards "all attempts to define slavery in modern legalistic terms" as erroneous, because "this does not really specify any distinct category of persons" (21).

42 "Gerade die primitiv patriarchale Auffassung behandelt vielmehr [. . .] die Hausgewalt durchaus eigentumsartig: die Kinder aller in der Hausgewalt eines Mannes, es sei als Weib oder als Sklavin, stehenden Frauen gelten ohne Rücksicht auf physische Vaterschaft, sobald er es so will, als 'seine' Kinder, wie die Früchte seines Viehs als sein Vieh. Neben Vermietung (in das mancipium) und Verpfändung von Kindern und auch Weibern ist der Kauf fremder und Verkauf eigener Kinder noch entwickelten Kulturen eine geläufige Erscheinung. Er ist geradezu die ursprüngliche Form des Ausgleichs von Arbeitskräften und Arbeitsbedarf zwischen den verschiedenen Hausgemeinschaften. [. . .] Daneben dient der Kindeskauf anderen speziell religiösen Zwecken (Sicherung der Totenopfer), als Vorläufer der 'Adoption'." Max Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, vol. 3, *Abteilung: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1922): 680 (on "Patrimonialismus"). Compare the English paraphrase in Richard Swedberg, *Principles of Economic Sociology* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003): 267: "The power of the house father extends with only

because "[i]n almost all non-Western slaveholding societies there was no such status in law as a 'free' person."[43] Instead, Patterson defines slavery within the framework of power and powerlessness, "on the level of personal relations: slavery is the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons."[44] According to Patterson, "slaves," although physically alive, are *socially dead*: "Alienated from all 'rights' or claims of birth, [the slave] ceased to belong in his own right to any legitimate social order."[45] While this definition of a "slave" is certainly useful for the examination of "asymmetrical" social relations in historical sources, it has been criticized as a sociological abstraction, for example by Joseph C. Miller 2012, because it "excludes historical context by definition," resulting in a decontextualized, static "master-slave dyad."[46] I shall return to this issue in part three of this paper.

1.3 "Slavery" in Ancient China

Patterson's characterization of slaves as "socially dead" has however been applied to Qín and Hàn China by Robin Yates, focusing on the "nature" of ancient Chinese slavery.[47] By analyzing Qín legal statutes excavated from a tomb at Shuìhǔdì 睡虎地, Húběi 湖北 province, in 1975 as well as transmitted Hàn imperial sources, he shows that at this period of time several terms clearly denote the lowest social strata and also apply to the concept of "slaves" as defined by Patterson. These terms are: *rénnú* 人奴, as a general term,[48] *rénchén* 人臣 or *chén* 臣 for male "slaves," *rénqiè* 人妾 or *qiè* 妾 for female "slaves," as well as *rénnúchén* 人奴臣; and within Hàn 漢 law *nú* 奴 and *bì* 婢, denoting male and female "slaves."[49]

---

ritualistic limitations to the execution, or sale of the wife, and to the sale of the children or to leasing them out to labor." Also compare Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*: 24, n. 27.

43 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*: 27.

44 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*: 13; cf. Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 298.

45 Patterson *Slavery and Social Death*: 5. He further states: "Because the slave had no socially organized existence outside of his master, he became a social nonperson. [. . .] Not only was the slave denied all claims on, and obligations to, his parents and living blood relations but, by extension, all such claims and obligations on his more remote ancestors and on his descendants. He was truly a genealogical isolate."

46 Cf. Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012): 20.

47 Yates, "Slavery in Early China."

48 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 297.

49 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 303–4. Yates explicitly focuses on these terms, leaving "several other terms of lesser importance" aside (303–4). While stating that "the Han term for female slave (*bi* 婢) does not occur" in the Qín legal sources (304), Yates adds in a more recent essay that, "however, it does appear in several documents published in volume one of the complete Liye documents, but not in the context of a statute or ordinance" (Robin D.S. Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves in the Qin-Han Transition," in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, ed. Yuri Pines,

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 181

The lowest social strata in Qín and Hàn law were "slaves" and "convicts" (*tú* 徒), the latter term however only rarely used in this sense in Qín legal documents.[50] Yates provides evidence by analyzing excavated Qín law, as well as phrases from the transmitted political "Discourses on Salt and Iron" (*Yántiě lùn* 鹽鐵論) and the Warring States history *Zuǒ zhuàn* 左傳, that the people referred to were considered "not human" (*fēi rén yě* 非人也)[51] and socially dead because: "A slave and a criminal in early traditional China lost his rights and obligations and relations to his family, both his parents and his children. He was a socially dead person."[52] As illustrated in Fig. 1,

Gideon Shelach, Lothar von Falkenhausen, and Robin D.S. Yates (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014): 211). With regard to terminological differences, he tentatively concludes "that the early Han changed or refined the legal nomenclature of slaves, possibly in 202, when the 'Statutes on Male and Female Slaves' might have been enacted, as suggested above" (Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves": 211). There is also some terminological confusion as to the categorization of other terms. Yates states that "the county government also bought and sold slaves known as *tuli* 徒隸 on the open market" (212), while at the same time translating *túlì* 徒隸 as "bonded laborers" (223), also drawing attention to the fact that "[i]t is to be noted that there were statuses between slaves and free commoners, as indicated in the statute quoted above." (212). Yates is certainly aware of these issues: "Regardless of the identity of these workers, what is to be noted is that they were of such low slavelike status that the government could buy them on the open market, on the one hand, and, on the other, that Sima Qian uses this term *tuli* to identify many of the workers who constructed the First Emperor's mausoleum," and "there must have been a very large market for slavelike workers in the Qin" (223).

50 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 303–4.

51 Literally "to be something that is not human." The expression *fēi rén yě* 非人也, albeit in quite a different context, is also attested in Qín Shuìhǔdì bamboo slips (dated 217 BC), namely in the "daybook" manuscript *Rìshū* A (*Rìshū jiǎzhǒng* 日書甲種), a compilation of hemerological manuals concerned with spirits and demons, in the section "Spellbinding" ("Jié" 詰). Here, in a prescription for how to act when the well of a household has become bloody, it is used in its literal sense: "Fill it with sand and make another well; feed from it with steamed rice, drink hoarfrost and dew, and after three days you will be human. If you fail to do so, (continue to) drink from it [i.e. the old well] and depend on it for about three months, then you will no longer be human, but become a skeleton." 以沙墊之, 更為井, 食之以噴, 飲以爽(霜)路(露), 三日乃能人矣. 若不, 三月食之若傅之, 而非人也, 必枯骨也. Punctuated transcription from *Shuìhǔdì Qín mù zhújiǎn* 睡虎地秦墓竹简 (Běijīng: Wénwù Chūbǎnshè 文物出版社, 1990): 216, slips no. 53 *verso* (3) – no. 55 *verso* (3). My translation follows the editor's notes given in *Shuìhǔdì Qín mù zhújiǎn* and thus also closely Hu Baozhu, *Believing in Ghosts and Spirits: The Concept of* Gui *in Ancient China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 71 (London: Routledge; Monumenta Serica Institute, 2021): "Appendix 3 Investigation: Annotated Translation of the 'Jie 詰' Section," no. 70, https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003110040 [accessed 17.05.2022]. The search was done using the Chinese Ancient Texts (CHANT) Jianbo Database 竹简帛書 1.

52 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 299. In contrast to Orlando Patterson's more global definition of "slavery," which has been criticized for apparently treating "slaves" – socially interacting living human beings – as if in complete social isolation (see for example Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History*: 31–32), Yates sees "social death" in the specific context of ancient China: "Humans are humans because they are tied into a network of kin relationships which constitute the world of social life and which define their social being, and in China humans are humans because of the direct

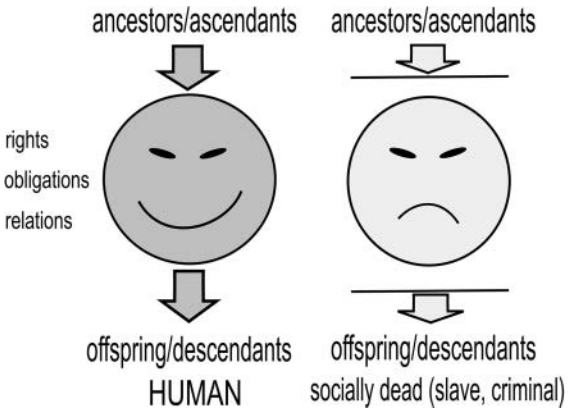


Fig. 1: Social death in ancient China after Yates, "Slavery in Early China."

a "human," socially alive, has relations and obligations. He or she is certainly not "free" to do as he or she likes; a slave or criminal, however, is cut off from any of his or her natural human relations.

Yates sees evidence for this hypothesis, for example in the fact that under Qín law "children who were considered 'not whole' (*buquan* 不全) could be killed with impunity" by their parents,[53] and that, as is known from transmitted sources, a male child with a disability "cannot serve at the ancestral altars" and therefore could not fulfil his obligations as an heir.[54] Within this lowest social stratum of socially dead persons, slaves can further be distinguished from convicts according to Yates, because their bondage was perpetual, while the bondage of convicts was limited to a set period of years.[55] However, differentiation of "slaves" and "convict" laborers in Qín and early Western Hàn is far less clear-cut than implied by Yates in 2001: as Maxim Korolkov recently summarizes the "decades-long" scholarly debate after the publication of

line and link between themselves and their ancestors or ascendants and their offspring or descendants." Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 299. Indeed, Patterson does not seem to deny that "slaves" were interacting human beings or had any social relations at all, but rather argues that they were deprived of something inherently human: "Slaves differed from other human beings in that they were not allowed freely to integrate the experience of their ancestors into their lives, to inform their understanding of social reality with the inherited meanings of their natural forbears, or to anchor the living present in any conscious community of memory." Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*: 5.

53 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 297.

54 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 300. Yates refers to a case recorded in the *Zuǒ zhuàn* 左傳, chapter "Lord Zhāo 昭公 seventh year (535 BC)" ("Zhāo Gōng qī nián 昭公七年"), "in which a lame elder brother is barred from inheriting his father's rank for precisely the same reason: he is not human (*fei ren ye* 非人也), or considered a member of the clan [. . .] and so cannot serve at the ancestral altars [. . .]" For the original as well as annotated translated passage see Stephen Durrant, Wai-yee Li and David Schaberg, trans. and introd., *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan* 左傳*: Commentary on the 'Spring and Autumn Annals'* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 2016): 1432–1435.

55 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 301.

excavated Qín legal manuscripts, increasing evidence for life-long labor sentences, the fact that "slaves" could actually be purchased by the government from private individuals as laborers and "conversely, [the government] leased convicts out to private users, invite the question of whether or not convict laborers should be properly described as state-owned slaves."[56] Thus, there remains the issue whether, and how, privately and state-owned "slaves" and/or other "bondservants" and unfree laborers are actually distinguishable as to their "nature."[57]

Nevertheless, Robin Yates' analysis and understanding of "slavery" in late Warring States and early imperial China as encompassing social death is, in my view, very insightful, and seems to be applicable to these periods, although constant (re-) evaluation of the growing number of manuscript corpora is needed. However, just like other scholars, Yates assumes the existence of "slaves" in Shāng and Western Zhōu China without addressing the issue of how they are to be identified:

> In China from the Neolithic to the late Western Zhou 西周 and early Eastern Zhou 東周 periods, there was no strict separation in status between the lowest members of society and the highest. All members were to a certain extent unfree, and it was only in the middle of the Spring and Autumn period that a market economy really developed. I am not claiming that there were no slaves at all in early times. Rather, I wish to argue that there was a radical change in the nature of slavery in the middle of the Eastern Zhou period [. . .], when slaves for the first time came to be bought and sold.[58]

What, then, was their "nature" in early times? Is it possible to determine an early social category of "slaves," or any other low stratum, before the Eastern Zhōu period?

---

56 Maxim Korolkov, "Empire-Building and Market-Making at the Qin Frontier: Imperial Expansion and Economic Change, 221–207 BCE" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2020): 308. My insertion. For a thorough discussion of the extensive Qín system of unfree labor and its importance within the state economy and for the empire's construction projects, see the fourth chapter "Between command and market: the economy of convict labor" (307–427). The relationship between institutional and private dependency in Qín is further discussed in Maxim Korolkov, "Between Command and Market: Credit, Labour, and Accounting in the Qin Empire (221–207 B.C.E.)," in *Between Command and Market: Economic Thought and Practice in Early China*, ed. Elisa Sabattini and Christian Schwermann (Leiden: Brill, 2021): 162–243.

57 Yates also further revised his analysis in 2014, after examination of the newly published Qín bamboo manuscripts excavated at Lǐyè 里耶, Húnán Province, as well as the early Hàn Zhāngjiāshān 張家山 bamboo manuscripts excavated from Tomb 247 (see Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves"). There, he states: "It is clear that we still have a long way to go to understand the exact nature of the many statuses among the lower orders of the Qin and early Han and how they may have changed over time and political and military circumstances." (223.)

58 Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 287–88.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 184

2 Looking for "Strong Asymmetrical Dependency" in Epigraphic Sources: Social Groups

Let us consider the new concept "strong asymmetrical dependency." According to the webpage of the Cluster of Excellence "Beyond Slavery and Freedom," this means "human bondage and coercion,"[59] including "debt bondage, convict labor, tributary labor, servitude, serfdom, and domestic work as well as forms of wage labor and various types of clientage and patronage," and what is described as their "most extreme" form: "slavery." Thus, "strong asymmetrical dependency" is a generic term for specific social phenomena of "human bondage and coercion," known from particular societies at particular times. If looking for them within a given society such as ancient China, we first need to define what "human bondage and coercion" are: either we a) base our search on extant definitions of all these social phenomena just quoted in different historical contexts, or b) look for forms of human "bondage" and "coercion" which, however, need to qualify as being "strong," based on extant definitions of these two words in English or another modern language. To simplify our search, we shall therefore first look for "bondage," which according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary was first used during the fourteenth century in the sense of "the tenure or service of a villein, serf, or slave,"[60] and, in the same contexts, for

59 In the late 1860s, Karl Marx translated "bondage" as "Hörigkeit" (see Karl Marx, *Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Oekonomie*, vol. 1, *Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Verlag von Otto Meissner, 1872): 602). In the modern English lexicon, "bondage" seems to be treated as synonymous with other concepts such as "enslavement, servility, servitude, slavery, thrall, thralldom, yoke" as given by the online *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "bondage," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bondage [accessed 17.05.2022], while German "Hörigkeit" (*bondage*), with the synonyms "Abhängigkeit, Unmündigkeit, Unselbstständigkeit," seems to be treated as a hyperonym of different phenomena such as "Sklaverei" (*slavery*), which in turn constitutes another synonym group: "Knechtschaft, Leibeigenschaft, Sklaverei, Unfreiheit." See *Digitales Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache*, s.v. "Hörigkeit" and "Sklaverei," https://www.dwds.de/wb/H%C3%B6rigkeit and https://www.dwds.de/wb/Sklaverei [both accessed 17.05.2022]. The greatest variety of translations of "bondage" and seeming overlaps or synonymy of different concepts is to be found in the online *Linguee Wörterbuch*: "Bondage, Knechtschaft, Gefangenschaft, Zwang, Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft, Unfreiheit, Hörigkeit, Zwänge, beengender Zwang"; "Knechtschaft" in turn being translated as "slavery, servitude, bondage, subjugation, thraldom, serfdom" (see *Linguee Wörterbuch*, s.v. "bondage," https://www.linguee.de/deutsch-englisch/search?source=englisch&query=bondage and s.v. "Knechtschaft," https://www.linguee.de/deutsch-englisch/search?source=auto&query=Knechtschaft [both accessed 17.05.2022]). Thus "bondage," taken as an overarching concept, nevertheless points to specific social phenomena.

60 *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "bondage," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bondage [accessed 17.05.2022].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 185

identifiable forms of "coercion," a word first used during the fifteenth century in the sense "to restrain or dominate by force."[61]

2.1 The Problem of Dependent Labor during the Late Shāng and Western Zhōu Periods

Within a given society, severe forms of human bondage and coercion should be the most asymmetrical of all social relations. When looking for them, it might be helpful to scrutinize society's lowest end. However, the Shāng and Western Zhōu inscriptions are largely non-descriptive of the lowest social strata. They are no normative texts; they do not *explain* social status. Nevertheless, we shall first consider social groups involved in possible cases of forced or dependent labor.

This has already been done to some extent. In the West, David N. Keightley has studied certain groups of people in oracle-bone and bronze inscriptions who were "mobilized" to fulfil tasks in construction, agriculture, handicraft, warfare and hunting – these groups were *zhòng* 衆 and *rén* 人, but also *chén* 臣 and others.[62] In his dissertation *Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in the Shang and Western Chou* of 1969, Keightley stated that "under both dynasties, ancient China was a forced-labor society in which the king's work was performed by forced laborers of various status, permanently or intermittently attached to the ruling elite in a hierarchy of servitude,"[63] mainly focusing on the problem of their identification as slave societies. After careful re-evaluation of the evidence, published in 2012 under the title *Working for His Majesty: Research Notes on Labor Mobilization in Late Shang China*, he concluded more or less explicitly that labor mobilization during the late Shāng dynasty cannot be understood as "forced":

---

61 *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "coercion," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/coercion [accessed 17.05.2022]. While these terms certainly arose during the medieval period in England and their semantic range is confined to these specific contexts, specificity applies to every single term for social phenomena under scrutiny of the present volume, because a given society naturally has temporal, geographical and other boundaries that make it identifiable and tangible. Any study in social history is therefore comparative in the sense that historians, if I may borrow the words of Joseph C. Miller "live in historical contexts of their own, and so they always add the perspective of the historian trying to make sense of them." (Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 6.) However, historians by necessity not only work with historical material, but also with terms and concepts, including those of their own time, which they should be careful not to project onto other or earlier societies. As Miller pointedly states, "Being in the present does not exclude constructive engagement with the past; rather, the historian must merely avoid conflating the two." It should be added and pointed out that, while comparing phenomena in different societies at different times and in different languages, "two" easily becomes "many."

62 See Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China": as well as *Working for His Majesty*.

63 Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China": abstract.

> There was no phrase in ancient Chinese to express the idea of dependent labor or public work; the unifying concept was the responsibility, shared generally by the king's subjects and diffused downward through the patrimonial and patriarchal political and social ranks, to serve the king and lineage heads. Though there was certainly a fundamental social cleavage between those who benefited from the work and those who labored to provide it, there was also an acknowledged continuum of obligation that required all, high and low alike, to serve their superiors. [. . .] The concept of servitude, in fact, seems to have been generally accepted by people at all positions on the social spectrum.[64]

Because of new finds and developments in Western Zhōu epigraphy since 1969, Keightley left out the Western Zhōu evidence. He was a specialist for the late Shāng. Indeed, epigraphic evidence from the Western Zhōu is not easy to interpret.

2.1.1 The Hū *dǐng* 曶鼎 Inscription: "Slavery," "Bondage" or What?

The long and famous Hū *dǐng* 曶鼎 inscription (*Jíchéng* #2838), dated to the middle Western Zhōu period (before around 957 BC), has been understood as an example of "slavery" or some other kind of dependency.[65] Some graphs in the rubbings are unreadable or missing, which has led to different understandings. Unfortunately, the vessel was irretrievably lost.[66] The inscription consists of three parts (see Fig. 2). Part one is a "typical" description of Hū's 曶 investiture as hereditary official. Parts two and three each document a court case.

---

64 Keightley, *Working for His Majesty*: 240.

65 For different translations and/or discussions of the Hū *dǐng* inscription see Chou Feng-wu (Zhōu Fèngwǔ) 周鳳五, "Hū dǐng míngwén xīnshì 曶鼎銘文新釋," *Gùgōng xuéshù jìkān* 故宮學術季刊 / *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (2015): 1–18; Ulrich Lau, *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1045?–771 v. Chr.)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 41 (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1999): 368–83; Lutz Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte des alten China: Übersetzung und historisch-philologische Kommentierung juristischer Bronzeinschriften der West-Zhou-Zeit (1045–771 v.Chr.)" (PhD diss., Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 1994): 139–65; Laura A. Skosey, "The Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou (ca. 1045–771 B.C.E.)" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1996): 98–101 and 346–59; Laura A. Skosey, "Hu *ding* 曶鼎," in *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, Early China Special Monograph Series 7, ed. Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 2016): 129–35. For a discussion of epigraphic issues and doubts as to the inscription's authenticity, see Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China": 197–99, n. 1. For the discussion below of parts 2 and 3 of the inscription regarding the identification of social status, compare Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann": 21–24.

66 For the circumstances and transmission of the rubbing, see Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China": 197–99, n. 1; Skosey, "Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou": 346, n. 90 and Skosey, "Hu *ding*": 129.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 187

The first centered around five men. They had been "redeemed" or "bought" by Hū, at the "price" of a horse and a bolt of silk. But Hū had not received them, thus taking legal action.

Fig. 2: Rubbing of the Hū *dǐng* 曶鼎 inscription. From *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng* 殷周金文集成 (Shànghǎi 上海: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中华书局, 1985), vol. 5, no. 2838A, 243. Reproduced with permission. Due to two vertical columns partly left blank, the three parts of the inscription can be made out rather clearly.

The verb used is (,), which should be transcribed as 賣, often normalized as later *shú* 贖, "to redeem, to ransom," but possibly an early epigraphic occurrence of *yù* 賣, or variant of epigraphic *yù* 儥, in the sense "to buy" or "to redeem."[67] According to the

67 For the paleographic issues and reasons for this identification, see Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann": 22, n. 37. Chou Feng-wu states that the graph should be understood in the sense of an "exchange" (*jiāoyì* 交易, *jiāohuàn* 交換), rather than in the later sense "to buy" (Chou Feng-wu, "Hū dǐng míngwén xīnshì 曶鼎銘文新釋": 5). Kolb, *Infanterie im alten China*: 118, refers to this transaction as "trade" (*Handel*).

verdict, Hū received the five men, who are each mentioned by name. Following one reading, they were to return to "their settlement(s)" (*jué yì* < **kot q(r)[ə]p* 氒邑) and "their fields" (*jué tián* < **kot l*ˤ*iŋ* 氒田),[68] probably meaning those they formerly used to live in and work on, normally, and most likely, affiliated to a certain lineage. They may even have returned to their family "property." However, according to another reading, the pronoun *jué* 氒 does not refer to the five men.[69] It may thus be that either the five individuals themselves had been "bought" or "redeemed," or, as Laura Skosey 1996 and 2016 suggests, only their labor. Further, the pronoun *jué* here can not even be seen in the transmitted rubbing – which apparently misses characters at the end of several lines –[70] but is merely an emendation, paralleling the preceding chain *jué yì* 氒邑.[71] In any case, the individuals in question were objects of the law, not its subjects. They seem to have been "dependents" of either Hū or his lineage, or the opposing party's lineage. They are not referred to by a specific term designating any social group: the text simply refers to "men" (*rén* < **ni[ŋ]* 人), or "individuals" (*fū* < **p(r)a* 夫). Since we lack information on their working and living conditions, their exact status – if there were such differentiations within the non-aristocratic population – cannot be determined.

Part three of the inscription describes another lawsuit, involving, again, Hū. Ten bushels of grain had been stolen from him during a year of famine. The thieves were either the élite member Kuāng 匡 together with twenty of his *chén* 臣, or twenty *chén* of Kuāng's.[72] These *chén* are translated variously as "slaves",[73] "servants",[74] or "*chen*-servants."[75] Hū sought compensation, in the form of grain, before the judge Dōnggōng 東宮. But neither Kuāng nor his men were able to replace the grain. Instead, he offered Hū altogether seven fields and five men, three of them

68 Skosey, "Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou": 356; Lau, *Quellenstudien*: 372 and 382. Compare Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann": 24, n. 39.

69 This interpretation can be found in Schunk, *Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte*: 147.

70 These are lines 1–4, 7–8, 10–15, and 19–23. Compare the emended transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 2838, 414.

71 Cf. also Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 161, n. 91.

72 According to another reading, the twenty *chén* acted on behalf of Kuāng's *zhòng* 眾 (**tuŋ-s*), denoting a social status or function and thus referring to an individual under Kuang's authority (translated as "commoner" (*Gemeiner*) by Lau, *Quellenstudien*: 372, or "servant" (*Knecht*) by Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 148), while Laura Skosey applies the meaning "masses" ("Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou": 357) or "multitudes" ["Hu *ding*": 134]), apparently referring to Kuang's "people" in general. By contrast Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China": 197–99, n. 1, interprets the inscriptional graph 眾 as a scribal error for the conjunction 眔 (*tà* < **m-r*ˤ*əp*).

73 Lau, *Quellenstudien*: 372.

74 Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 148.

75 Skosey, "Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou": 357 as well as "Hu *ding*": 134–35.

chén 臣,[76] each also mentioned by name. The verb used is *yòng* 用 , "to use." Due to several epigraphic issues, either Kuāng "used" the fields and *chén* to compensate Hū, that is, giving them to Hū, or Hū was going to "use" their labor and the agricultural yield until his loss was compensated. In this case, both fields and *chén* would have remained those of Kuāng.[77]

Because of this apparent "transaction," as well as their "gift-giving" in other inscriptions, *chén* 臣 has been understood as a status term, denoting "slaves," or at least a social "class" of "servants." However, as I have discussed elsewhere, the individual contexts to the various *chén* mentioned in bronze inscriptions point to a great difference in their respective social standing, which makes it likely that this was neither a status term nor descriptive of a specific function, but a general term for *subordination*, from which other compounds denoting more specific functions may have developed. This is consistent with the Shāng evidence as presented by Keightley 2012, with similar Western Zhōu findings made by Raimund Kolb 1991, Vassilij Krukov 1997 or Wáng Jìnfēng 王进锋 2011, and with the contextual use of *chén* in later Warring States sources as studied by Robert Gassmann in 2006.[78] The individuals named in the Hū *dǐng* inscription were in a relation of asymmetrical dependency in the sense that they were objects of an exchange and served others. But we have no proof of any "force" used on them. Definitions of "serfs"[79] or "villeins"[80] are also too specific: They presume the existence of a determinable social class and require delineating the individuals' "freedom" or "unfreedom" in relation to other social strata. It

76 "Fields, seven, and men, five." 田十(七)[田]人五夫.

77 Compare the different readings in Lau, *Quellenstudien*: 372, 382–83; Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 142–43, 148–50; Skosey, "Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou": 98–99, 357–59; Skosey, "Hu *ding*": 133–35.

78 Compare Adamski, "Sklave oder Dienstmann"; see the works by Vassilij M. Krjukov, *Ritualnaja kommunikacija v drevnem Kitae* (Moscow: Institut Vostokovedeniya RAN, 1997): 62, and Wáng Jìnfēng 王进锋, "Hǔchén yǔ cì chén 虎臣与赐臣," *Sìchuān wénwù* 四川文物 5 (2011): 47–52; see also his more recent book-length study of *chén*, *xiǎochén* and society in the Shāng and Western Zhōu dynasties: Wáng Jìnfēng, *Chén, xiǎochén yǔ Shāng Zhōu shèhuì* 臣、小臣与商周社会 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 上海人民出版社, 2018). Raimund Kolb, whose *Die Infanterie im alten China* had previously been unavailable to me, very judiciously discusses *chén* of the Shāng and Western Zhōu on pages 48–50 and 115.

79 According to the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, a "serf" is defined as "a member of a servile feudal class bound to the land and subject to the will of its owner," its first known use attested for the year 1611 (see *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "serf," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/serf [accessed 17.05.2022]).

80 A "villein" is defined as referring to "a free common villager or village peasant of any of the feudal classes lower in rank than the thane", "a free peasant of a feudal class higher in rank than a cotter", and "an unfree peasant standing as the slave of a feudal lord but free in legal relations with respect to all others." The word's earliest occurrence in the first sense is not attested until the fourteenth century. See *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "villein," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/villein [accessed 17.05.2022].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 190

remains unclear whether the men, or their families, "owned" the fields they worked on or returned to. The peasant population of the Western Zhōu was normally tied to the land, under jurisdiction of royal lineages or "regional rulers." So far, the Hū *dǐng* documentation of a transfer of *specific* persons along with fields as the result of a lawsuit is singular. We cannot say that *chén* "in general" could be "bought" or exchanged in commerce.

To further complicate our evidence base, David Keightley 1969 has argued against the genuineness of the inscription, based on character errors and inconsistencies in the alleged provenances of the inscription's rubbings.[81] We must at least consider this possibility.[82]

2.1.2 Indefinite Terms? Problems in Searching for Social Status

There are other terms that are sometimes identified as denoting "slaves" or other subordinate "classes," such as *rénlì* 人鬲.[83] We need more information on these people than the mere fact that they were personnel "given" to élite members. This is, for the reasons I have given, not sufficient grounds to assign any specific status to them. So far, it is not easy to make out any specific "strata" or "classes" of people denoted by specific epigraphic terms in early ancient China.[84] Some terms are

81 See Keightley, "Public Work in Ancient China": 197–99, n. 1.

82 Another general reason for paleographic and epigraphic irregularities in inscriptions might be the use of blueprint manuscripts on perishable materials in the process of inscription making, as was recently shown by Škrabal for Western Zhōu bronzes (see Ondřej Škrabal, "Writing before Inscribing: On the Use of Manuscripts in the Production of Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions," *Early China* 42 (2019): 273–332).

83 Such an identification can be found in quite recent studies, for instance in Li Feng, "The Western Zhou State": 101, as already cited; see also Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*: 127, where *rénlì* is directly translated as "slaves." Also compare its lexicalization as "captives or slaves" 俘虜或奴隸 in *Jīnwén chángyòng zìdiǎn* 金文常用字典 (Xī'ān 西安: Shǎnxī Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 陝西人民出版社, 2004): 766.

84 As an aside, "class" and "stratum" are modern social concepts that developed in nineteenth-century Europe while estate-based society dissolved; according to Reinhart Koselleck, the traditional German concept *Stand* ("estate, degree") in 1807 in Prussia, for instance, comprised a vast array of meanings, while the rather new term *Klasse* seems to have been defined mostly by economical and legal criteria; neither being a clear-cut concept: "Der Begriff des Standes enthielt um die damalige Jahrhundertwende unendlich viele Bedeutungsstreifen politischer, wirtschaftlicher und rechtlicher Art, so daß aus dem Wort selber keine eindeutige Zuordnung abzuleiten ist. [. . .] Der Begriff 'Klasse' enthielt damals ebenso mannigfaltige Bedeutungen, die sich streckenweise mit dem von 'Stand' überlappten. Immerhin kann für den deutschen, speziell den preußischen Sprachgebrauch der Bürokratie gesagt werden, daß damals eine Klasse eher durch wirtschaftliche und verwaltungsrechtliche Kriterien bestimmt wurde als durch politische oder gar geburtsständische Kriterien." Reinhart Koselleck, "Begriffsgeschichte und Sozialgeschichte," in *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte*, ed. Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978): 22. According to the

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 191

obviously used as official titles; some seem to denote certain functions, and may then have been used as so-called "official titles," too.

To give an example of the broad social connotations of Shāng and Western Zhōu terms, I should like to make some additional comments on two terms which are known throughout the pre-imperial and imperial written sources: *chén* 臣, commonly in the sense of "minister" or "servant," and *qiè* 妾, meaning "spouse" in the earliest inscriptions, and "concubine" in later historical sources.[85] These terms were often used together, already in the early Western Zhōu period, implying a close connection of the two. As a compound, *chén qiè* 臣妾 is lexicalized as male and female "slaves" already for early periods in Chinese history, for example in the comprehensive Chinese language dictionary *Hànyǔ dà cídiǎn* 汉语大词典 (2006), or in the dictionary of commonly used bronze inscriptional characters *Jīnwén chángyòng zìdiǎn* 金文常用字典 of 2004.[86] As we have seen so far, and as has been criticized by Huáng Xiànfán already prior to the 1980s,[87] such an identification should be questioned for the earliest Chinese periods.

Merriam-Webster dictionary, the English noun "class" is first attested for 1583 in the meaning "a group, set, or kind sharing common attributes," and not yet in the sense of "a group sharing the same economic or social status" or "social rank" (*Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "Class," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/class#h1 [accessed 17.05.2022]). The first known use of "stratum" was in 1599 in the sense "a bed or layer artificially made" (*Merriam-Webster dictionary*, s.v. "Stratum," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/stratum [accessed 17.05.2022]). The term "class" (French *classe*, German *Klasse*) was first used in the biological classification of plants, "[a]ls Konzept zur Analyse der Gesellschaft tauchte er erstmals bei den Physiokraten im 18. Jh. auf (Physiokratie). In ähnlicher Weise übernahm ihn zu Beginn des 19. Jh. Claude Henri de Saint-Simon zur Bezeichnung der einzig produktiven industriellen Klasse. Für Karl Marx, der den modernen Begriff der Klasse prägte, war der Besitz an den Produktionsmitteln das entscheidende Kriterium, das in der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft die Zuordnung zur Arbeiter- oder Kapitalistenklasse bestimmte" (Ruedi Brassel-Moser, "Klassengesellschaft," June 13 2012, in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/015984/2012-06-13/ [accessed 17.05.2022]). The word was borrowed from Latin *classis*, "fleet, class, division," there also denoting "a class, into six of which Servius Tullius devided the whole Roman people" (see John Relly Beard, *Cassell's Latin dictionary, by J.R. and C. Beard* (London: John Cassell, 1854): 66), compare Wolfgang Pfeifer, "Klasse," in *Digitales Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (DWDS)*, https://www.dwds.de/wb/Klasse [accessed 17.05.2022].

85 See also the earlier discussion of the two in Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 16–17. For semantics of the term *qiè* in early and later imperial sources, see Griet Vankeerberghen, "A Sexual Order in the Making: Wives and Slaves in Early Imperial China," in *Sex, Power and Slavery*, ed. Gwyn Campbell and Elizabeth Elbourne (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014): 121–39.

86 *Jīnwén chángyòng zìdiǎn*: 349. See also the comprehensive Chinese language dictionary edited by Luó Zhúfèng 罗竹凤, *Hànyǔ dà cídiǎn* 汉语大词典, vol. 8 (Shànghǎi: Hànyǔ Dà Cídiǎn Chūbǎnshè 汉语大词典出版社, 2006): 720.

87 In the collocation *chén qiè*, Huáng sees a clear distinction of "male" and "female" in transmitted texts, where it appears to have denoted poor, ordinary servants, or poor and common people, and

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 192

While this composite can already be found in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, it does not yet occur in excavated oracle-bone corpora from the last Shāng capital Yīn 殷.[88] However, some divination inscriptions prove that *chén* 臣 and *qiè* 妾 were already correlated, such as piece *Huādōng* 409 (27), belonging to a corpus of oracle-bones and turtle shells excavated in 1991 at Huāyuánzhuāng 花园庄 village, Hénán 河南 province, which was published in 2003:

己卜: 隹 臣又妾禦子馘妣庚.[89]

Cracks made on *jǐ* 己(-day): It should be captive *chén* 臣 and *qiè* 妾 to make the exorcism rite for prince Guó 馘 (to) ancestress Gēng 庚.[90]

Another example is *Héjí* 629 (2):

貞今庚辰, 夕用羸小臣三十, 小妾三十于帚. 九月.[91]

within some contexts referred to the conquered and captured populace in war; according to him, its predominant notion as "male and female slaves" and as a status term is therefore a modern misinterpretation of old commentaries. Compare Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 19–20.

88 For this paper, I consulted the following oracle-bone corpora: *Jiǎgǔwén héjí* (abbreviated *Héjí* 合集), 13 vols. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1999); *Xiǎotún nándì jiǎgǔ* 小屯南地甲骨 (abbreviated *Túnnán* 屯南), 2 parts (5 vols.) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1983); *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ* 殷墟花园庄东地甲骨 (abbreviated *Huādōng* 花东), 6 vols. (Kūnmíng 昆明: Yúnnán Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 云南人民出版社, 2003); and *Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ* 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨 (abbreviated *Túnzhōngnán* 屯中南), 2 vols. (Kūnmíng: Yúnnán Rénmín Chūbǎnshè, 2012), as well as their respective concordances: *Yīnxū jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn* 殷墟甲骨刻辞类纂, 3 vols. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1989); *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn* (Běijīng: Xiànzhuāng Shūjú, 2011); *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔwén lèizuǎn* (Fúzhōu: Fújiàn Rénmín Chūbǎnshè, 2016); *Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn* (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2017). I did not consider collections that date back to before academic excavations, in particular those in the Royal Ontario Museum and the British Library, since forgeries are not securely identifiable in every single case.

89 See rubbing in *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ*, vol. 3, no. 409, 820 (the inscription can be found on the upper left side of the turtle shell, the graphs running from right to left, then downwards, and again from left to right). Transcription follows *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔwén lèizuǎn*, 95. Also see *Yīnxū jiǎgǔwén móshì quánbiān* 殷墟甲骨文摹释全编, vol. 10 (Bějiīng: Xianzhuang Shūjú 线装书局, 2010), 5670 and Adam Craig Schwartz, *The Oracle Bone Inscriptions from Huayuanzhuang East: Translated with an Introduction and Commentary*, Library of Sinology 3 (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2019): 341 (HYZ 409), both of which transcribe the graph as "Ěr" 而; I follow Schwartz, however, in reading it as "Guó" 馘 in the Huādōng corpus (for the identification see: 81, n. 18).

90 Cf. the translation by Schwartz, *The Oracle Bone Inscriptions from Huayuanzhuang East*: 341 (HYZ 409).

91 See rubbing in *Jiǎgǔwén héjí*, vol. 1, no. 629, 150. Transcription follows *Jiǎgǔwén héjí shìwén*, vol. 1, no. 00629.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 193

> Divined: This *gēngchén* (day), in the evening (we) use as sacrificial offering thirty minor *chén* (and) thirty minor *qiè* to (the king's deceased) wife.[92]

A parallel structure in *Héjí* 630 (1) indicates that *qiè* could refer to "women" in general, because it contains both *chén* and *nǚ* 女, "woman":

> 癸酉卜, 鼎(貞): 多匕(妣)𠂤小臣三十, 小女三十[于]帚(婦).[93]
>
> Cracks made on (day) *guǐyǒu*, divined: (To) the many ancestresses offer thirty minor servants [小臣] (and) thirty minor women [小女], or: girls to the (king's deceased) wife.

Thus, *qiè* 妾 seem to be female equivalents of the male *chén* 臣, which would explain their later collocation. During the 1950s there was already some debate among scholars about the social status of *qiè* in oracle-bone inscriptions: Most believed that *qiè* obviously accompanied the king, apparently being wives and concubines and not slaves; others held that those *qiè* who were not referred to as the king's wives could be killed like cattle, and were sacrificed together with animals, and thus certainly were "slaves."[94] Because the term *chén* had a very broad range and could even refer to high-ranking officers or "officials," sometimes even translated as "ministers," it stands to reason that the word *qiè* 妾 is also used in a broad sense. Although it was sometimes synonymous to *qī* 妻, "wife," I would suggest a translation as "female servants" in the Shāng context, wherever the meaning "wife" is unclear.[95] But we know nothing about their living conditions except the fact that some *qiè* and some *chén* were offered as human sacrifices. This, however, was an important argument in their identification as "slaves," for example by Wáng Chéngshào 王承紹 1955, which is only seldom disputed.[96] We also often find the assumption that all victims of human sacrifice must have been of "low status" and "humble origin."[97] But human

---

92 Cf. the translation by Christian Schwermann and Wang Ping 王平, "Female Human Sacrifice in Shang-Dynasty Oracle-Bone Inscriptions" (unpublished manuscript, September 29, 2014): 63.

93 See rubbing in *Jiǎgǔwén héjí*, vol. 1, no. 630, 150. Transcription following *Jiǎgǔwén héjí shìwén*, vol. 1, no. 00630. Compare translation in Schwermann/Wang, "Female Human Sacrifice": 54.

94 For example Wáng Chéngshào 王承紹, "Shìlùn Yīndài '*xī*', '*qiè*', '*fú*' de shèhuì shēnfèn 试论殷代'奚'、'妾'、' ' 的社会身份," *Běijīng dàxué xuébào* 北京大学学报 1955, no. 1: 114–21; for quotes of this and other works see Yú Xǐngwú 于省吾 vol. 1, ed., *Jiǎgǔwénzì gǔlín* 甲骨文字詁林 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中華書局, 1999): no. 0428, 453.

95 Compare other translations, for example "maid-servants", in Schwermann/Wang, "Female Human Sacrifice": 17–19.

96 See Wáng Chéngshào, "Shìlùn Yīndài '*xī*', '*qiè*', '*fú*'." Aside from Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*, on the respective Shāng terminology (see especially 16–24), cautious treatment of Shāng and Zhōu epigraphic social terms can be found in Kolb, *Die Infanterie im Alten China*, and Kolb, "Bemerkungen zu Ulrich Lau."

97 For example, the reference work "History of the Shāng-Yīn Period" (*Yīn Shāng shǐ* 殷商史) published in 2003 classifies the archaeologically excavated remains of Shāng human sacrifice and accompanying-in-death as clearly belonging to a class of "slaves," identifying them in the epigraphic record as well (in particular *chén qiè* 臣妾); an entire chapter of the book is dedicated to "slaves"

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 194

victims need not automatically be of low status.[98] This fails to consider various possible motives of Shāng sacrifice that still need to be studied in detail.

Bronze inscriptions also mention *chén* and *qiè* in connection: In Western Zhōu evidence, *chén qiè* occurs six times as a collocation, once in an early (before ca. 957 BC) and five times in late Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions (ca. 857–771 BC).[99] From the contexts, we can make out *chén qiè* as subordinate people that are in some way dependent:

In the short Fù Zuò Fù Yǐ *zūn* 复作父乙尊 inscription (*Jíchéng* #5978), the "regional ruler" of Yàn 燕 bestowed on Fù 复: "a cap, an overcoat, *chén qiè* 臣妾, and cowry shells" 冂衣臣妾貝 as gifts.[100] These kinds of gifts are known from early

(Chapter 8, "Núlì zāoyù 奴隶遭遇"; see Hú Hòuxuān 胡厚宣 and Hú Zhènyǔ 胡振宇, eds., *Yīn Shāng shǐ* 殷商史 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Rénmín Chūbǎnshè, 2003): 149–211). This assumption is mainly based on the fact that many of these victims seem to have been captives from non-Shāng tribes.

98 In ancient China, we have transmitted accounts of high-ranking officials being buried together with their lord, for instance the three brothers Zǐchē (or: Zǐjū) Yǎnxī 子車奄息, Zǐchē Zhòngháng 子車仲行, and Zǐchē Zhēnhǔ (or: Qiánhǔ) 子車鍼虎, who in 621 BC followed Duke Mù 穆公 of Qín into the grave (purportedly among altogether 177 victims), their deaths being lamented in the well-known poem "Yellow Bird," or "Oriole" ("Huáng niǎo" 黃鳥), which is included in the "Book of Songs" (Ode #131 in the Máo 毛 tradition). See *Zuǒ zhuàn*, chapter "Lord Wén sixth year (621 BC)" ("Wén Gōng liù nián 文公六年"), which states disapprovingly: "All were good men of Qin." 皆秦之良也. See text and annotated translation in Durrant, Li and Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan* 左傳: 490–91. See also the interesting analysis by Griet Vankeerberghen, "'Yellow Bird' and the Discourse of Retainer Sacrifice in China," in *Sacrifices humains: Perspectives croisées et représentations. Human Sacrifice: Cross-cultural Perspectives and Representations*, Religions 2, ed. Pierre Bonnechere and Renaud Gagné (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2013): 175–203. Although strictly speaking, these "accompaniers-in-death" (*rénxùn* 人殉) differ somewhat from the "human sacrifices" (*rénjì* 人祭) found in great numbers in pits in the Shāng royal cemetery at Ānyáng 安阳, their high social standing clearly did not prevent them from being killed; instead, their very position seems to have been the reason why they were chosen as victims. Still useful as an overview of human sacrifice and accompanying-in-death in Chinese transmitted sources is Eduard Erkes, "Menschenopfer und Kannibalismus im alten China," *Der Erdball: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Menschen- und Völkerkunde* 1, no. 1 (1926): 1–6. Outside of China, human sacrificial victims in the pre-Columbian Americas could be of high social status, such as Inca children sacrificed on Andean mountains (see Patrick Tierney, *The Highest Altar: The Story of Human Sacrifice* [New York: Viking, 1989], and, more recently, Maria Constanza Ceruti, "Frozen Mummies from Andean Mountaintop Shrines: Bioarchaeology and Ethnohistory of Inca Human Sacrifice," *BioMed Research International* (2015), https://doi.org/10.1155/2015/439428 [accessed 17.05.2022]).

99 Western Zhōu reign dates follow Edward L. Shaughnessy, *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991): xix, and periodization as given in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*: xvii.

100 For the identification of the graph 冂 as a variant of *mì* < $^{*}m^{s}[e]k$ *?*, "cover," possibly "cap," see Susanne Adamski, *Die Darstellung des Bogenschießens in Bronzeinschriften der West-Zhōu-Zeit (1045–771 v.Chr.): Eine philologische Quellenanalyse*, Veröffentlichungen des Ostasieninstituts der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 66 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017): 66–67. Compare the rubbing and

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 195

investiture inscriptions.[101] The long and famous Dà Kè *dǐng* 大克鼎 inscription (*Jíchéng* #2836) describes the investiture of the official Kè 克. The king bestows on him settlements and fields at different locations, belonging to different families, which was clearly a practice of the late Western Zhōu:[102]

> 易(賜)女(汝)田于埜. 易(賜)女(汝)田于渿. 易(賜)女(汝)井家 田于 . 昌(以)乃臣妾. 易(賜)女(汝)田于康(康).[103]

> I bestow on you fields at Yě 埜. I bestow on you fields at X 渿. I bestow on you X fields at X belonging to the Jǐng 井 lineage, along with their *chén qiè* 臣妾. I bestow on you fields at Kāng 康.[104]

Here, the *chén qiè* 臣妾 are tied to the fields they apparently live and work on. On the Shī Huǐ *guǐ* 師毁簋 vessel (Shī X *guǐ* 師 簋) (*Jíchéng* #4311), dated to 841 BC but unfortunately lost, the minister Bó Héfù 伯龢父,[105] orders Shī Huǐ 師毁 to:

> (司)我西扁(偏)東扁(偏)僕馭(馭)百工牧臣妾. 東(董)(裁)内外.[106]

> Supervise and administer the *pú* and the charioteers, the artisans, the herders, and the *chén qiè* 臣妾 of the eastern and western wings of my armies, managing internal and external affairs.[107]

---

transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 4, no. 5978, 257, as well as the transcription in *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 2090, 113–14.

101 On "gifts" of various kinds Virginia Kane in 1982 noted that "in Western Chou bronze inscriptions, it seems important to bear in mind the fundamental distinction between those presented as a reward for services already rendered or military valor already displayed, and those 'gifts' which accompanied a charge or appointment whose duties and services were yet to be performed. It seems that only the former – the rewards or recompense for services already rendered – should actually be considered as gifts (understood as objects which the recipient may keep and use as he wishes), while the latter comprised instead the insignia and accouterments essential to the official duties being assigned and as such were always, at least in theory, subject to return to the superior." Virginia C. Kane, "Aspects of Western Chou Appointment Inscriptions: The Charge, the Gifts, and the Response," *Early China* 8 (1982–83): 14.

102 For developments in the Western Zhōu granting of land, see Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*: 125–26.

103 Punctuated transcription from *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 4023, 253; compare rubbing and transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 2836, 408–9.

104 Compare the transcription, translation and discussion by Constance A. Cook, "Da Ke ding 大克鼎 and related inscriptions," in *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, Early China Special Monograph Series 7, ed. Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 2016): 172–79, especially 177–79.

105 Identified as Gòngbó Hé 共伯和, Firstborn and head of the Gòng lineage. For the historical context as well as the dating of the inscription, compare Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*: 106.

106 Punctuated transcription from *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 5041, 324. Compare rubbing and transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 3, no. 4311, 439.

107 Compare the translation in Li Feng, *Landscape and Power*: 106; another translation can be found in the freely available class text readings by Robert Eno, "Inscriptional Records of the

The late Western Zhōu Nì *zhōng* 逆鐘 (*Jíchéng* #0062) records how Shū Shì 叔氏 orders Nì 逆 to:

> 用 于公室僕庸臣妾小子室家. 母(毋)又(有)不 (聞)(智).[108]
>
> Supervise the *pú* 僕 and *yōng* 庸 and *chén qiè* 臣妾 of the lord's house, and the houses and families of the minor sons (*xiǎozǐ* 小子). Let there be nothing you do not hear or know.

According to two other inscriptions, *chén qiè* were part of the royal household at the Kāng 康 palace or palace-temple: In the Zǎi Shòu *guǐ* 宰獸簋 inscription, from the late middle or late Western Zhōu,[109] the king orders Zǎi Shòu 宰獸 to:

> (兼) (司)康宮王家臣妾 (庸). 外入(内)母(毋)敢無 (聞) (知).[110]
>
> Administer the *chén qiè* 臣妾 as well as the X and *yōng* of the Kāng 康 palace and the royal household. Do not dare not to hear and know of inner and outer affairs.

And on the transmitted rubbing of the Yī *guǐ* 伊簋 (*Jíchéng* #4287), dated to the late Western Zhōu:

> 王 [. . .] 命伊官(司)康宮王臣妾百工.[111]
>
> The king [. . .] orders Yī 伊 to x supervise and administer the king's *chén qiè* 臣妾 as well as the hundred artisans at (or of) the Kāng palace.

Obviously, *chén qiè* belong to the personnel of the king's and other lineages' households alongside other more specified personnel.[112] Therefore, *chén qiè* seem to denote

---

Western Zhou," Indiana University, IUScholarWorks Repository, Fall 2012: 68–69, http://hdl.handle.net/2022/23466 [accessed 17.05.2022].

108 Punctuated transcription from *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 0056, 4. Compare rubbing and transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 1, no. 0062, 35.

109 The vessel was found 1997 in Dàtóngcūn 大同村, Fúfēng 扶风 county, Shǎnxī 陕西 province, and is held in the province's Zhōuyuán Museum 周原博物館 in the city of Bǎojī 寶雞. See Luò Xizhang 罗西章, "Zǎi Shòu *guǐ* míng lüèkǎo 宰兽簋铭略考," *Wénwù* 文物 1998, no. 8: 83–87.

110 Punctuated transcription from *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 5048, 325. For the rubbing see Luò Xīzhāng, "Zǎi Shòu *guǐ* míng lüèkǎo 宰兽簋铭略考": 85, Fig. 3.

111 Transcription from *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 5030, 322; compare rubbing and transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 3, no. 4287, 406.

112 Early transmitted literature in a few instances also refers to *chén qiè* 臣妾 as a pair. While the chain does not occur in the anthology of poetry "Book of Songs" (*Shī jīng*), it can be found twice in the divination classic "Book of Changes" (*Yì jīng* 易經), without however many contextual clues as to the semantics of the collocated words. In the "Book of Documents" (*Shàng shū*), chapter "Harangue at Bi" ("Bì shì" 費誓), *chén qiè* are mentioned in the context of military campaigns. In a speech attributed to Bó Qín 伯禽, the Prince of Lǔ 鲁, son of the Duke of Zhōu 周公 (reigned 1042–1036 BC for young King Chéng 成), before a campaign against the Xúróng 徐戎 and Huáiyí 淮夷 he warns his officers and soldiers, as well as the people of Lǔ: "When horses and cattle abscond, and *chén* and *qiè* (male and female servants) flee, do not dare to get over (the entrenchments) and chase them. If you repectfully restore them, I will commensurately reward you. If you trespass and

male and female people who are attached to élite households which they serve in one way or another. They are administered and supervised. Aside from their "administration," we lack information on the personal relations between these "serving" people and their official superiors. Can we securely identify this social asymmetry as "strong"? I think not. This reflects a problem of our sources.

---

pursue or do not return them, you will receive the usual punishment. Do not dare to plunder or steal. If you pass over enclosures or walls to steal horses and cattle, or lure away *chén* and *qiè* (male and female servants), you will receive the usual punishment." 馬牛其風, 臣妾逋逃, 勿敢越逐. 祗復之, 我商賚汝. 乃越逐不復, 汝則有常刑. 無敢寇攘, 逾垣牆, 竊馬牛, 誘臣妾, 汝則有常刑. *Sìbù cóngkān* 四部叢刊, *Shàng shū* 尚書, *juàn* 卷 13 (my punctuation); compare the translations by Séraphin Couvreur, *Chou king* 書經*: Les Annales de la Chine*, Humanités d'extrême-Orient: Série Culturelle des Hautes Études de Tien-Tsin (Leiden: Brill/Les Belles Lettres; Paris: Cathasia, 1950): 393–96, and James Legge, *The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, vol. 3, part 2, *Containing the Fifth Part of the Shoo King, or the Books of Chow; and the Indexes* (Hongkong: At the Author's; London: Trübner & Co., 1865): 621–25, and Maria Khayutina, "'Bi shi' 柲誓, Western Zhou Oath Texts, and the Legal Culture of Early China," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 416–45. This text, at least in its wording, cannot be regarded as an authentic Western Zhōu "document" (compare Khayutina, "'Bi shi' 柲誓," as well as Shaughnessy, "*Shàng shū* 尚書"). However, if we treat this speech, or "oath," as reflecting some of the circumstances of that period, it indicates that *chén* and *qiè* also served in the military, following warriors on campaigns, the use of the chain pointing to unspecified male and female "servants" or "retainers" at large, perhaps being responsible for tasks such as cooking, tending animals, etc. (also compare Legge, *The Shoo King*: 623–24, n. 4). Interpretations as "slaves" in this context may have arisen because the commentary attributed to the Western Hàn scholar Kǒng Ānguó 孔安国 (156–74 BC) explains *chén qiè* as "*nú bì* 奴婢," commonly understood and translated as "slaves," or due to their collocation with livestock and possibility of absconding. For another recent translation and study of this chapter regarding its composition, historical background, and questions of authenticity, see Khayutina, "'Bi shi' 柲誓." All in all, this occurrence of *chén qiè* seems largely in accord with the usage of the collocation in Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions (search performed using the electronic collectanea Sìbù cóngkān 四部丛刊 provided by the Unihan Ancient Books Database 書同文古籍數據庫, https://guji.unihan.com.cn/, via CrossAsia [crossasia.org]). A glimpse into digitalized manuscript sources shows that in Qín Shuìhǔdì legal bamboo manuscripts, we still find the collocation *chén qiè* 臣妾 (altogether 22 times, either in legal statutes [*Qínlǜ shíbā zhǒng* 秦律十八種], questions and answers on them [*Fǎlǜ dáwèn* 法律答問], or model cases for sealing and investigating [*Fēngzhěn shì* 封診式]); not always as part of the now frequently used chain *lìchén qiè* 隸臣妾, but apparently also as a generic term for dependent "servants," see for example the following coordination in *Fēngzhěn shì*, section "Sealing and Guarding" ("Fēngshǒu" 封守): "*shìwǔ* A's household, wives, children, *chén* and *qiè* (male and female servants), clothes, vessels and tools, and livestock" 士五(伍)甲家室、妻、子、臣妾、衣器、畜産. Punctuated transcription from *Shuìhǔdì Qín mù zhújiǎn*, 149, slip no. 8. As such it is at present not, and perhaps no longer, found in excavated Hàn legal manuscripts. The database search was performed on August 25, 2020 using the Chinese Ancient Texts (CHANT) Jianbo databases 竹簡帛書 1–3. For information on the various manuscript corpora, see the Manuscripts Database provided by the Institute of Chinese Studies, Heidelberg University (http://projects.zo.uni-heidelberg.de/manuscript/index.php/sites/find [accessed 17.05.2022]).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 198

2.2 Problems of the Sources

If we choose to identify "slavery" and other forms of "human bondage and coercion" on the level of personal relations, as Patterson does, we need information on the nature of these relations. For example, official texts or statutes by which society is described or legally structured, or personal written accounts of the living conditions of the lowest members of society. Excavated legal texts from the Qín and early Hàn not only speak of dependents who could be "manumitted," *miǎn* 免,[113] thereby changing their legal, and apparently also their social, status; the legal manuscripts also mention a stratum of so-called "commoners" or "free men," *shùrén* 庶人. Here is one example from the "Statutes on Abscondance" ("Wáng lǜ" 亡律) found at the early Hàn Zhāngjiāshān 張家山 tomb 247, as cited and translated by Yates 2014:

> 奴婢為善而主欲免者, 許之, 奴命曰私屬, 婢為庶人, 皆復使, 及箕事之如奴婢.
>
> If a male or female slave is good and the master wishes to manumit (*mian*) [them], permit it, and male [*sic*] slave is [then] called a "private dependent" (*sishu*) and the female slave is made a freedman (*shuren*); in all cases they may again employ [them] as well as pay the poll tax (*suan*), and make them serve like male and female slaves.[114]

While Cáo Lǚníng 曹旅宁 2007 has argued that *shùrén*, according to the legal bamboo and wooden slips of the Qín and Hàn, also showed clear signs of personal bondage, therefore translating them as "subordinate people" instead of "commoners,"[115] more recent studies further problematize reading *shùrén* as a "status": Jiǎ Lìyīng 贾丽英 2019 and Takatori Yūji 鷹取祐司 2019 both emphasize that the term *shùrén*, while found as referring to certain people in a legal context, generally is not used to designate specific persons (such as "*shùrén* X," in contrast to "*lìchén* 隶臣 X" or "*chéngdàn* 城旦 X"), based in part on the recently published legal texts

---

113 For certain regulations on "manumitted" *lìchén qiè* 隸臣妾, see for instance the "Statutes on Granaries" (Cāng lǜ 倉律) in the Shuìhǔdì manuscript "Eighteen Statutes of the Qín" (*Qín lǜ shíbā zhǒng* 秦律十八種): "As to manumitted *lìchén qiè* and wall-building *lìchén qiè* as well as those who fulfill tasks that equal wall-building, a male receives half a food portion in the morning and three in the evening, a female three." 免隸臣妾、隸臣妾垣及為它事與垣等者, 食男子旦半夕參, 女子參. Punctuated transcription from *Shuìhǔdì Qín mù zhújiǎn*, 34, slip no. 59. Robin Yates generally translates *lìchén qiè* as "male and female bondservants," noting however that this term is much debated: "either, most likely, three-year hard-labor convicts or types of slave" (Robin D.S. Yates, "The Qin Slips and Boards From Well No. 1, Liye, Hunan: A Brief Introduction to the Qin Qianling County Archives," *Early China* 35–36 (2012–13): 299).

114 Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves": 210. Here, "male or female slave" is the translation of *núbì* 奴婢. Yates translates the term *shùrén* as "freedman," regardless of whether it refers to a man or a woman.

115 See Cáo Lǚníng 曹旅宁, "Qín Hàn fǎlǜ jiǎndú zhōng de 'shùrén' shēnfèn jí fǎlǜ dìwèi wèntí 秦汉法律简牍中的'庶人'身份及法律地位问题," *Xiányáng shīfān xuéyuàn bào* 咸阳师范学院报 22, no. 3 (2007): 12–14 (translation from the English abstract).

in the Yuèlù Academy Collection of Qín bamboo strips 嶽麓書院藏秦简 acquired in 2007 and 2008 (unfortunately not archaeologically excavated, but bought on the Hong Kong antiques market); Takatori therefore takes issue with its "treatment as a specific social identity."[116]

Regardless of whether *shùrén* in early imperial China should be regarded as a distinct "status" or as a broader generic term for several social categories, in the Qín and Hàn periods we clearly find terminologically specified social categories as distinguished by law, including the lowest strata such as *núbì* 奴婢 or *lìchén qiè* 隸臣妾, who certainly were "unfree," the former of which evidently could be bought and sold.[117] In view of new evidence, Robin Yates 2014 partly revised his earlier conclusions on Qín and Hàn "slavery," stating that "it seems that the early Han made some significant alterations in the nomenclature and legal status of slaves, simplifying the complex and harsher Qin system. [. . .] It is also clear from the evidence that violence was not always a feature of slavery in early times. [. . . T]he Han made a conscious effort to assimilate slaves into the family system,"[118] and that "[a]nother important difference between the Qin and the Han is that the Han recognized the legality of a slave's marriage. [. . .] [W]omen who married slaves as wives were not 'dishonored persons,' as in Orlando Patterson's terminology."[119] Regarding the new evidence it seems thus necessary to either modify Patterson's definition of "slavery" – including, for example, some of the rejected Marxist views such as the tradeability of people as a feature –, or to embrace the possibility that the different Qín and Hàn *rénnú qiè* 人奴妾, *nú* 奴 and *bì* 婢, *lìchén* 隸臣 and *lìqiè* 隸妾 and other designations reflect further gradations of dependency at its lower end, thus needing further research into early imperial social structure before categorizing them as "slaves."[120] This issue certainly cannot be solved within a short time. Suffice it to say that in early imperial China, marked low status is evident from indigenous texts which sought to regulate the population and their relations towards the government.

---

116 See Jiǎ Lìyīng 贾丽英, "Shùrén: Qín Hàn shèhuì juézhì shēnfèn yǔ túlì shēnfèn de xiánjiē 庶人: 秦汉社会爵制身份与徒隶身份的衔接," *Shānxī dàxué xuébào* 山西大学学报 2019, no. 11: 16–25, and Takatori Yūji 鷹取祐司, "Qín Hàn shídài de shùrén zàikǎo – duì tèdìng shēnfèn shuō de pīpíng 秦漢时代的庶人再考 – 對特定身份説的批評," *Jiǎnbó* 簡帛 18 (2019) / *Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts* 2019, no. 1: 75–89.

117 Compare the prices for individual *nú* 奴 given in the Qín Lǐyè 里耶 legal documents, as translated by Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves": 208.

118 Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves": 207.

119 Yates, "The Changing Status of Slaves": 213.

120 Terminological ambivalence has already been observed by Yates, who, for instance, identifies "*rennu* 人奴, *renchen* 人臣, or *chen* 臣" in Qín legal texts as "a person's male slave or servant," and "*renqie* 人妾 or *qie* 妾" as "a person's female slave or servant." (Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 304).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 200

Problematically, the epigraphic texts of the Shāng and Western Zhōu lack this kind of information: Certain terms and circumstances indicate the social dependency of both groups of people and individuals, but do not explain their social ties or even their everyday lives. Thus, even when legal cases are recorded, as in the Hū *dǐng* inscription, the social situations and the exact status of apparently dependent individuals or groups remain unclear. This is mainly due to the form and content of the inscriptions. They are either records of divinations, particularly important during the Shāng dynasty, or dedications and documentations cast in bronze, to be used within the ruling Shāng and Zhōu élite. They were not made to legally structure society in written form.[121] I therefore believe, as a hypothesis, that their social terminology is not yet shaped by legal definitions, but by the social conventions of the time.

Most recently, Ernest Caldwell 2018 and Li Feng 2016 and 2018b convincingly demonstrated that: a) the development of statutory written law was mainly a process of the Spring and Autumn (Chūnqiū 春秋, 771–481 BC) and Warring States (Zhànguó 戰國, 481–221 BC) periods, as a reaction to the vast social transformation and disorder within now independent territorial states;[122] and b) this transformation necessitated, in the words of Li Feng, "the establishment of new social institutions such as taxation, household registration, and codification of law," in order to totally control the population.[123]

This population had changed over time. After the military defeat in 771 BC, the Western Zhōu royal house had to flee from its Western domain towards the east, together with some of the "regional states," offspring of the Zhōu royal lineage. During the Spring and Autumn period, these states competed for hegemony and influence, the Zhōu royal power in decline. After 481 BC, the now independent polities annexed and eliminated one another as the "Warring States," until military unification under Qín in 221 BC. Within these competing states, an "impersonal" bureaucracy developed;

---

121 Some inscriptions seem to have functioned as "contracts," for instance recording transactions of land between lineages and/or states, as on the late Western Zhōu Sànshì *pán* 散氏盤 (*Jíchéng* #10176) vessel (for a translation and discussion, see Li Feng, "Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing in the Western Zhou," in *Writing & Literacy in Early China*, ed. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011): 287–93; for rubbing and transcription see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 6, no. 10176, 134–35); but Shāng and Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions usually have one "donor," and generally refer to his or her (living and future) descendants, thus being "documents" to be used within the respective donor's lineage. A summary of the multiple uses of Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions is given by Li Feng, "The Development of Literacy in Early China: With the Nature and Uses of Bronze Inscriptions in Context, and More," in *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life*, ed. Anne Kolb (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018): 26–32.

122 See Ernest Caldwell, *Writing Chinese Laws: The Form and Function of Legal Statutes found in the Qin Shuihudi Corpus* (London and New York: Routledge, 2018); see also Lǐ Fēng 李峰, "Zhōngguó gǔdài guójiā xíngtài de biànqiān hé chéngwén fǎlǜ xíngchéng de shèhuì jīchǔ 中国古代国家形态的变迁和成文法律形成的社会基础," *Huádōng zhèngfǎ dàxué xuébào* 华东政法大学学报 2016, no. 4: 20–32.

123 Li Feng, "The Development of Literacy": 34.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 201

philosophy evolved, which was often concerned with moral and efficient ways to rule.[124] Over time, many states with their ruling aristocratic lines had vanished – but their offspring lived on. This resulted in enormous downward social mobility,[125] and in masses of free peasants and craftsmen who were no longer tied to aristocratic lineages.[126] Therefore it was only the newly developed *impersonal* bureaucratic governments that found it necessary to register, legally structure and terminologically define society, which meant, as Li Feng emphasizes, every single member of society.[127]

This was not yet the case during the Shāng and Western Zhōu periods.[128] I think it is therefore unlikely that we may find a terminologically clearly distinguished "social class" or "status" during these periods, as it seems that these categories were not

124 For highly readable overviews of these periods, see Cho-yun Hsu, "The Spring and Autumn Period," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC.*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 545–86, and Mark Edward Lewis, "Warring States Political History," in *Cambridge History of Ancient China*: 587–650. A well-known example for political philosophical texts from the Warring states period is the "Book of Lord Shang" (*Shāngjūn shū* 商君書), which mirrors the legal and economic principles applied by the government in the state of Qín, see for instance Chapter 20.10, "Weakening the People" ("Ruò mín" 弱民), translated by Yuri Pines: "When the government does whatever the people detest, the people are weak; when the government does whatever the people delight in, the people are strong. When the people are weak, the state is strong; when the people are strong, the state is weak. [. . .] Hence, employing the strong multiplies weakness; [employing] the weak multiplies strength and turns one into the [True] Monarch." (Shang Yang, *The Book of Lord Shang: Apologetics of State Power in Early China*, ed. and trans. Yuri Pines [New York: Columbia University Press, 2017]: 146.) Unpunctuated original in *Sìbù cóngkān*, *Shāng zǐ* 商子, *juàn* 卷 5: 政作民之所惡, 民弱; 政作民之所樂, 民強. 民弱國強; 民強國弱. [. . .] 故以強重弱; 弱重強, 王. (Ellipsis and punctuation added, following Pines. Electronic version: https://guji.unihan.com.cn/, accessed via Unihan Ancient Books Database 書同文古籍數據庫 on September 27, 2020.)

125 A thorough study of the Spring and Autumn period's social structure as seen from transmitted sources, especially the *Zuǒ zhuàn*, can be found in Robert Gassmann, *Verwandtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten China: Begriffe, Strukturen und Prozesse* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006).

126 Cf. Li Feng, "The Development of Literacy": 34.

127 Cf. Li Feng, "Zhōngguó gǔdài guójiā xíngtài": 31, and Caldwell, *Writing Chinese Laws*, which is more detailed with regard to Qín practice, see 45–92 ("Inscribing control in Qin"); especially for the role of written law in controlling commoners, see 81–85.

128 This is not to say that there were no records at all of any personnel attached to households (see also n. 129 below); bronze inscriptions also show that people who appear to belong to certain categories had been counted, at least when being transferred to a new jurisdiction (for example on the early Western Zhōu Yíhóu Zè *guǐ* 宜侯矢簋 vessel (*Jíchéng* #4320), where the new regional ruler of the state Yí 宜 is awarded land and people, see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 3, no. 4320, 452); just as enemies killed in battle and war booty were counted, too (for instance on the late Western Zhōu Duō Yǒu *dǐng* 多友鼎 (*Jíchéng* #2835), see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 2835, 406). However, categorizations of people do not imply the existence of full-fledged social *statuses* or *classes*, and the population still appears to have been attached to land and lineage, their respective lord and overlord. In this regard, structures were far more "personal" than under later Qín and Hàn rule.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 202

yet conceptualized, or only in the process of being conceptualized. It is possible that the late Western Zhōu evidence already reflects certain social developments, because ongoing lineage segmentation rendered élite society more complex, and therefore possibly also élite relations towards their attached peasants and personnel.[129] But on the whole, it seems that late Shāng and Western Zhōu terms for "social groups" are

129 Intra-lineage conflicts involving land and personnel can be seen, for instance, in the recently excavated Diāo Shēng *zūn* 琱生尊 inscription, the subject of which was a land dispute between two branches of the Shào 召 lineage, the "ducal" branch, and the junior branch headed by Diāo Shēng 琱生 (see Edward L. Shaughnessy, "The Dowager v. the Royal Court: A Ninth-Century BCE Case of Family Law Recorded in Chinese Bronze Inscriptions," in *Structures of Power: Law and Gender Across the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, Oriental Institute Seminars 12, ed. Ilan Peled [Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2018]). As transcribed and translated by Shaughnessy: "I have grown aged. Our laborers and field bosses have many complaints. Would that you assent and not let them disperse and abscond. We will be allotted three parts of them and you will be allotted two parts of them." 余老之. 我僕庸土田多柔; 弋許, 勿使散亡. 余宕其三, 汝宕其貳. (Shaughnessy, "The Dowager v. the Royal Court": 164; compare also, with slight differences, Edward L. Shaughnessy, "Newest Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels, 2000–2010," in *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China*, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Monographs Series 17, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy [Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017]: 169–70, where he transcribes 僕庸土田多刺, tentatively translating: "Our retainers and fields are much litigious"; for the rubbing see *Jìnchū Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jílù èrbiān* 近出殷周金文集录二编, vol. 2 [Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2010]: no. 587, 273–74). The inscription uses the terms *pú yōng* 僕庸 as a collocation, translated by Shaughnessy as "laborers," and it shows that control over such "laborers" was at least limited. In the already cited late Western Zhōu Nì *zhōng* 逆鐘 inscription, *pú yōng* are attested together with *chénqiè* 臣妾: "Supervise the *pú* and *yōng* and *chén qiè* of the lord's house" 用鞫于公室僕庸臣妾小子室家, indicating their function in service or menial tasks of various kinds. Note that the plausible understanding of 僕庸土田 as a coordination of "laborers/retainers" (*pú yōng*) *and* "land and fields" (*tǔ tián* 土田) marks this conflict as a dispute primarily over land, or at least equally over land and people. Although he gives a different translation in his 2018 essay cited above, Shaughnessy expects "40 percent of all of the property or its produce" to have been allotted to Diāo Shēng's junior branch, instead of only personnel as implied by the chosen translation "laborers and field bosses" (see Shaughnessy, "The Dowager v. the Royal Court": 167). This latter interpretation, on the other hand, would imply not only the use of land registers but also – even primarily – registers of personnel. It is therefore an interesting question how the circumstances recorded in this inscription should be interpreted. As it appears from two related vessel inscriptions concerning Diāo Shēng, the head of the senior branch further had to "formalize the agreement with the royal authorities," finally signing "records" (*diǎn* 典) which "must have been deeds or land registers, which Duke Hu then turned over to Diao Sheng" (Shaughnessy, "The Dowager v. the Royal Court": 167). In view of the fact that the allocation of land was crucial in granting authority within the Western Zhōu élite, it seems likely that the main focus here is on the land being divided and officially registered, the people being attached to it (compare, for instance, the same interpretation in Xú Yìhuá 徐义华, "Diāo Shēng sān qì míngwén bǔshì 琱生三器铭文补释," *Nánfāng wénwù* 南方文物 2015, no. 3: 102–6, here 105–6): If it had become unclear to which branch lineage the land and fields (and, in consequence, their produce) actually belonged, and to whom the *pú* and *yōng* working on it owed their allegiance, a clear solution was needed, lest the situation become chaotic.

broader in their semantic scope than the social terminology of later periods in Chinese history.

The mere continuity of certain terms used within social contexts in the written sources, not only over centuries but even millennia beginning from the late Shāng and Western Zhōu, often obscures possible semantic shifts that can be hard to trace, but which need to be borne in mind as a strong probability.[130] For instance, in her 2014 article "A Sexual Order in the Making: Wives and Slaves in Early Imperial China," Griet Vankeerberghen argues that the differences between primary and secondary wives in Qín and Hàn élite households apparently were less strict at the beginning, but the distinctions between them were actively defined and hardened by a scholarly discourse on "wifely virtue" starting during the late Western Hàn dynasty (206 BC–9 AD).[131] This seems to have prepared a "semantic shift in the word *qiè* 妾," meaning "secondary wife" in early imperial sources, but in later sources such as the Táng 唐 (618–907) legal code denoting "concubine" that was being bought into the household:[132] While in early imperial China, secondary wives could actually replace a primary wife regardless of their social background, even including "slaves" (*bì* 婢), this was no longer possible in later times, where the primary wife now was the rightful "wife," élite marriage having shifted towards "polygynous monogamy."[133] Processes of conceptualization and semantic change thus could be the result of conscious efforts.

It is unsurprising that social concepts and definitions seem to have become more specified and elaborate over the course of Chinese pre-imperial and imperial history, since the state bureaucracy became more systematized and society grew more and more complex, becoming, in the eyes of the rulers, an "impersonal" mass

---

The Shào 召 lineage's explicit concern that the "laborers," "retainers" and/or "servants" might "disperse and abscond" (*sàn wáng* 散亡) may therefore suggest that they had not been formally registered as such, but had simply fulfilled that role, and would thus become untraceable. Perhaps this late Western Zhōu case already reflects general circumstances of people's detachment from lineages; further studies and future evidence will certainly reveal more about Western Zhōu relationships between lineages and their attached personnel at different times.

130 As to the well-known transfer of Western concepts and word fields to China, often via Japan, during the process of modernization, for which – inter alia – indigenous terminology was used, see Frederico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series 6 (Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California Press, 1993); compare also Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 76, who emphasizes that the terms "slave" (*núlì*), "slave system" (*núlìzhì*) and "slave society" (*núlì shèhuì*) are foreign modern historiographical terms, which have become widely used within Chinese scholarship during the second half of the twentieth century.

131 This being in the interest of families bringing daughters in the imperial harem and struggling for lasting influence (compare Vankeerberghen, "Sexual Order in the Making": 122).

132 Since terminologically they were all "spouses," *fūrén* 夫人, or "wives," *qī* 妻 (cf. Vankeerberghen, "Sexual Order in the Making": 123 and 125).

133 Vankeerberghen, "Sexual Order in the Making": 123–24.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 204

that needed to be controlled.[134] In other words: it is not necessary to clarify social conventions, but there is a need to clarify what has become disordered and ill-defined, due to unprecedented developments.

Important developments took place during the late pre-imperial period and the early Chinese empire, which can be studied from a relative abundance of indigenous sources. In fact, state-organized unfree labor outweighed private forms of dependency during the early Chinese empire, the former of which especially the Qín state drew heavily upon, while the state apparently sought to minimize the latter, as was suggested by Walter Scheidel in a comparative perspective, and discussed in detail by Maxim Korolkov with regard to Qín political economy and the role of the early imperial state in market formation, with particular focus on the economic and social effects of the Qín government lending system.[135] In this regard, as Korolkov suggested after analyzing legal and administrative documents, "the concept of labour as a quantifiable and tradable commodity took shape in Qin law,"[136] playing an important role in strengthening the early Qín empire via infrastructure construction projects; and these already were a feature of the competing Warring States.[137] In spite of David Keightley's attempts in 1969 to prove the existence of state-managed "forced labour" for the Shāng and Western Zhōu dynasty, the concept of labor as a commodity is not yet evident in the written sources of these far earlier, administratively and economically less developed states. Looking at our extant sources and their mentioned limitations, so far we have not been able to find clear cases of either "slavery" or "strong asymmetrical dependency" in early ancient China.

---

134 One important element in strengthening the political authority of the emergent Qín empire was the common acceptance of the legal system, which was to prevail over other forms of administering justice traditionally carried out within families and community structures (cf. Maxim Korolkov, "Arguing about Law: Interrogation Procedure under the Qin and Former Han Dynasties," *Études chinoises* 30 (2011): 37–71). For an earlier example of the royal court's ultimate legal authority over family property during the late Western Zhōu see Shaughnessy, "The Dowager v. the Royal Court." On developments of "Confucianization" of law during the Hàn dynasty see Paul R. Goldin, "Han Law and the Regulation of Interpersonal Relations: 'The Confucianization of the Law' Revisited," *Asia Major (third Series)* 25, no. 1 (2012): 1–31.

135 I am indebted to Maxim Korolkov for drawing my attention to this fact and to the works mentioned; see Walter Scheidel, "Slavery and forced labor in early China and the Roman world," Version 1.0, Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics, Stanford University, April 2013, http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/papers/authorMZ/scheidel/scheidel.html [accessed 17.05.2022] (published in *Eurasian Empires in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Contacts and Exchange Between the Graeco-Roman World, Inner Asia and China*, ed. Hyun J. Kim, Frederik J. Vervaet, and Selim F. Adali [Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2017]: 133–50); Korolkov, "Between Command and Market."

136 Korolkov, "Between Command and Market": 221.

137 Korolkov, "Between Command and Market": 30 and the following on labor as a commodity.

3 Did "Strong Asymmetrical Dependency" Exist in Shāng and Western Zhōu China?

Nevertheless, I agree with many scholars that it is possible to *assume* relations of "strong asymmetrical dependency" already in early Chinese antiquity. Forms of "human bondage and coercion" seem highly imaginable or even plausible during the Shāng and Western Zhōu periods, due to the nature of the extant sources: oracle-bone inscriptions abound with sacrificial violence offered to the ancestors and spirits, and Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions – even if their production might have been meant to stress the donor's or lineage's position within the aristocracy as well as to delight the spirits – exalt the merits of a ruling élite. In particular forms of "slavery," as defined above, namely as "the permanent, violent domination of natally alienated and generally dishonored persons" or, as usefully modified by Miller 2012 with regard to Patterson's own thesis, "*the violent domination of* permanently *natally alienated and* socially *dishonored persons*" seem conceivable.[138] As shown by Robert Gassmann 2006, Robin Yates 2001 and 2014 and others based on the received sources and indigenous manuscripts, social strata were clearly distinguished at the latest by the late Warring States, specific groups of people were traded in private and by the state, and convict labor, as demonstrated by Maxim Korolkov 2015, was commonly used on district level by the Qín and early Hàn dynasty, as was debt labor during the Qín empire.[139] It thus stands to reason that already before any terminological conceptualization and legal definition of dependent "slaves," "bondservants" or "convicts" by a state bureaucracy, there might have been individual forms of "human bondage and coercion" in early ancient China. We can *assume* that they existed because people from other tribes or states were taken captive, and individual children, women or also men in certain situations may have lost the protection of their families. According to Michael Zeuske 2013, there must have been early forms of "slavery" at certain points in pre-modern societies, which may eventually have led to its later institutionalization, and which in general were kin-slaveries: "Zunächst werden 'innere' (endogene) Formen dieses Status wichtiger gewesen sein. Mit der Ausbreitung von Konflikten und Kriegen gegen andere Gruppen mögen [sich] 'äußere' (exogene) Vorformen des Sklavenstatus entwickelt

138 See Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 32.

139 Bamboo slips excavated from a disused well at Lǐyè 里耶, Húnán Province, in 2002 (published in 2012) provide evidence that convict labor was administered on Qín local government level and that, according to Korolkov, "the operation of convict labor was among the main functions of local government." See Maxim Korolkov, "Convict labor in the Qin Empire: A preliminary study of the 'Registers of convict laborers' from Liye," in *Jiǎnbó wénxiàn yǔ gǔdài shǐ: Dì èr jiè chūtǔ wénxiàn qīngnián xuézhě guójì lùntán lùnwénjí* 简帛文献与古代史: 第二届出土文献青年学者国际论坛论文集, ed. Fùdàn dàxué lìshǐxué xì 复旦大学历史学系 and Fùdàn dàxué chūtǔ wénxiàn yǔ gǔwénzì yánjiū zhōngxīn 复旦大学出土文献与古文字研究中心 (Shànghǎi: Zhōngxī Shūjù 中西书局, 2015): 20.

haben."[140] According to Zeuske, early situations of "slavery" almost always involved women and children who lost the protection of their families or kin groups, due to abandonment or violence, but also those who were taken prisoner in raids or battle.[141] A point worth noting is that these kin-slaves or female slaves "without institutionalized slavery" are not to be found in early written documents: "Die Masse der Kin-Sklaven und gar Sklavinnen 'ohne Institution Sklaverei' oder Schuldsklaven kommen nicht in Texten vor."[142] If so, how can we ever prove they existed?

From a cross-cultural historical perspective, the enslavement of captives and prisoners of war is known from other early societies and so-called primitive cultures, especially of women and children, as for example John Gillingham 2012 has shown for early medieval Europe, and Fàn Chuánxián 范传贤 1988 for indigenous peoples of North and South America.[143] Following this, and taking Orlando Patterson's definition of "slavery" as a basis, Shāng- and Western Zhōu "slaves" might perhaps be identified within the context of battle and tribute, when people were *torn from their societies of origin*, which would have produced "natal alienation." In an as-yet unpublished paper[144] I presented evidence from late Shāng oracle-bone inscriptions for the so-called "taking" of women, *qǔ nǚ* 取女, in altogether ten divinations on seven bones or plastrons of the *Héjí* 合集 and *Túnnán* 屯南 corpora, for example on turtle shell *Héjí* 09741 *recto*: "(We) order to take women / a woman" 乎取女,[145] or on the bone piece *Héjí* 19982: "Take X women / an X woman" 取 女[146] (Fig. 3).

From the analysis of these inscriptions we can see that these women apparently were welcome "goods" at the royal court, either just "taken" or "taken by order" of the king, apparently from other, allied peoples or states.[147] They were perhaps gifts

140 Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 100.

141 Compare Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 99.

142 Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 227–28.

143 John Gillingham, "Women, children and the profits of war," in *Gender and Historiography. Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. Janet L. Nelson, Susan Reynolds and Susan M. Johns (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012): 61–74; Fàn Chuánxián 范传贤, "Lüèlùn yuánshǐ shèhuì fúlǔ de mìngyùn 略论原始社会俘虏的命运," *Dōngběi shīdà xuébào* 东北师大学报 1988, no. 1: 59–63.

144 See Susanne Adamski, "'*Qǔ nǚ* 取女': Weibliche Gefangene während der späten Shāng-Zeit (13.–11. Jh. v.Chr.)," paper presented at the 29th annual conference of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Chinastudien e.V. (DVCS) at the Center for Cultural Studies on Science and Technology in China, Technical University of Berlin, November 30 – December 1, 2018.

145 Compare transcription in *Jiǎgǔwén héjí shìwén*, vol. 1, no. 09741 *recto* (16). In the rubbing, the graph *hū* < $^{*}q^{hs}a$ 乎, "to call, to order" (often normalized to its later form 呼, distinguished by the component "mouth"), is a little obscured by underlying cracks and fissures in the shell, but still recognizable (compare the oracle-bone and bronze inscriptional forms given in Liú Xīnglóng 刘兴隆, *Xīnbiān jiǎgǔwén zìdiǎn* 新编甲骨文字典 (Běijīng: Guójì Wénhuà Chūbǎn Gōngsī 国际文化出版公司, 1993): 276–77).

146 Cf. the transcription in *Jiǎgǔwén héjí shìwén*, vol. 2, no. 19982.

147 For this and the following paragraph, cf. Adamski, "'*Qǔ nǚ* 取女'."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 207

Fig. 3: Left: *Héjí* #09741 *recto* (detail). From *Jiǎgǔwén héjí* 甲骨文合集, ed. Guō Mòruò 郭沫若, Hú Hòuxuān 胡厚宣 and Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn lìshǐ yánjiūsuǒ 中国社会科学院历史研究所 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1999), 13 vols., vol. 4, no. 09741, 1417. Reproduced with permission. Right: *Héjí* #19982 (detail). From *Jiǎgǔwén héjí*, vol. 7, no. 19982, 2599. Reproduced with permission.

or tributes, but we cannot exclude the possibility that violence was involved; there is a certain probability that these women were not "taken" voluntarily, and came to live in slave-like conditions. But the inscriptions do not inform us about the intended use of these "natally alienated" women, and so we still cannot securely identify them as "slaves" in the sense of "permanently, violently dominated and generally dishonored persons." The same goes for prisoners of war mentioned in oracle-bone and Western Zhōu bronze inscriptions, because we do not know whether they were actually turned into "slaves" after being caught.

Other scholars see evidence for practices of "slavery" even long before the social phenomenon is ascertainable through any textual or archaeological sources. Arguing against the treatment of "slavery as an institution," Joseph C. Miller 2012 in his book *The Problem of Slavery as History* problematizes "slavery as a historical strategy," which he outlines in broad terms, using the term *slaving*: "I propose strategies of introducing outsiders for private local purposes that recurred in infinitely variable particulars throughout the history of the world."[148] Perhaps deliberately, Miller does not precisely define the subject of his book, "slavery," because "slavery as an institution," he argues, is a *cliché* and a construct. Thus, Miller does not problematize the identification of "slavery" as a social constellation distinct from other

148 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 8.

phenomena such as "serfdom" or "forced labor."[149] According to his global history approach, "slaving arguably contributed to the very beginnings of human history, tens of thousands of years before times recorded in any conventional document-based sense."[150] Miller's arguments, therefore, are hypothetical in nature:

> An approximate date for when history in this inclusive sense may be said to have begun is roughly forty thousand to twenty thousand years ago. I propose that date partly for purposes of debate, but also with a degree of consideration that leaves me confident that the remote era I suggest is at least a professionally responsible estimate. It is the threshold of both humanity and history, marked by abilities to strategize collectively, in contexts of shared meaning. The marker of such strategically effective collectivity is functionally syntactical language: that is, language sufficiently grammatical that speakers can wield it flexibly enough to succeed in confronting novel, unexpected historical contexts. [. . .] That remote epoch is also an analytically considered starting point for slaving. With language, early humans learned to strategize together [. . .].[151]

This reasoning is problematic in several ways. Historical linguistics, providing the "primary evidence" for Miller's "dating of the beginning of efficaciously historical strategizing,"[152] is in itself a field struggling with many theories. Miller does not provide the evidence, but refers to an article by Patrick Manning, "*Homo sapiens* Populates the Earth: A Provosional Synthesis, Privileging Linguistic Evidence," who also follows a world-historical approach.[153] Thus, we can assume that Miller bases his considerations on paleolinguistic and evolutionary approaches to the origins of human language. There has been, however, some evidence against a "genetic-based

149 While speaking of "enslaved," "slaves," "slavery," Miller apparently has "historically varying local results of slaving" in mind (Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 22). In his very conception of "slavery," however, Miller seems to think along similar lines as Orlando Patterson: in contrast, but perhaps also in addition to the latter's definition of "slavery" from "the perspective of the masters, not of the enslaved," he particularly emphasizes the "isolation of the enslaved" (33).

150 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 41.

151 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 41, further states: "Slaving was arguably one successful strategy that these earliest peoples hit upon as a means of creating and maintaining the commitment to mutual loyalties that gave such humans the edge in confronting other, contemporary, but less inventive, hominids, as well as the changing environmental and other contextual challenges that have brought us to where we are today. That is, humanity, history, and slaving were inherently linked; they were fundamentally mutually constituted. Slaving has also proved exquisitely adaptively efficacious, including subsequent resort to slaving by key initiators in new ways in new contexts during the last twenty thousand years. This deep imbrication ought to be obvious, given the ubiquity of the practice, even today, though our progressivist conviction in our own slavery-freed perfectibility has tended to obscure its elementally human temptation."

152 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 41.

153 See Patrick Manning, "*Homo sapiens* Populates the Earth: A Provosional Synthesis, Privileging Linguistic Evidence," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 2 (2006): 115–58.

revolution 50,000 years ago" (often attributed to the gene FOXP2).[154] Miller's theory that the development of "functionally syntactical" language in a remote epoch of some forty to twenty thousand years ago (a period usually regarded, due to the lack of any textual sources, as prehistoric) can be seen as a "starting point for slaving"[155] just because "slaving" seems to have become a mere *possibility*, is therefore questionable; and it is certainly not sufficient grounds for his firm conclusion that "humanity, history, and slaving were inherently linked" and "fundamentally mutually constituted," asserting that the latter is an inherent human characteristic. This strikes me as highly problematic. Ancient Chinese philosophers would have a lot to say about this, as the Warring States period saw the beginning of a prominent discourse on human nature (*xìng* 性) in Confucian philosophy, led by Mencius (Mèngzǐ 孟子, ca. 372–289 BC) and Xúnzǐ 荀子 (ca. 310–ca. 235/217 BC), the former arguing that human nature was inherently good, the latter that it was evil.[156] As Miller concedes in the

154 See Carl C. Diller and Rebecca L. Cann, "Evidence against a genetic-based revolution in language 50,000 years ago," in *The Cradle of Language: Studies in the Evolution of Language*, ed. Rudolf Botha and Chris Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 135–49: "[M]any people speculate or argue that there was a revolution in language, one important genetic mutation for language, about 50,000 years ago, that brought about a revolution in culture and allowed modern humans to leave Africa for Europe and the rest of the world. [. . . W]e present genetic evidence that the mutations in FOXP2, the gene at issue, may actually have occurred some 1.8 million years ago" (135); "The archaeological and anthropological evidence accumulating in the last decade and a half does not support the claim that there was a revolutionary behavioural change in humans 50,000 years ago." (148); "The capacity for modern language needed a long time to evolve before anatomically modern humans emerged some 200,000 years ago. The date we present of 1.8 or 1.9 million years ago for the selective sweep at FOXP2 supports this neurolinguistic scenario of the coevolution of speech and language with the neural and anatomical substrates of language." (149); more recently: Elizabeth Atkinson et al., "No evidence for recent selection at *FOXP2* among diverse human populations," *Cell* 174 (2018): 1424–35, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cell.2018.06.048 [accessed 17.05.2022]: "[W]e show that recent natural selection in the ancestral Homo sapiens population cannot be attributed to the FOXP2 locus and thus Homo sapiens' development of spoken language." (1432). See also Francesco d'Errico et al., "Archaeological Evidence for the Emergence of Language, Symbolism, and Music – an Alternative Multidisciplinary Perspective," *Journal of World-History* 17, no. 1 (2003): 1–70: "This critical reappraisal contradicts the hypothesis of a symbolic revolution coinciding with the arrival of anatomically modern humans in Europe some 40,000 years ago, but also highlights inconsistencies in the anatomically-culturally modern equation and the potential contribution of anatomically 'pre-modern' human populations to the emergence of these abilities. No firm evidence of conscious symbolic storage and musical traditions are found before the Upper Paleolithic. However, the oldest known European objects that testify to these practices already show a high degree of complexity and geographic variability suggestive of possible earlier, and still unrecorded, phases of development." (2).

155 See further Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 181–82, n. 14.

156 For translations into English, readers may be referred to Bryan W. Van Norden, *Mengzi: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008), and John Knoblock, *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

following chapter, "[m]uch of the insight into the possible (plausible?) beginnings of slaving in creating coherent communities presented in Chapter 2 in fact come from African materials."[157] In his synthesis of African motives and strategies of slaving, Miller's theories seem, at least from the perspective of a non-specialist, plausibly applied to African (pre-)history. But while historians of Africa may indeed "now have sufficient density of possibilities, even probabilities, based on these radically independent and thereby also increasingly revealing [archaeological, linguistic, etc.] sources that they cohere around a plausible broad narrative, several thousand years in depth, of slaving as a historical strategy,"[158] these possibilities are clearly rooted in specific social and cultural traditional contexts. We learn that "the evidence of meanings in Africa's past, particularly for its earlier eras, is significantly linguistic," "orally transmitted memories may allude to innovations far back in time, apparently as much as seven or eight centuries"; "in Africa wealth was people, and people were power," and that "the key strategies were and continue to be directed at forming collectivities and then, in reaction, for individuals marginal to these groups to attract and integrate personal dependents who might allow them to secure positions more central in them: wives were the most accessible and (re)productive dependents of this sort."[159] All these social specificities would need to be verified for other societies and cultures around the world, if one intended to formulate a broad narrative of "slaving as a historical strategy" even in conventionally termed historical times, particularly if one wants to postulate "slaving" as an "elementally human temptation." I stress this point, because Miller sees a direct link between the development of a) "functionally syntactical language," b) "the abilities to strategize collectively," and, at the same time, c) the beginnings of "slaving" practices.

More recently in 2016, David M. Lewis addressed Orlando Patterson's rejection of the traditional approach of defining a "slave" as "property," criticizing it as being based on a misconception of the latter. While Patterson thought "the property approach cannot designate a specific category of persons, and is cross-culturally inconsistent,"[160] Lewis sees the theory of "ownership" by Anthony M. Honoré of 1961 applicable to the legal concept of slavery in both classical Athens and Babylonia "during the seventh through fourth centuries BCE," for which he presents two case studies; and he regards Honoré's theory as useful in a comparative approach.[161]

---

157 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 90.

158 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 90. My comment.

159 Miller, *Problem of Slavery as History*: 88, 89, 91.

160 David M. Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery: The Definitional Problem Revisited," in *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017): 31–54, here 34.

161 In this regard, Lewis also argues against the rejection of the definition of "slaves" as "property" by several Africanists during the 1970s, citing Moses Finley in support, who proposed that "the appellation 'slaves'" should be reconsidered for some "African statuses and status terms," instead of criticizing "'western' historians" for their "ethnocentrism" (Lewis, "Patterson, Property,

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 211

Lewis does not inform his readers if the Babylonian and Greek "slaves" from his examples are translations of one or more particular terms, instead concentrating on the similarities in the notion of their "ownership" and usage for various kinds of labor. His reasoning, however, seems convincing.

Taking a cross-cultural view, Honoré analyzed the concept of ownership, meaning "the 'liberal' concept of 'full' individual ownership, rather than any more restricted notion to which the same label may be attached in certain contexts."[162] According to Honoré, "ownership" is "provisionally defined as the *greatest possible interest in a thing which a mature system of law recognizes*," comprising "the right to possess, the right to use, the right to manage, the right to the income of the thing, the right to the capital, the right to security, the rights or incidents of transmissibility and absence of term, the prohibition of harmful use, liability to execution, and the incident of residuarity."[163] These eleven legal incidents (i.e. "legal rights, duties and other incidents") constitute the common features of ownership, "in the sense that, if a system did not admit them, and did not provide for them to be united in a single person, we would conclude that it did not know the liberal concept of ownership, though it might still have a modified version of ownership, either of a primitive or sophisticated sort."[164]

Such a clear concept of "ownership" would make for a narrow and clear definition of "slavery"; for the identification of "slavery" in Shāng and Western Zhōu China, we would then need to determine whether these societies a) had a "mature"

---

and Ancient Slavery": 45). To show that "[i]n fact, the property approach works perfectly well for African societies" (50, n. 14), Lewis refers to the work of Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), without however specifying which period he means: as the book description informs us, Lovejoy deals with "the history of African slavery from the fifteenth to the early twentieth centuries" (this being the time span of the Atlantic slave trade), examining in particular "how indigenous African slavery developed within an international context." Thus, originally "non-African" features of "slavery" may already have found their way to Africa, and the property approach perhaps does not work for earlier African societies or the whole continent. Further, Lovejoy does not limit his definition of slavery to a property relation: "Slavery is one form of exploitation. Its special characteristics include the idea that slaves are property; that they are outsiders [. . .]; that coercion can be used at will; that their labor power is at the complete disposal of a master; that they do not have the right to their own sexuality and [. . .] their own reproductive capacities; and that the slave status is inherited [. . .]," and: "Slavery is fundamentally tied to labor." Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*: 1 and 4.

162 Anthony M. Honoré, "Ownership," in *The Nature and Process of Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, ed. Patricia Smith (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): 370, previously published in *Oxford Essays in Jurisprudence*, ed. Anthony G. Guest (London: Oxford University Press, 1961): 107–47.

163 Honoré, "Ownership": 370.

164 However, "the listed incidents are not individually necessary, though they may be together sufficient, conditions for the person of inherence to be designated 'owner' of a particular thing in a given system. [. . . T]he use of 'owner' will extend to cases in which not all the listed incidents are present." Honoré, "Ownership": 370.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 212

legal system; b) did "know the liberal concept of full individual ownership"; and c) if so, whether or not this concept was actually applied to humans, i.e. if humans were treated as "property" of individual persons. It is neither possible nor part of the object of this paper to make a full re-evaluation of the whole extant epigraphic record in this regard; we can at any rate answer the first question in the negative.[165] As to individual property, at first glance the "ownership" over fields, their products and other items – including people, as already discussed – seems to be rather straightforward in bronze inscriptions of the Western Zhōu, some of which document the settling of legal disputes: very often the king or head of a lineage "gave" land or other items to particular officials or other élite members, and fields, for instance, were sometimes transferred between private individuals; "property" issues concerning land were either solved by the king himself or his officials (for example on the unprovenanced late Western Zhōu Guō Bǐ *guǐgài* 鬲比簋蓋 (*Jíchéng* #4278), Guō Yōu Bǐ *dǐng* 鬲攸比鼎 (*Jíchéng* #2818) and Guō Bǐ *xǔ* 鬲比盨 (*Jíchéng* #4466) vessels, concerning the "misappropriation of fields" and "wrongful acts towards another's fields and *yi*-settlements" (as discussed by Laura Skosey),[166] by officials of the polities concerned

165 A comprehensive study of the Western Zhōu legal system is Skosey, "Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou"; this work was reviewed by E. Bruce Brooks, "The Apocryphal Empire. Laura Skosey. The Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou. UMI 1996," Warring States Project, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, October 21, 2012, https://www.umass.edu/wsp/introduction/principals/reviews/skosey.html [accessed 17.05.2022]. Brooks cautiously concludes: "Of her 25 vessels with inscriptions, only five are provenanced. [. . . I]t can be said that these inscriptions do not imply a proactive legal structure with a bureaucratic basis. [. . .] Not once is any law explicitly referred to, or is any previous case cited as a guide to present decision. All five cases involve disputes about land, or are resolved in part by transfer of land. The basic term of relation between the Jou [= Zhōu] and everybody else was allocation of land. It makes sense that land, and the promises made in return for receiving the land, were of continuing relevance to the granting authority. If we accept the evidence of these five test vessels as valid, the late Jou picture that they give us is that of a punishment system, deriving its authority from the Jou King. That royal authority was sometimes exercised by his high officers who are not yet officials in the bureaucratic sense, and in charge of procedures which are not yet standardized. The procedures did not rely on codes, or on case records apart from a previous oath which may be a part of a specific res gestae. Cases were judged separately, on their own merits, and as far as this sample goes, they were chiefly concerned with with [*sic*] title to land. Jou here is acting as monitor of rights which Jou itself had previously conferred. The result is a vertical obligation system, without being a criminal law system. A feudal overlord is exerting its function as the overlord, over the limited area defined by the original underlord relationship. This is as far as the inscriptions seem to take us." Compare Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 176: "Eine institutionelle Eigenständigkeit des Rechtswesens ist in der West-Zhou-Zeit noch nicht deutlich erkennbar. [. . .] Juristische Kompetenzen wurden nicht in Verbindung mit bestimmten Ämtern, sondern in Bezug auf bestimmte Personen verliehen." For a study of Western Zhōu land transmissions see the monograph by Lau, *Quellenstudien*.

166 Skosey, "Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou": 104–6 (discussion) and 293–94 (classification); see her transcriptions and translations of the identical Zhōu Guō Bǐ *guǐgài* and Guō Yōu Bǐ *dǐng* inscriptions (dated to 797 BC), as well as the inscription on the Guō Bǐ *xǔ* (dated

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 213

(as in the treaty of border demarcations between Sàn 散 and Zè 矢, recorded on the late Western Zhōu Sànshì *pán* 散氏盤, possibly found during the nineteenth century in Bǎojī, Shǎnxī province; *Jíchéng* #10176),[167] or within the family concerned (such as the intra-lineage dispute recorded on the Diāo Shēng *zūn* 琱生尊 and related vessels) – then needing, however, ultimate recognition by the court.[168] In one case of a private transfer of land in exchange for four horses, however, instead of the royal court, officials from Péngshēng's lineage seem to have been involved (on the mid-Western Zhōu Péngshēng *guǐ* 倗生簋 of unknown provenance, *Jíchéng* #4262, as was discussed by Li Feng).[169] We may therefore ask whether the rights over land, which clearly was a commodity within the lineage-based Western Zhōu aristocracy, really were "united in a single person," or in the respective individual's lineage as well, or – as discussed further below – ultimately even in the reigning king, and to what extent this was "property" as in the "liberal concept of full individual ownership."

As to the Western Zhōu epigraphic evidence already discussed, we have not been able to confidently identify terms for non-aristocratic social "statuses," and so far we find no evidence for the existence of distinguished non-aristocratic social "classes." Nevertheless, there might be evidence for individual cases of "ownership" over humans: can those named individuals in the Hū *dǐng* inscription which were "given" to Hū in order that he "use" them together with fields, apparently as recompense,[170] classified as being originally (or still) "owned" by Kuāng? Following Honoré, Kuāng apparently had the "right to manage" them, and probably the "right to the income," which should be their labor; we do not know whether he held the "right to possess" (i.e. had exclusive physical control of them) and the

801 BC), on pages 417–27. The donor's name is also transcribed Guō Yōu Cóng 鬲攸从; see the rubbings in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*, vol. 8, no. 4278, 217; vol. 9, no. 4466, 122; and vol. 5, no. 2818, 215; compare the transcriptions in *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 5025, 321; no. 5262, 340; and no. 4011, 250–51.

167 See the discussion in Li Feng, "Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing": 287–91, including a transcription and translation; see also the rubbing and transcription in *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén*, vol. 6, no. 10176, 134–35.

168 See Shaughnessy, "The Dowager v. the Royal Court," mentioned above; related inscriptions are on the Fifth Year Diāo Shēng *guǐ* 五年琱生簋 (*Jíchéng* #4292) and Sixth Year Diāo Shēng *guǐ* 六年琱生簋 vessels (*Jíchéng* # 4293), see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*, vol. 8, no. 4292–93, 237–38 and *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 5032 and 5034, 322–23 (here the vessel is called Shào Bó Hǔ *guǐ* 召伯虎簋). For a discussion of the same dispute having regard to the use of land registers, see Li Feng, "Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing": 282–84.

169 See Li Feng, "Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing": 284–85, including a transcription and translation of the inscription (the vessel is also called Gé Bó *guǐ* 格白簋). See *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*, vol. 8, no. 4262, 196–97 and *Jīnwén yǐndé*, no. 5011, 319.

170 In Schunk's reading, the fields and men were offered as recompense, apparently because he was unable to produce the twenty thieves (Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 148); in the reading of Lau, the named men apparently were some of the thieves, declaring themselves unable to replace the stolen grain (Lau, *Quellenstudien*: 378).

"right to use" them for private purposes other than working fields or carrying out other tasks; whether he held the "right to the capital," meaning the right to sell them, giving them away as gifts, or to hurt or kill them; whether he held the "right to security," i.e. being protected from their being seized; he apparently had "rights of transmissibility," that is, transfer some of his rights over them to a third party; but it is unclear whether his interest in the men was permanent ("absence of term"); whether, or to what extent, he was prohibited from their "harmful use"; and whether Kuāng held the "liability to execution" (i.e. whether they could be taken away from him for debt) as well as "residual rights."[171] Kuāng could offer Hū either the men or their labor in recompense; but are the three identified legal incidents sufficient to call him their "owner"? It was evidently important enough for Hū to have their names included in the inscription; did he do so because they had become his demonstrable "property" (whereas the fields were not further specified in terms of their exact location), or because they became identifiable servants of his? We should bear in mind that it is not clear from the wording of the inscription whether these men actually worked fields – this is just one possible conclusion drawn from the verb *yòng*, "to use," which is employed both for the men and the fields, the former perhaps accompanying the latter.[172] It is possible that this "exchange," singular in our extant bronze inscriptions, may have been a rare case in a special situation – it had been a year of famine.[173]

Looking at this particular Western Zhōu piece of evidence, some of the difficulties and problems of which have already been addressed, it is in my view not quite clear if, and to what extent, the concept of private ownership as outlined by Honoré applied to humans.[174] Moreover, thinking of captives taken by the earlier Shāng

171 For detailed explanations see Honoré, "Ownership," as well as Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 35–37.

172 Compare the translations as "give" (*geben*) in Schunk, "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte": 148–49, or as "offer" (*offerieren, mit etw. herantreten an*) Lau, *Quellenstudien*: 372.

173 Compare Skosey, "Hu *ding*": 133: "This is the only case of theft in the inscriptional record."

174 To an objection to the "property definition" with regard to the *pater familias* in early Rome, who "had powers amounting to ownership over his children; one could make the same point for pre-Solonian Attica and parts of the ancient Near East," Lewis replies with Herman J. Nieboer: "'Slavery is the fact that one man is the property or possession of another beyond the limits of the family proper'." Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 51, n. 20. If Lewis means to imply that this notion should be included in a definition of "slavery" as a "property" relationship, he would need to describe the limits of "family proper," meaning "nuclear family" or perhaps kin in general, therefore possibly also referring to *lineage* in the case of Shāng and Western Zhōu China. Further, Nieboer apparently does not solely base his understanding of "slavery" on a "property" relation, because he actually differentiates between "male" and "female" in this regard: "we know that a slave system without male slaves is not slavery proper." Herman J. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System: Ethnological Researches* (Dordrecht: Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V., 1900): 54. His definition aims at being "sociological relevant" and focuses on compulsory labor: "the great function of slavery can be no other than a *division of labour*"; he therefore deals "with

which are frequently mentioned in the tersely formulated oracle-bone inscriptions, David Lewis further distinguishes between "possession" and "ownership": "Corporeal possession may seem to imply ownership, but *sensu stricto* possession is a potentially ephemeral condition, whereas ownership is a permanent right." Aside from the fact that neither captives nor victims of human sacrifice are usually referred to as the object of a relationship (to a particular named person or an official), this makes it difficult to place them in the concept of private "individual ownership."

It should be noted that in his application to "slavery," Lewis neglects Honoré's eleventh aspect of ownership, namely its "residuary character." He does not even define it, even though it seems to be significant: "This is important, but I omit it from my list since it is a principle that is indemonstrable for nearly all historical legal systems, whether it applied or not."[175] Since Honoré's list is not based on historical legal systems, there is no reason to exclude any of the criteria if one attempts to apply the whole concept to ancient societies – if the principle is "indemonstrable for nearly all historical legal systems," it might still be demonstrable for some. The "residuary character" aspect pertains to the notion of ownership in an interesting way that complicates matters. According to Honoré,

> it is characteristic of ownership that an owner has a residuary right in the thing owned. In practice, legal systems have rules providing that on the lapse of an interest rights, including liberties, analogous to the rights formerly vested in the holder of the interest, vest in or are exercisable by someone else, who may be said to acquire the 'corresponding rights'. [. . .] Sometimes, [. . .] a new ownership vests in the state, as is the case in South Africa when land has been abandoned. [. . . I]t is not a sufficient condition of *A*'s being the owner of a thing that, on determination of *B*'s interest in it, corresponding rights vest in or are exercisable by *A*. [. . .] Can we say that the 'owner' is the ultimate residuary? When the sub-lessee's interest determines the lessee acquires the corresponding rights; but when the lessee's right determines the 'owner' acquires these rights. Hence the 'owner' appears to be identified as the ultimate residuary. The difficulty is that the series may be continued, for on the determination of the 'owner's' interest the state may acquire these rights; is the state's interest ownership or a mere expectancy? A warning is here necessary. We are approaching the troubled waters of split ownership. Puzzles about the location of ownership are often generated by the fact that *an ultimate residuary right is not coupled with present alienability or with the other standard incidents we have listed*.[176]

That means, although an "owner" might be identifiable who apparently holds all the rights and liabilities listed above, one must consider that the state, for instance, holds an ultimate residuary right, and therefore might be identified as "owner" as well. Such a splitting of ownership makes us indeed think of the convict laborers

---

the general character of slavery as an industrial system," the ethnological researches being limited to "savage tribes." (x, xxv, and 6).

175 Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 49, n. 5.

176 Honoré, "Ownership": 375. My emphasis.

(*lìchén qiè*) of the Qín empire, whose somewhat ambiguous status Korolkov has referred to as "state-owned slaves."[177] In fact, some scholars see "ownership" not restricted to individuals: in his book on the history of slavery in Africa, Paul Lovejoy notes that "it is characteristic of slavery that the slave is considered property of another person or some corporate group, despite restrictions on the nature of this property relationship that developed in actual situations."[178] In his 1972 discussion of "The Concept of Property," Frank Snare remarks that "in a corporation we have a complex of interlocking rights few of which are exclusive or permanent (in that they go with offices and positions rather than particular persons). To speak of the corporation owning property is a convenient shorthand way of speaking of a complex network of individual rights over the object," and none of these "can be called property rights."[179] The individual within the corporation is, according to Snare, similar to the individual in the feudal system, since "both have offices or roles which determine rights and duties with respect to certain objects and where [. . .] it is misleading to call the rights these individuals have property rights."

Classificatory issues such as these relate to the ways in which a society functions, and are therefore important in studying it. It would, however, make an "owned" person probably not feel better if he or she were "owned" by the state or a corporation instead of a private individual, and it appears that Orlando Patterson had these factors in mind in his theory of "slavery as social death," focusing on personal rather than legal relations. Seeing merely a "shift in perspective" here, David Lewis therefore advocates "a more productive synergy" between the traditional "property approach" and Patterson's "social death," using Patterson's criteria as an analytical tool in order to understand "the cross-culturally consistent *social effects* of slave ownership."[180] Following the traditional definition of a "slave" as being "property,"[181] a precise understanding of the concept of "ownership" is essential. But this is not necessarily universally valid. There are other typologies of this legal concept besides Honoré's, most of which are far less specific, proposing a smaller number of components.[182] Will they prove useful in looking for "slaves" in ancient societies with limited written sources?

---

177 Korolkov, "Empire-Building and Market-Making": 101, n. 138, and 309.

178 Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*: 2.

179 Frank Snare, "The Concept of Property," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1972): 205.

180 Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 45 and 48.

181 Without proposing an alternative definition of "slavery," David Lewis nevertheless broadly summarizes the traditional "property" definition, which has been criticized by Patterson, as follows: "the slave was an article of property (the object of the relationship) held in ownership (the relationship itself) by his or her master (the subject of the relationship)." Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 32.

182 A useful and readable overview in a bioethical context is given in Barbro Björkman and Sven Ove Hansson, "Bodily rights and property rights," *Journal of Medical Ethics* 32, no. 4 (2006): 209–14.

While it is necessary to "investigate exactly what terms such as 'property' and 'ownership' mean in a concrete sense,"[183] this should not be universally synthesized from the legal systems of modern societies – which are likely to share common aspects –, but from the contemporary sources and contexts of the society one wishes to study. Honoré's property definition as simplified by Lewis is therefore "extremely precise in its ability to determine who is or is not a slave"[184] in classical Athens and Babylonia in the Neo-Babylonian and Achaemenid periods, which apparently had a visible concept of "full individual ownership" in the modern legal sense that encompassed ownership over humans. As to our extant Shāng and Western Zhōu epigraphic sources, the concept of "slavery" cannot be ascertained for these periods, even when applying the clearly defined concept of "ownership" by Honoré. Walter Scheidel reasonably remarked in 2013 with regard to Hàn dynasty specialized slave labor, in words I should like to borrow here: "although absence of evidence does not equal evidence of absence, the latter cannot readily be read as pervasive neglect by the sources either."[185]

Albeit far from being a comprehensive and detailed analysis, this short discussion indicates that not every historical society might have a clear-cut concept of full individual ownership; and even in mature legal systems, a clear identification of a proposed "slave's" individual "owner" might be more complicated than implied by David Lewis, depending on the respective legal sources at hand. Thus, a property-based approach to "slavery" seems reasonable and useful in distinguishing "slavery" from other types of dependency, but this in turn does not mean that "slavery" is a cross-culturally identifiable, universal phenomenon *already in ancient times*.

In any case, whether focusing on "slaving" as a historical strategy or on "slavery" as a sociological institution, it seems necessary to have a clear definition to work with. For early ancient China, there remains the difficulty to catch specific forms of "human bondage and coercion," or "strong asymmetrical dependency," red-handed, such as forms of subservience achieved by means clearly identifiable as being *coercive*.[186]

183 Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 47.

184 Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 46.

185 Scheidel, "Slavery and forced labor in early China and the Roman world": 7.

186 With regard to Shāng China, Huáng Xiànfán criticized contemporary scholars of his day for attributing "slave" status to groups mentioned in the oracle-bone inscriptions without following precise definitions, such as the scholarly definition given by Karl Marx or the one given in the Chinese encyclopaedic dictionary *Cíhǎi* 辭海, or even without any definition at all (Huáng Xiànfán, *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì*: 446; for the individual definitions, see: 194–95).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 218

4 Preliminary Conclusion

As a preliminary conclusion, we can say that some of the terms denoting groups of people in Shāng and Western Zhōu bone and bronze inscriptions are also used in later written sources of the Warring States and early empire. In these latter sources, they designate the lowest social strata at the time, including possible equivalents of "slaves" and "bondservants" as defined by modern terminology. This cannot be ascertained for the Shāng and Western Zhōu periods. Epigraphic evidence so far is too scarce to determine cases of "strong asymmetrical dependency" in earliest China. Their existence can be interpreted from the sources, but not proved. We should be careful not to implicitly or unconsciously project the semantic ranges of these terms back to earlier periods. We should also be careful not to assume the existence of certain social categories or strata in the earliest dynasties without defining the terms, and without being aware of the epigraphic and historical issues involved. Based on these examples of unclear evidence, I would like to bring up the following question: How can phenomena of "human bondage and coercion" be securely determined, if the sources of any given society are limited to certain types and also limited in their content? Any form of "asymmetrical dependency," or "bondage and coercion," may it be classified as "slavery" or something else, is always relative to other, more or less severe forms of "bondage and coercion," or to human relations devoid of "bondage and coercion." We thus need a fixed point among the social relations of a given society, which enables us to determine other relations that differ from it. Having regard to new developments in classical Greece, Perry Anderson 1974 already characterized ancient domestic "slavery" as being "relative" to other forms of dependency:

> In classical Greece, slaves were thus for the first time habitually employed in crafts, industry and agriculture beyond the household scale. At the same time, while the use of slavery became general, its *nature* correspondingly became absolute: it was no longer one relative form of servitude among many, along a gradual continuum, but a polar condition of complete loss of freedom, juxtaposed against a new and untrammeled liberty. For it was precisely the formation of a limpidly demarcated slave sub-population that conversely lifted the citizenry of the Greek cities to hitherto unknown heights of conscious juridical freedom. Hellenic liberty and slavery were indivisible: each was the structural condition of the other, in a dyadic system which had no precedent or equivalent in the social hierarchies of the Near Eastern Empires, ignorant alike of either the notion of free citizenship or servile property.[187]

Also, Charlotte Sussman in 2018 showed how to the end of the eighteenth century, after decades of coerced mobility, British migration to the new world came to be redefined against the backdrop of the Atlantic slave trade; thereby "slavery" was being

187 Perry Anderson, *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: New Left Books, 1974; London: Verso, 1996): 23. I am indebted to the article of Robin Yates for highlighting this statement (see Yates, "Slavery in Early China": 287).

construed as the antithesis of the movement of British emigrants to Canada, which was intentionally categorized by the state as "free": "without taking anything away from the horrors of chattel slavery, it is still possible to say that slavery was not the opposite of European mobility in the way we have been taught to think of it. Instead, slavery was the limit case at one end of a continuum of coerced movement and servitude."[188] Perhaps it is no coincidence that the Cluster of Excellence "Beyond Slavery and Freedom: Asymmetrical Dependencies in Pre-Modern Societies" refers to "slavery" as one form, as well as the bottom line, of "strong asymmetrical dependency" (i.e. the "most extreme" form of "human bondage and coercion"), without however defining its distinctive characteristics as opposed to other forms of the concept "strong asymmetrical dependency"; which, in turn, are not further distinguished from relations of "asymmetrical dependency."[189] "Asymmetrical dependency" is thus defined as the "loss of autonomy" of actors in relations of (often reciprocal) dependency as a result of "strong asymmetries," and this loss of autonomy[190] further needs to be institutionally ensured. Accordingly the worst case in dependency relations must be the institutionally supported total loss of autonomy on the part of the dependent. If "slavery" is generally regarded as the worst case (i.e. the "most extreme" form) of "strong asymmetrical dependency," then this requires a clear definition, to prevent "slavery," if one wishes to use this term, from becoming a loose category of all kinds of "worst cases" of dependency, which may however differ to a considerable degree from one society to the next. Perhaps one should follow Moses Finley, and use the term "slave" only for those dependent people who clearly resemble the "slaves" in classical antiquity and the post-Columbian Americas. Other appellations

188 Compare Charlotte Sussman, "Historicizing Freedom of Movement: Memory and Exile in Political Context," in *Revisiting Slavery and Antislavery: Towards a Critical Analysis*, ed. Laura Brace and Julia O'Connell Davidson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 99, 106 and 107.

189 The Cluster's "tentative and rather broad understanding of 'asymmetrical dependency'" is subject to re-conceptualization: "Dependencies between actors are based on the ability of one actor to control the actions and the access to resources of another. This type of control over actions and access to resources is often reciprocal, and in this case, it is compatible with the autonomy of both actors. So the existence of strong asymmetries between actors is decisive for the loss of autonomy of one of them. In addition this asymmetrical dependency between actors has to be supported by an institutional background that ensures that the dependent actor normally cannot change their situation by either going away ('exit') or by articulating protest ('voice')." Thus, "strong asymmetries" in dependency relations seem to be constitutive for "asymmetrical dependency," and research is based on the hypotheses that: "(1) There are enduring institutions of asymmetrical dependency in all human societies; and (2) these asymmetrical dependencies are formative for these societies." BCDSS, "Research Objective." However, it is not explained what further distinguishes "strong asymmetrical dependencies," the declared subject of the research areas A and B.

190 "Autonomy" is defined as "1. the quality or state of being self-governing; 2. self-directing freedom and especially moral independence; 3. a self-governing state" according to the Merriam-Webster dictionary (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/autonomy [accessed 17.05.2022]).

or categories would need to be found for those persons whose circumstances were (and are) essentially different.[191]

But not only "strong asymmetrical dependencies," but also commonplace and rather obscure forms of dependency, such as dependencies created by the labor market, ought to be recognized as parts of a continuum – even contemporary scholars find themselves within a continuum of social asymmetries, and not outside of it. It thus seems helpful to distinguish forms of dependency *within* a given society.

With regard to changing forms of bondage and coercion, reasons for the decline and eventual abolition of "slavery" as a legal institution – a topic that is increasingly becoming the focus of critical analyses –[192] were already formulated by Max Weber, who saw global economic processes of modernization as driving factors in the emergence and advancement of an indirect compulsion to work, making the need for "slavery" more or less obsolete for the efficient extraction of labor:

> Die Unterdrückung der Sklaverei durch Ausschluß auch der freiwilligen Ergebung in formal sklavenartige Beziehungen war Produkt vor allem der Verschiebung des Schwerpunktes der ökonomischen Weltherrschaft in Gebiete hinein, in welchen die Sklavenarbeit infolge der Kostspieligkeit des Lebensunterhaltes unrentabel ist und zugleich der Entwicklung des indirekten Arbeitszwanges, wie ihn das Lohnsystem mit seiner drohenden Chance der Entlassung und Arbeitslosigkeit bietet, als eines für qualitative Arbeitsleistungen gegenüber dem direkten Zwang wirksameren und zugleich das große Risiko der Sklavenvermögen vermeidenden Mittels galt, Arbeit aus dem Abhängigen herauszupressen.[193]

---

191 Finley's criticism has been cited by David Lewis: "First, a host of, let us say, African statuses and status terms are translated as 'slaves'; second, it is observed that at essential points these so-called slaves are extremely unlike the slaves of classical antiquity or of the Americas; third, instead of reconsidering their appellation 'slaves' to their own subjects, these anthropologists angrily protest the 'ethnocentrism' of 'western' historians in order to provide a place for their own pseudo-slaves." (Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* [London: Chatto & Windus, 1980]: 69; after Lewis, "Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery": 45).

192 For critical studies in different respects, see for instance Joel Quirk, "The Anti-Slavery Project: Linking the Historical and Contemporary," *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2006): 565–98, and *The Anti-Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking*, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); as well as Laura Brace and Julia O'Connell Davidson, "Slavery and the Revival of Anti-Slavery Activism," in *Revisiting Slavery and Antislavery: Towards a Critical Analysis*, ed. Laura Brace and Julia O'Connell Davidson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 3–34.

193 Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*: 429; these are not the only reasons given by Weber, see here and page 430 for further elaborations. Scholarly questions of similarities between "work practices before and after the abolition of chattel slavery" have, for example, been asked in Michael Twaddle, ed., *The Wages of Slavery: From Chattel Slavery to Wage Labour in Africa, the Caribbean and England* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1993); Mary Turner, ed., *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995); and Mary Turner, "Modernizing Slavery: Investigating the Legal Dimension," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 73, no. 3/4 (1999): 5–26, https://doi.org/10.1163/13822373-90002575 [accessed 17.05.2022]. "Dependency" in modern and contemporary employment relationships is best expressed

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 221

Coercion has many facets. In ancient China, the *domination* of non-élite and thus apparently dependent individuals or particular groups during the Shāng and Western Zhōu period is clear from the epigraphic record. This is not surprising, because it falls under the broad scope of *Herrschaft* ("power/authority") as usefully outlined by Max Weber.[194] But it is not an easy matter to draw more precise information from the sources, such as on the exact living and working conditions of the people involved, and on how the relations towards their superiors were shaped and/or determined their everyday lives. The application of social categories demands their clear identification.

As to early ancient China, as long as we lack more precise facts, we cannot exactly differentiate between certain terms, other than being sure that they represent the social hierarchy's "lower end." This does not mean that these terms were necessarily meant to denote *status*, in the sense of neatly differentiated non-aristocratic social strata, but possibly that they denoted non-aristocratic people performing certain functions and having certain obligations. But to determine under which circumstances these members or non-members of society lived, what kinds of obligations and

---

by contemporary terminology itself, such as English "dependent employment" and German "abhängig Beschäftigte" or "abhängig Erwerbstätige," which are synonyms for the now commonly used *Arbeitnehmer* ("employees"), including inter alia employees subject to social incurance contributions, civil servants, judges, and soldiers, as described on the website of the *Federal Statistical Office* of Germany: "Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer üben ihre Haupttätigkeit auf vertraglicher Basis für eine Arbeitgeberin beziehungsweise einem [*sic*] Arbeitgeber in einem abhängigen Arbeitsverhältnis aus und erhalten hierfür eine Vergütung (Arbeitnehmerentgelt: Lohn beziehungsweise Gehalt)." Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis), "Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer," https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Arbeit/Arbeitsmarkt/Glossar/arbeitnehmer.html [accessed 17.05.2022].

194 "'Herrschaft' soll, definitionsgemäß [. . .] die Chance heißen, für spezifische (oder: für alle) Befehle bei einer angebbaren Gruppe von Menschen Gehorsam zu finden. Nicht also jede Art von Chance, 'Macht' und 'Einfluss' auf andere Menschen auszuüben. Herrschaft ('Autorität') in diesem Sinn kann im Einzelfall auf den verschiedensten Motiven der Fügsamkeit: von dumpfer Gewöhnung angefangen bis zu rein zweckrationalen Erwägungen, beruhen. Ein bestimmtes Minimum an Gehorchen*wollen*, also *Interesse* (äußerem oder innerem) am Gehorchen, gehört zu jedem echten Herrschaftsverhältnis." Weber, *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*: 122. Weber further points out that formally, relations of power/authority (*Herrschaft*) can be entered into voluntarity; a relation of power/authority entails obedience, regardless of its voluntary or involuntary nature, the latter being absolute only in cases of slavery: "Dagegen soll es den Begriff eines Herrschaftsverhältnisses natürlich nicht ausschließen, daß es durch formal freien Kontrakt entstanden ist [. . .] Die absolute Unfreiwilligkeit besteht erst beim Sklaven." (123). Weber further states that relations of power/authority are not always necessarily to be defined as "Herrschaft," since they comprise all stages between commitment (*Schuldverpflichtung*) and enslavement (*Schuldverknechtung*); but precisely because sharp distinctions often cannot be drawn, it is even more important to have clear concepts ("Natürlich ist auch hier, wie überall, der Uebergang flüssig: von Schuldverpflichtung zur Schuldverknechtung finden sich alle Zwischenstufen [. . .] *Scharfe* Scheidung ist in der Realität oft nicht möglich, klare *Begriffe* sind aber dann deshalb nur umso nötiger." [123]).

rights they had, and under which (degrees of) constraints or acceptable conditions they came to live, we need further evidence and further studies. Particular situations of apparent domination and coercion are only implicit in the extant epigraphic records. In the absence of explanations or definitions, they are hard to grasp in terms of terminology. Whether they fall under a concept "strong asymmetrical dependency" thus cannot be determined: more evidence is needed.

Shāng and Zhōu society clearly was hierarchical, showing apparently asymmetrical relations. But so far, there is no clear evidence of "strong asymmetrical dependency" as delineated by various concepts such as "slavery," "debt bondage," "convict labor," "tributary labor," "servitude," "serfdom," "domestic work" or "wage labor," all forms of dependency which, by the chosen definition already discussed, need to include "coercion." Even if we take a broader definition of the term "bondage" as a basis, further terminological questions arise that need to be addressed with regard to our specific historical context, for example "bondage" as "a *state of being bound* usually by compulsion (as of law or mastery): such as a: captivity, serfdom, b: servitude or subjugation to a controlling person or force."[195] How long does a particular situation of apparent bondage and coercion need to last to count as a *relation* of "strong asymmetrical dependency" – hours, days, or months? Do victims of Shāng human sacrifice, for instance, count as "strong asymmetrical dependents"? Certainly, their very lives depended on the agents who decided on their fate, and sacrificial killings were not necessarily performed shortly after prisoners were taken captive, as recent studies suggest.[196] But captives were by no means the only category of human victims within the Shāng sacrificial system, indicating a variety of possible intentions and motives.[197] How can these relations be categorized?

---

195 Thus given as second definition of the term in the *Merriam-Webster dictionary*, see https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/bondage [accessed 17.05.2022]. My italics.

196 Christina Cheung et al. theorize that, due to the long duration of captivity as suggested by the evaluated evidence, the victims may have been put to use as laborers: "Our results suggest that these sacrificial victims were likely not local, but moved to Yinxu and adopted the local diet for at least a few years before being killed." Christina Cheung et al., "Diets, Social Roles, and Geographical Origins of Sacrificial Victims at the Royal Cemetery at Yinxu, Shang China: New Evidence from Stable Carbon, Nitrogen, and Sulfur Isotope Analysis," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 48 (2017): 28, abstract; "[S]ome of the sacrificial victims in Yinxu were non-local, and likely participated in productive labour" (43).

197 Gideon Shelach-Lavi made the first fruitful approach to explain human sacrifice as an integral part of the Shāng political system in 1996, proposing that human sacrifice especially of Qiāng 羌 (i.e non-Shāng people) played a significant role in the political legitimation of the Shāng kings, comparable to human sacrifice practiced by the Mayan élite, and this focus on "captive sacrifice" has found approval in more recent scholarship. But, as Shelach himself notes, Qiāng were approximately only 50 percent of human sacrificial victims in the epigraphic records (compare Gideon Shelach, "The Qiang and the Question of Human Sacrifice in the Late Shang Period," *Asian Perspectives* 35, no. 1 [1996]: 13); this raises the question as to possible multiple functions of the large-scale institution of Shāng human sacrifice, which need to be further studied.

Maybe a shift of focus from mere terminological to social issues may be helpful in studying "asymmetrical dependency," strong or otherwise, during earlier periods, as far as the sources allow. The role that coercion may or may not have played in enhancing, consolidating, or maintaining social asymmetries, and to whose particular benefits, appears especially worth analyzing. In the case of earliest historical China, it seems promising to further study the relations and issues between individual agents or groups of people in the extant inscriptional record, such as the institution of ritual killing, sacrificial or otherwise, of both captive and native humans – surely the most extreme form of coercion.

Bibliography

Adamski, Susanne. *Die Darstellung des Bogenschießens in Bronzeinschriften der West-Zhōu* Zeit *(1045–771 v.Chr.): Eine philologische Quellenanalyse*, Veröffentlichungen des Ostasieninstituts der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 66 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017a).

Adamski, Susanne. "Sklave oder Dienstmann? Einige Überlegungen zum Status von *chén* 臣 in der West-Zhōu-Zeit (1045–771 v.Chr.)," in *Rechtsdenken und Gerechtigkeitssinn in China*, Jahrbuch der Deutschen Vereinigung für Chinastudien 11, ed. Kerstin Storm and Jonas Polfuß (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2017b): 11–29.

Adamski, Susanne. "'*Qǔ nǚ* 取女': Weibliche Gefangene während der späten Shāng-Zeit (13.–11. Jh. v.Chr.)." Paper presented at the XXIXth annual conference of the Deutsche Vereinigung für Chinastudien e.V. (DVCS) at the Center for Cultural Studies on Science and Technology in China, Technical University of Berlin, November 30–December 1, 2018.

Adamski, Susanne. "The 'Sù *yǒu* 肅卣' Inscription and the Debate on Western Zhōu Social Dependence (1045–771 B.C.)," in *n.n.*, ed. Enno Giele, Christian Schwermann and Kerstin Storm (Munich: Iudicium, forthcoming).

Anderson, Perry. *Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism* (London: New Left Books, 1974; London: Verso, 1996).

Atkinson, Elizabeth et al. "No evidence for recent selection at *FOXP2* among diverse human populations," *Cell* 174 (2018): 1424–35, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cell.2018.06.048 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Baxter, William, H. and Laurent Sagart. *Baxter-Sagart Old Chinese reconstruction*, *version 1.1*, September 20, 2014. http://ocbaxtersagart.lsait.lsa.umich.edu/BaxterSagartOCbyMandarinMC2014-09-20.pdf [accessed 17.05.2022].

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS). "Research Objective." Accessed September 21, 2020 https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/our-research/research-objective.

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS). "Semantics – Lexical Fields – Narratives," https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/research-areas/semantics_lexical-fields_narratives.pdf [accessed 17.05.2022].

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS). "Embodied Dependencies," https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/research-areas/embodied-dependencies.pdf [accessed 17.05.2022].

Beard, John Relly. *Cassell's Latin dictionary, by J.R. and C. Beard* (London: John Cassell, 1854).

Björkman, Barbro, and Sven Ove Hansson. "Bodily rights and property rights," *Journal of Medical Ethics* 32, no. 4 (2006): 209–14.

Brace, Laura, and Julia O'Connell Davidson. "Slavery and the Revival of Anti-slavery Activism," in *Revisiting Slavery and Antislavery: Towards a Critical Analysis*, ed. Laura Brace and Julia O'Connell Davidson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 3–34.

Brassel-Moser, Ruedi. "Klassengesellschaft," in *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz*, June 13, 2012, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/015984/2012-06-13/ [accessed 17.05.2022].

Brooks, E. Bruce. "The Apocryphal Empire. Laura Skosey. The Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou. UMI 1996," October 21, 2012. Warring States Project, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, https://www.umass.edu/wsp/introduction/principals/reviews/skosey.html [accessed 17.05.2022].

Caldwell, Ernest. *Writing Chinese Laws: The Form and Function of Legal Statutes found in the Qin Shuihudi Corpus* (London: Routledge, 2018).

Cáo Lǚníng 曹旅宁. "Qín Hàn fǎlǜ jiàndú zhōng de 'shùrén' shēnfèn jí fǎlǜ dìwèi wèntí 秦汉法律简牍中的'庶人'身份及法律地位问题," *Xiányáng shīfān xuéyuàn bào* 咸阳师范学院报 22, no. 3 (2007): 12–14.

Ceruti, Maria Constanza. "Frozen Mummies from Andean Mountaintop Shrines: Bioarchaeology and Ethnohistory of Inca Human Sacrifice," *BioMed Research International* 2015, https://doi.org/10.1155/2015/439428 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Chén Mínzhèn 陈民镇. "Núlì shèhuì zhī biàn – chóngshěn Zhōngguó núlì shèhuì jiēduàn lùnzhēng 奴隶社会之辩 – 重审中国奴隶社会阶段论争," *Lìshǐ yánjiū* 历史研究 2017, no. 1: 159–78.

Cheung, Christina, Zhichun Jing, Jigen Tang, Darlene A. Weston, and Michael P. Richards. "Diets, Social Roles, and Geographical Origins of Sacrificial Victims at the Royal Cemetery at Yinxu, Shang China: New Evidence From Stable Carbon, Nitrogen, and Sulfur Isotope Analysis," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 48 (2017): 28–45.

Chou Feng-wu (Zhōu Fèngwǔ) 周鳳五. "Hū dǐng míngwén xīnshì 曶鼎銘文新釋," *Gùgōng xuéshù jìkān* 故宮學術季刊 / *The National Palace Museum Research Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (2015): 1–18.

Cook, Constance A. "Da Ke ding 大克鼎 and related inscriptions," in *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, Early China Special Monograph Series 7, ed. Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 2016): 172–79.

Couvreur, Séraphin. *Chou king* 書經*: Les Annales de la Chine*, Humanités d'extrême-Orient: Série Culturelle des Hautes Études de Tien-Tsin (Leiden: Brill / Les Belles Lettres; Paris: Cathasia, 1950).

d'Errico, Francesco et al. "Archaeological Evidence for the Emergence of Language, Symbolism, and Music–An Alternative Multidisciplinary Perspective," *Journal of World-History* 17, no. 1 (2003): 1–70.

Diller, Carl C., and Rebecca L. Cann. "Evidence against a genetic-based revolution in language 50,000 years ago," in *The Cradle of Language: Studies in the Evolution of Language*, ed. Rudolf Botha and Chris Knight (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009): 135–49.

Dǒng Lìzhāng 董立章. "Xī Zhōu bìng fēi shíxíng zhǒngzú núlì zhì 西周并非实行种族奴隶制," *Journal of South China Normal University* 华南师范大学学报 2000, no. 6: 61–66.

Dǒng Shān 董珊. "Shānxī Jiàng xiàn Héngshuǐ M2 chūtǔ Sù yǒu míngwén chūtàn 山西绛县横水M2出土肃卣铭文初探," *Wénwù* 文物 2014, no. 1: 50–55.

Dubler, Anne-Marie. "Leibeigenschaft," *Historisches Lexikon der Schweiz (HLS)*, June 13, 2012, https://hls-dhs-dss.ch/de/articles/008967/2012-06-13/ [accessed 17.05.2022].

Durrant, Stephen, Li Wai-yee, and David Schaberg, trans. and introd. *Zuo Tradition / Zuozhuan* 左傳*: Commentary on the* '*Spring and Autumn Annals*' (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016).

Eno, Robert. "3.10 Inscriptional Records of the Western Zhou," Fall 2012. Indiana University, IUScholarWorks Repository, http://hdl.handle.net/2022/23466 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Erkes, Eduard. "Menschenopfer und Kannibalismus im alten China," *Der Erdball: Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Menschen- und Völkerkunde* 1, no. 1 (1926): 1–6.

Fàn Chuánxián 范传贤. "Lüèlùn yuánshǐ shèhuì fúlǔ de mìngyùn 略论原始社会俘虏的命运," *Dōngběi shīdà xuébào* 东北师大学报 1988, no. 1: 59–63.

Finley, Moses I. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980) [Book not accessed by the author].

Gassmann, Robert. *Verwandtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten China: Begriffe, Strukturen und Prozesse* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006).

Gillingham, John. "Women, children and the profits of war," in *Gender and Historiography. Studies in the Earlier Middle Ages in Honour of Pauline Stafford*, ed. Janet L. Nelson, Susan Reynolds and Susan M. Johns (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2012): 61–74.

Goldin, Paul R. "Han Law and the Regulation of Interpersonal Relations: 'The Confucianization of the Law' Revisited," *Asia Major (third Series)* 25, no. 1 (2012): 1–31.

Guō Mòruò 郭沫若. *Zhōngguó gǔdài shèhuì yánjiū* 中國古代社會研究 (N.p.: n.p., 1930; n.p.: Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 人民出版社, 1954).

Guō Shànbīng 郭善兵, "Èrshí shìjì bāshí niándài yǐlái dàlù xuéjiè xiān Qín shèhuì xìngzhì wèntí yánjiū shùpíng 二十世紀八十年代以來大陸學界先秦社會性質問題研究述評," *Zhōngguó shǐ yánjiū* 中國史研究 73 (2011): 283–302.

Hànyǔ dà cídiǎn 汉语大词典, 22 vols., ed. Luó Zhúfèng 罗竹凤 (Shànghǎi: Hànyǔ Dà Cídiǎn Chūbǎnshè 汉语大词典出版社, 2006).

Hellie, Richard. "Slavery," in *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, last updated August 17, 2020, http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/548305/slavery [accessed 17.05.2022].

Héjí (see *Jiǎgǔwén héjí*).

Hóng Yáng 洪颺 et al., eds. *Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔwén lèizuǎn* 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨文類纂 (Fúzhōu 福州: Fújiàn Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 福建人民出版社, 2016).

Honoré, Anthony M. "Ownership," in *The Nature and Process of Law: An Introduction to Legal Philosophy*, ed. Patricia Smith (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): 370–75 [previously published in *Oxford Essays in Jurisprudence*, ed. Anthony G. Guest (London: Oxford University Press, 1961): 107–47].

Hsu Cho-yun. "The Spring and Autumn Period," in *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC.*, ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 545–86.

Hu, Baozhu. *Believing in Ghosts and Spirits: The Concept of Gui in Ancient China*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 71 (London: Routledge; Monumenta Serica Institute, 2021), https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003110040 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Hú Hòuxuān 胡厚宣, and Hú Zhènyǔ 胡振宇, eds. *Yīn Shāng shǐ* 殷商史 (Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 上海人民出版社, 2003).

Huáng Wǔqiáng 黃武強. "Xī Zhōu Chūnqiū shèhuì xíngtài xīntàn 西周春秋社会形态新探," *Guǎngxī shèhuì kēxué* 广西社会科学 1994, no. 1: 51–60.

Huáng Xiànfán 黄现璠. *Zhōngguó lìshǐ méi yǒu núlì shèhuì – jiānlùn shìjiè gǔdài nú jíqí shèhuì xíngtài* 中国历史没有奴隶社会——兼论世界古代奴及其社会形态 (Guìlín 桂林: Guǎngxī Shīfān Dàxué Chūbǎnshè 广西师范大学出版社, 2015).

Jiǎ Lìyīng 贾丽英. "Shùrén: Qín Hàn shèhuì juézhì shēnfèn yǔ túlì shēnfèn de xiánjiē 庶人: 秦汉社会爵制身份与徒隶身份的衔接," *Shānxī dàxué xuébào* 山西大学学报 2019, no. 11: 16–25.

Jiǎgǔwén héjí 甲骨文合集, ed. Guō Mòruò 郭沫若, Hú Hòuxuān 胡厚宣, and Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn lìshǐ yánjiūsuǒ 中国社会科学院历史研究所, 13 vols. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1982).

Jiǎgǔwén héjí shìwén 甲骨文合集释文, ed. Hú Hòuxuān 胡厚宣, 2 vols. (Běijīng: Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxué Chūbǎnshè 中国社会科学出版社, 1999).

Jiǎgǔwénzì gǔlín 甲骨文字詁林, ed. Yú Xǐngwú 于省吾 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1999).

Jíchéng (see *Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng*).

Jìnchū Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jílù èrbiān 近出殷周金文集录二编, ed. Liú Yǔ 刘雨 and Yán Zhìbīn 严志斌, 4 vols. (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2010).

Jīnwén chángyòng zìdiǎn 金文常用字典: *xiūdìng běn* 修訂本, ed. Chén Chūshēng 陳初生 (Xī'ān 西安: Shǎnxī Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 陝西人民出版社, 2004).

Jīnwén yǐndé 金文引得: *Yīn Shāng Xī Zhōu juàn* 殷商西周卷, ed. Huádōng shīfān dàxué zhōngguó wénzì yánjiū yǔ yìngyòng zhōngxīn 华东示范大学中国文字研究与应用中心 (Nánníng 南宁: Guǎngxī Jiàoyù Chūbǎnshè 广西教育出版社, 2001).

Kane, Virginia C. "Aspects of Western Chou Appointment Inscriptions: The Charge, the Gifts, and the Response," *Early China* 8 (1982–83): 14–28.

Keightley, David N. "Public Work in Ancient China: A Study of Forced Labor in the Shang and Western Chou" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969).

Keightley, David N. *Working for His Majesty: Research Notes on Labor Mobilization in Late Shang* China *(ca. 1200–1045 B.C.), as Seen in the Oracle-Bone* Inscriptions, *with Particular Attention to Handicraft Industries, Agriculture, Warfare, Hunting, Construction, and the Shang's Legacies*, China Research Monograph 67 (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 2012).

Khayutina, Maria. "'Bi shi' 柲誓, Western Zhou Oath Texts, and the Legal Culture of Early China," in *Origins of Chinese Political Philosophy: Studies in the Composition and Thought of the Shangshu (Classic of Documents)*, ed. Martin Kern and Dirk Meyer (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 416–45

Knoblock, John. *Xunzi: A Translation and Study of the Complete Works* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

Kolb, Raimund Theodor. *Die Infanterie im alten China*: *Ein Beitrag zur Militärgeschichte der Vor-Zhan-Guo-Zeit*, AVA Materialien 43 (Mainz: Philip von Zabern, 1991).

Kolb, Raimund Theodor. "Bemerkungen zu Ulrich Lau: Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Zeit," *Oriens Extremus* 42 (2000/2001): 191–206.

Korolkov, Maxim. "Arguing about Law: Interrogation Procedure under the Qin and Former Han Dynasties," *Études chinoises* 30 (2011): 37–71.

Korolkov, Maxim. "Convict labor in the Qin Empire: A preliminary study of the 'Registers of convict laborers' from Liye," in *Jiǎnbó wénxiàn yǔ gǔdài shǐ: Dì èr jiè chūtǔ wénxiàn qīngnián xuézhě guójì lùntán lùnwénjí* 简帛文献与古代史: 第二届出土文献青年学者国际论坛论文集, ed. Fùdàn dàxué lìshǐxué xì 复旦大学历史学系 and Fùdàn dàxué chūtǔ wénxiàn yǔ gǔwénzì yánjiū zhōngxīn 复旦大学出土文献与古文字研究中心 (Shànghǎi: Zhōngxī Shūjú 中西书局, 2015): 132–56.

Korolkov, Maxim. "Empire-Building and Market-Making at the Qin Frontier: Imperial Expansion and Economic Change, 221–207 BCE" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2020).

Korolkov, Maxim. "Between Command and Market: Credit, Labour, and Accounting in the Qin Empire (221–207 B.C.E.)," in *Between Command and Market: Economic Thought and Practice in Early China*, ed. Elisa Sabattini and Christian Schwermann (Leiden: Brill, 2021): 162–243.

Koselleck, Reinhart. "Begriffsgeschichte und Sozialgeschichte," in *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte*, ed. Reinhart Koselleck (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1978): 19–36.

Koselleck, Reinhart. "Sozialgeschichte und Begriffsgeschichte," in *Begriffsgeschichten: Studien zur Semantik und Pragmatik der politisch-sozialen Sprache*, auth. Reinhart Kosellek, Ulrike Spree and Willibald Steinmetz (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2006): 9–31.

Krjukov, Vassilij M. *Ritualnaja kommunikacija v drevnem Kitae* (Moscow: Institut Vostokovedeniya RAN, 1997) [Book not accessed by the author].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 227

Lau, Ulrich. *Quellenstudien zur Landvergabe und Bodenübertragung in der westlichen Zhou-Dynastie (1045?–771 v. Chr.)*, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 61 (Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1999).

Legge, James. *The Chinese Classics, with a Translation, Critical and Exegetical Notes, Prolegomena, and Copious Indexes*, vol. 3, part 2, *Containing the Fifth Part of the Shoo King, or the Books of Chow; and the Indexes* (Hongkong: At the Author's; London: Trübner & Co., 1865).

Lewis, David M. "Orlando Patterson, Property, and Ancient Slavery: The Definitional Problem Revisited," in *On Human Bondage: After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017): 31–54.

Lewis, Mark Edward. "Warring States Political History," *The Cambridge History of Ancient China: From the Origins of Civilization to 221 BC.,* ed. Michael Loewe and Edward L. Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 587–650.

Li, Feng. *Landscape and Power in Early China: The Crisis and Fall of the Western Zhou 1045–771 BC* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Li, Feng. "Literacy and the Social Contexts of Writing in the Western Zhou," in *Writing & Literacy in Early China*, ed. Li Feng and David Prager Branner (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011): 271–301.

Li, Feng. "The Western Zhou State," in *Routledge Handbook of Early Chinese History*, ed. Paul R. Goldin (London: Routledge, 2018a): 84–107.

Li, Feng. "The Development of Literacy in Early China: With the Nature and Uses of Bronze Inscriptions in Context, and More," in *Literacy in Ancient Everyday Life*, ed. Anne Kolb (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018b): 13–42.

Lǐ Fēng 李峰. "Zhōngguó gǔdài guójiā xíngtài de biànqiān hé chéngwén fǎlǜ xíngchéng de shèhuì jīchǔ 中国古代国家形态的变迁和成文法律形成的社会基础," *Huádōng zhèngfǎ dàxué xuébào* 华东政法大学学报 2016, no. 4: 20–32.

Lovejoy, Paul E. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

Luò Xīzhāng 罗西章. "Zǎi Shòu *guǐ* míng lüèkǎo 宰兽簋铭略考," *Wénwù* 文物 1998, no. 8: 83–87.

Manning, Patrick. "Homo sapiens Populates the Earth: A Provosional Synthesis, Privileging Linguistic Evidence," *Journal of World History* 17, no. 2 (2006): 115–58.

Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital: Kritik der politischen Oekonomie. Erster Band: Der Produktionsprocess des Kapitals*, 2nd ed. (Hamburg: Verlag von Otto Meissner, 1872).

Masini, Frederico. *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and its Evolution toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898*, Journal of Chinese Linguistics Monograph Series 6 (Berkeley: Project on Linguistic Analysis; University of California Press, 1993).

Miller, Joseph C. *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

Nieboer, Herman J. *Slavery as an Industrial System: Ethnological Researches* (Dordrecht: Springer-Science+Business Media, B.V., 1900).

Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study, With A New Preface*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018).

Quirk, Joel. "The Anti-Slavery Project: Linking the Historical and Contemporary," *Human Rights Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (2006): 565–98.

Quirk, Joel. *The Anti-Slavery Project: From the Slave Trade to Human Trafficking*, Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

Scheidel, Walter. "Slavery and forced labor in early China and the Roman world," Version 1.0. Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics, Stanford University, April 2013. http://www.princeton.edu/~pswpc/papers/authorMZ/scheidel/scheidel.html [accessed 17.05.2022] [Published in: *Eurasian Empires in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Contacts and*

Exchange Between the Graeco-Roman World, Inner Asia and China, ed. Hyun J. Kim, Frederik J. Vervaet, and Selim F. Adali (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 133–50].

Schuessler, Axel. *ABC Etymological Dictionary of Old Chinese* (Honululu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).

Schunk, Lutz. "Dokumente zur Rechtsgeschichte des alten China: Übersetzung und historisch-philologische Kommentierung juristischer Bronzeinschriften der West-Zhou-Zeit (1045–771 v.Chr.)" (PhD diss., Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster, 1994).

Schwartz, Adam Craig. *The Oracle Bone Inscriptions from Huayuanzhuang East: Translated with an Introduction and Commentary*, Library of Sinology 3 (Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, 2019).

Schwermann, Christian and Wang Ping 王平. "Female Human Sacrifice in Shang-Dynasty Oracle-Bone Inscriptions," unpublished manuscript, September 29, 2014 [published in *The International Journal of Chinese Character Studies / Shìjiè hànzì tōngbào* 世界漢字通報 1, no. 1 (2015): 49–83].

Shang, Yang. *The Book of Lord Shang: Apologetics of State Power in Early China*, ed. and trans. Yuri Pines (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017).

Shàng shū 尚書 (*Shū jīng* 書經), Sìbù cóngkān 四部叢刊 edition (N.p., 1919–1936), Unihan Ancient Books Database 書同文古籍數據庫, https://guji.unihan.com.cn/ [accessed 17.05.2022].

Shāngjūn shū 商君書 (*Shāng zǐ* 商子), Sìbù cóngkān 四部叢刊 edition (N.p., 1919–1936), Unihan Ancient Books Database 書同文古籍數據庫, https://guji.unihan.com.cn/ [accessed 17.05.2022].

Shaughnessy, Edward L. "*Shang shu* 尚書 (*Shu ching* 書經)," in *Early Chinese Texts: A Bibliographical Guide*, ed. Michael Loewe (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 1993): 376–89.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. *Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

Shaughnessy, Edward L. "Newest Sources of Western Zhou History: Inscribed Bronze Vessels, 2000–2010," in *Imprints of Kinship: Studies of Recently Discovered Bronze Inscriptions from Ancient China*, Institute of Chinese Studies, The Chinese University of Hong Kong Monographs Series 17, ed. Edward L. Shaughnessy (Hong Kong: The Chinese University of Hong Kong Press, 2017): 133–88.

Shaughnessy, Edward L. "The Dowager v. the Royal Court: A Ninth-Century BCE Case of Family Law Recorded in Chinese Bronze Inscriptions," in *Structures of Power: Law and Gender Across the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, Oriental Institute Seminars 12, ed. Ilan Peled (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2018): 155–69.

Shelach, Gideon. "The Qiang and the Question of Human Sacrifice in the Late Shang Period," *Asian Perspectives* 35, no. 1 (1996): 1–26.

Shī Wěiqīng 施伟青. "'Lì' fēi núlì biàn '鬲'非奴隶辩," *Xiàmén dàxué xuébào* 厦门大学学报 1987, no. 3: 72–76.

Shuìhǔdì Qín mù zhújiǎn 睡虎地秦墓竹简, ed. Shuìhǔdì Qín mù zhújiǎn zhěnglǐ xiǎozǔ 睡虎地秦墓竹简整理小组 (Běijīng: Wénwù Chūbǎnshè 文物出版社, 1990).

Škrabal, Ondřej. "Writing before Inscribing: On the Use of Manuscripts in the Production of Western Zhou Bronze Inscriptions," *Early China* 42 (2019): 273–332.

Skosey, Laura A. "The Legal System and Legal Tradition of the Western Zhou (ca. 1045–771 B.C.E.)," (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 1996).

Skosey, Laura A. "Hu *ding* 曶鼎," in *A Source Book of Ancient Chinese Bronze Inscriptions*, Early China Special Monograph Series 7, ed. Constance A. Cook and Paul R. Goldin (Berkeley: The Society for the Study of Early China, 2016): 129–35.

Snare, Frank. "The Concept of Property," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 9, no. 2 (1972): 200–206.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 229

Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis). "Arbeitnehmerinnen und Arbeitnehmer," https://www.destatis.de/DE/Themen/Arbeit/Arbeitsmarkt/Glossar/arbeitnehmer.html [accessed 17.05.2022].

Sussman, Charlotte. "Historicizing Freedom of Movement: Memory and Exile in Political Context," in *Revisiting Slavery and Antislavery: Towards a Critical Analysis*, ed. Laura Brace and Julia O'Connell Davidson (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 97–122.

Swedberg, Richard. *Principles of Economic Sociology* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2003).

Takatori Yūji 鷹取祐司. "Qín Hàn shídài de shùrén zàikǎo – duì tèdìng shēnfèn shuō de pīpíng 秦漢时代的庶人再考 – 對特定身份説的批評," *Jiǎnbó* 簡帛 18 (2019) / *Bamboo and Silk Manuscripts* 2019, no. 1: 75–89.

Tierney, Patrick. *The Highest Altar: The Story of Human Sacrifice* (New York: Viking, 1989).

Turner, Mary, ed. *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labour Bargaining in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

Turner, Mary. "Modernizing Slavery: Investigating the Legal Dimension," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 73, no. 3/4 (1999): 5–26, https://doi.org/10.1163/13822373-90002575 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Twaddle, Michael, ed. *The Wages of Slavery: From Chattel Slavery to Wage Labour in Africa, the Caribbean and England* (Abingdon: Frank Cass, 1993).

Van Norden, Bryan W. *Mengzi: With Selections from Traditional Commentaries* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2008).

Vankeerberghen, Griet. "'Yellow Bird' and the Discourse of Retainer Sacrifice in China," in *Sacrifices humains: Perspectives croisées et représentations. Human Sacrifice: Cross-cultural Perspectives and Representations*, Religions 2, ed. Pierre Bonnechere and Renaud Gagné (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2013): 175–203.

Vankeerberghen, Griet. "A Sexual Order in the Making: Wives and Slaves in Early Imperial China," in *Sex, Power and Slavery*, ed. Gwyn Campbell and Elizabeth Elbourne (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2014): 121–39.

Wáng Chéngshào 王承袑. "Shìlùn Yīndài '*xī*', '*qiè*', '*fú*' de shèhuì shēnfèn 试论殷代'奚'、'妾'、'' 的社会身份," *Běijīng dàxué xuébào* 北京大学学报 1955, no. 1: 114–21.

Wáng Jìnfēng 王进锋. "Hǔchén yǔ cì chén 虎臣与赐臣," *Sìchuān wénwù* 四川文物 5 (2011): 47–52.

Wáng Jìnfēng 王进锋. *Chén, xiǎochén yǔ Shāng Zhōu shèhuì* 臣、小臣与商周社会 (Shánghǎi: Shánghǎi Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 上海人民出版社, 2018).

Weber, Max. *Grundriss der Sozialökonomik*, vol. 3, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1922).

Wilkinson, Endymion. *Chinese History: A Manual. Revised and Enlarged*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 52 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000).

Xiàndài Hànyǔ Cídiǎn 现代汉语词典, ed. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn yǔyán yánjiūsuǒ cídiǎn biānjíshì 中国社会科学院语言研究所词典编辑室 (Běijīng: Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn 商务印书馆, 2002).

Xiǎotún nándì jiǎgǔ 小屯南地甲骨, ed. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ 中国社会科学院考古研究所, 2 parts (5 vols.) (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1983).

Xīn Hàn Dé Cídiǎn 新汉德词典, ed. Běijīng wàiguóyǔxuéyuàn déyǔxì *Xīn Hàn Dé Cídiǎn* biānxiězǔ 北京外国语学院德语系《新汉德词典》编写组 (Běijīng: Shāngwù Yìnshūguǎn, 1996).

Xīnbiān jiǎgǔwén zìdiǎn 新编甲骨文字典, ed. Liú Xīnglóng 刘兴隆 (Běijīng: Guójì Wénhuà Chūbǎn Gōngsī 国际文化出版公司, 1993).

Xú Yìhuá 徐义华. "Diāo Shēng sān qì míngwén bǔshì 琱生三器铭文补释," *Nánfāng wénwù* 南方文物 2015, no. 3: 102–6.

Yates, Robin D.S. "Slavery in Early China: A Socio-Cultural Approach," *Journal of East Asian Archaeology* 3, no. 1–2 (2001): 283–331.

Yates, Robin D.S. "The Qin Slips and Boards from Well No. 1, Liye, Hunan: A Brief Introduction to the Qin Qianling County Archives," *Early China* 35–36 (2012–13): 291–329.

Yates, Robin D.S. "The Changing Status of Slaves in the Qin-Han Transition," in *Birth of an Empire: The State of Qin Revisited*, ed. Yuri Pines, Gideon Shelach, Lothar von Falkenhausen, and Robin D.S. Yates (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014): 206–23.

Yīn Jìmíng 殷寄明. "Jiǎ, jīnwén zhōng de núlì míngchéng kǎolüè 甲、金文中的奴隶名称考略," *Jiāngxī jiàoyù xuéyuàn xuébào* 江西教育学院学报 1990, no. 2: 25–27.

Yīn Wěirén 殷伟仁. "'Cì . . . rénlì, zì yù zhìyú shùrén' jiě '锡 . . . . . 人鬲, 自驭至于庶人'解," *Rénwén zázhì* 人文杂志 / *The Journal of Humanities* 1983, no. 6: 70–71.

Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng 殷周金文集成, 18 vols., ed. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ 中國社會科學院考古研究所 (Shànghǎi 上海: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中华书局, 1984–1994).

Yīn Zhōu jīnwén jíchéng shìwén 殷周金文集成釋文, 6 vols., ed. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ (Hong Kong: Xiānggǎng Zhōngwén Dàxué Zhōngguó Shèhuì Kēxuéyuàn Kǎogǔ Yánjiūsuǒ 香港中文大學中國社會科學院考古研究所, 2001).

Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ 殷墟花园庄东地甲骨, 6 vols., ed. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ (Kūnmíng 昆明: Yúnnán Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 云南人民出版社, 2003).

Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn 殷墟花园庄东地甲骨刻辞类纂, ed. Qí Hángfú 齐航福 and Zhāng Xiùxiá 章秀霞 (Běijīng: Xiànzhuāng Shūjú 线装书局, 2011).

Yīnxū Huāyuánzhuāng dōngdì jiǎgǔwén lèizuǎn 殷墟花園莊東地甲骨文类纂, ed. Hóng Yáng 洪颺 et al. (Fúzhōu 福州: Fújiàn Rénmín Chūbǎnshè 福建人民出版社, 2016).

Yīnxū jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn 殷墟甲骨刻辞类纂, 3 vols., ed. Yáo Xiàosuì 姚孝遂 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1989).

Yīnxū jiǎgǔwén móshì quánbiān 殷墟甲骨文摹释全编, 10 vols., ed. Chén Niánfú 陳年福 (Bějiīng: Xiànzhuāng Shūjú, 2010).

Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨, 2 vols., ed. Zhōngguó shèhuì kēxuéyuàn kǎogǔ yánjiūsuǒ (Kūnmíng: Yúnnán Rénmín Chūbǎnshè, 2012).

Yīnxū Xiǎotún cūnzhōng cūnnán jiǎgǔ kècí lèizuǎn 殷墟小屯村中村南甲骨刻辞類纂, ed. Lǐ Shuāngjié 李霜潔 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú 中華書局, 2017).

Zāng Kèhé 臧克和 and Wáng Píng 王平, eds. *Shuōwén jiězì xīndìng* 說文解字新訂 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 2002).

Zeuske, Michael. *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013).

Zhāng Yàchū 張亞初 and Liú Yǔ 劉雨. *Xī Zhōu jīnwén guānzhì yánjiū* 西周金文官制研究 (Běijīng: Zhōnghuá Shūjú, 1986).

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Greek World

Winfried Schmitz. “Dependent Rural Populations in Archaic and Classical Greece: Free, Slave, or Between Free and Slave?” in *Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies. Semantics and Lexical Fields*, eds. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022): 99-126.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-004

Winfried Schmitz

Dependent Rural Populations in Archaic and Classical Greece: Free, Slave, or Between Free and Slave?

In the twelfth book of his *Geographica*, which contains information about the kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea, the ancient geographer Strabo (ca. 64 BC–19 AD) includes a report about the Mariandyni.[1] He thought them a Thracian tribe similar to the Bithynians. The Milesians had founded a city in the territory of the Mariandyni which they called Heracleia,[2] and they forced the Mariandyni, whose land this had been, into bondage: a state Strabo describes with the term *heilōteúein*, a type of dependency similar to that endured by the helots of Sparta. Mariandyni could be sold (*pipráskesthai*), but they had come to an agreement with the Heracleians that they could not be sold outside the territory.[3] Strabo does not explicitly tell us that the Heracleians had conquered inland Mariandyni territory in military campaigns from their own coastal base, but it seems reasonable to assume that this is what happened. At that time, i.e. in the seventh or sixth century BC, it was usual for the conquerors of a city to kill the men of fighting age and to sell the women and children into slavery. However, in the case of the Mariandyni, the Heracleians chose a different path: the Mariandyni could continue to live in their houses and villages and to farm the land; but they had to live in a state of dependency and pay certain tributes to their new masters. Unlike regular captives in war, they could not be sold beyond their erstwhile territory; but since it was possible to sell them within the

1 For the Mariandyni and their area of settlement see David Asheri, *Über die Frühgeschichte von Herakleia Pontike*, Forschungen an der Nordküste Kleinasiens 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972): 18–19; Stanley M. Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism: The Emergence of Heraclea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976): 6–11.

2 However, Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism*: 13–15 is skeptical of the historicity of this account.

3 Strab. 12.3.4–542 C: Θεόπομπος δὲ Μαριανδυνόν φησι μέρους τῆς Παφλαγονίας ἄρξαντα ὑπὸ πολλῶν δυναστευομένης, ἐπελθόντα τὴν τῶν Βεβρύκων κατασχεῖν, ἣν δ' ἐξέλιπεν ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν. εἴρηται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι πρῶτοι τὴν Ἡράκλειαν κτίσαντες Μιλήσιοι τοὺς Μαριανδυνοὺς εἰλωτεύειν ἠνάγκασαν τοὺς προκατέχοντας τὸν τόπον, ὥστε καὶ πιπράσκεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν, μὴ εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν δέ (συμβῆναι γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτοις), καθάπερ Κρησὶ μὲν ἐθήτευεν ἡ Μνῴα καλουμένη σύνοδος, Θετταλοῖς δὲ οἱ Πενέσται.

Note: My thanks go to Imogen Herrad for the English translation of my text. The translations of the Cretan inscriptions have been lightly adapted from those of Michael Gagarin and Paula Perlman (*The Laws of Ancient Crete c. 650–400 BCE* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016]). All other translations from the ancient Greek have been taken from the Loeb edition unless otherwise stated.

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-004

boundaries, we may assume that they were given to individual Heracleians whose property or dependents they became.[4]

The enserfed Mariandyni had to pay tributes (probably in kind). They are euphemistically referred to as "bringers of gifts" (*dōrophóroi*) by the third-century BC epic poet Euphorion and the second-century BC grammarian Callistratus.[5] Strabo describes the dependency of the Mariandyni with a term derived from the helots of Sparta, *heilōteúein*, and mentions the restriction on the right to sell them. The late-second/early-first century BC Stoic philosopher Poseidonius also sidestepped the issue of slavery. In the eleventh book of his *Histories* he wrote:

> [M]any people who are unable to care for themselves because of their intellectual deficiencies surrender themselves into the service (*hypēresía*) of more intelligent individuals, so that they can get the necessities of life from their masters and can in turn repay them with whatever services they are capable of rendering (*hypēreteín*). This is how the Mariandyni became subject to the Heracleians, by promising to be their servants (*thēteúein*) forever, provided the Heracleians supplied them with what they needed and, adding as a further condition a ban on the selling (*prásis*) of them outside of Heracleian territory: it would only be allowed in their own country (*chṓra*).[6]

The assertion that someone of weak intellect should choose to put himself in bondage to a wiser person to obtain the necessities of life echoes very strongly Aristotle's concept of the "natural slave" – especially as in this case the "wise" are the Heracleians, who are Greek, while the mentally lacking Mariandyni are "barbarians."[7]

---

4 Strabo (12.3.6–542 C) tells us that Heracleia had risen to become an important city – probably thanks to the subjugation of the Mariandyni. *Apoikíai*, colonies, were founded by the Heracleians in Tauric Chersonesus and Callatis. Strabo also tells us that the city had good harbours (πόλις εὐλίμενος).

5 Callistratus FgrH 348 F4 (the fragments are preserved in Athen. 6.84, p. 263d–e; see n. 8 below).

6 Athen. 6.84 (p. 263c–d): Ποσειδώνιος (FgrH 87 F8) δέ φησιν ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν ἑνδεκάτῃ· 'πολλούς τινας ἑαυτῶν οὐ δυναμένους προίστασθαι διὰ τὸ τῆς διανοίας ἀσθενὲς ἐπιδοῦναι ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν τῶν συνετωτέρων ὑπηρεσίαν, ὅπως παρ' ἐκείνων τυγχάνοντες τῆς εἰς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐπιμελείας αὐτοὶ πάλιν ἀποδιδῶσιν ἐκείνοις δι' αὐτῶν ἅπερ ἂν ὦσιν ὑπηρετεῖν δυνατοί. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ Μαριανδυνοὶ μὲν Ἡρακλεώταις ὑπετάγησαν, διὰ τέλους ὑποσχόμενοι θητεύσειν παρέχουσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ δέοντα, προσδιαστειλάμενοι μηδενὸς αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι πρᾶσιν ἔξω τῆς Ἡρακλεωτῶν χώρας, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον τῇ ἰδίᾳ χώρᾳ.' Strabo also uses the verb *thēteúein* for the dependent labour performed by the *mnōtaí* in Crete and the *penéstai* in Thessaly, which indicates that he assimilates their activities to those of the *thetes*, members of the free rural poor who sold their labour for a year at a time as hired workers in archaic Greece (Strab. 12.3.4–542 C; see n. 3 above). For *thēteúein* and dependent labour on an annual basis see Hom. Il. 21.441–57 (cf. Agatharchides F 7 Woelk; Phot. Bibl. p. 442.29b–444.19b); Od. 11.489–90; 18.357–64; Hes. erg. 600–608; Hdt. 8.137; Eur. Alc. 1–9; Aristot. rhet. 1.9.26–27; Timaeus FgrH 566 F11 (= Athen. 6.86, p. 264c–d), with literature.

7 For a detailed discussion of Aristotle's concept of the "natural slave" see Eckart Schütrumpf, "Aristoteles," in *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 1, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 180–208.

Poseidonius' explanation doubtlessly serves to legitimize slavery, as does the euphemistic label "bringers of gifts."[8] But were the Mariandyni slaves? Our knowledge about this one dependent group in the region of Heracleia is too small to definitively answer this question.[9] Later authors, who looked upon them in hindsight, saw them as slaves, albeit under a very particular set of conditions.[10]

Strabo tells us that the Mariandyni had been "forced [. . .] to serve as helots, so that they could be sold, but not beyond the boundaries of their country," and that this special condition had also applied to the *mnoía* who served the Cretans and the *penéstai* who served the Thessalians.[11] There is additional proof for the fact that the existence of this specific type of dependents was also reflected in the terminology of different parts of Greece. Callistratus wrote that the Spartans had used the term *helots* in order to avoid "the sting of the word 'slaves'"; just as the Thessalians spoke of *penéstai* and the Cretans of *klarṓtai*.[12] Callistratus then further distinguishes between Crete's "urban slaves" (οἰκέται κατὰ πόλιν), who were called *chrysṓnētoi* ("bought for

8 Athenaeus quotes a line from Euphorion (fr. 73 M.), δωροφόροι καλεοίαθ' ὑποφρίσσοντες ἄνακτας – "Let them be referred to as gift-bearers, shuddering before their masters." The legitimizing intent is also obvious in the claim that allegedly the Mariandyni *surrendered themselves* to the Heracleians and *promised* to be their servants in perpetuity.

9 For the history of Heracleia and the Mariandyni see Burstein, *Outpost of Hellenism* and Alexandru Avram, "Bemerkungen zu den Mariandyni von Herakleia am Pontos," *Studii Clasice* 22 (1984): 19–28 (with a discussion of earlier literature, including Russian texts); Angela Bittner, *Eine Polis zwischen Tyrannis und Selbstverwaltung: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Herakleia* (Bonn: Habelt, 1998); Sergei J. Saprykin, *Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman Domination IV. –I. c. B.C.* (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1996); Annalisa Paradiso, "Sur la servitude volontaire des Mariandyniens d'Héraclée du Pont," in *Fear of Slaves, Fear of Enslavement in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Anastasia Serghidou (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2007): 23–33; cf. Adrian Robu, *Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin: histoire et institutions* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014).

10 Avram, "Bemerkungen zu den Mariandyni": 21. He comes to the (to my mind problematic) conclusion that there were two categories of Mariandyni: those of low status who, like the helots of Sparta, were virtually identical to slaves; and those who had certain rights, were called *perí oikoi* and could potentially rise to become full citizens (26–28).

11 See n. 3 above. For the *penéstai* in Thessaly see Detlev Lotze, *Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων. Studien zur Rechtsstellung unfreier Landbevölkerung in Griechenland bis zum 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (Berlin: Akademie, 1959); Stefan Link, *Landverteilung und sozialer Frieden im archaischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991): 151–57; Jean Ducat, *Les Pénestes de Thessalie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 1994); Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, "Neuere Forschungen zur Rechtsstellung der Penesten," in *Antike Lebenswelten. Konstanz – Wandel – Wirkungsmacht. Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Mauritsch et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008): 393–411; Peter Mauritsch, "Penesten," in *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 2, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 2181–84.

12 Callistratus FgrH 348 F4 (apud Athen. 6.84, p. 263e–f): λέγει δὲ καὶ Καλλίστρατος ὁ Ἀριστοφάνειος, ὅτι τοὺς Μαριανδυνοὺς ὠνόμαζον μὲν δωροφόρους ἀφαιροῦντες τὸ πικρὸν τῆς [ἀπὸ] τῶν οἰκετῶν προσηγορίας, καθάπερ Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν ἐποίησαν ἐπὶ τῶν εἰλώτων, Θετταλοὶ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν πενεστῶν, Κρῆτες δ' ἐπὶ τῶν κλαρωτῶν.

gold" or "for money"), and "rural slaves" (κατ' ἀγρόν) who were locals (ἐγχώριοι) and had been enslaved in war (δουλωθέντες κατὰ πόλεμον), and who were called *a(m)phamiốtai*. These were also called *klarốtai* because they were "allotted," i.e. because lots had been drawn for them.[13] So our sources – ancient, if not contemporaneous with the conditions they describe – are in agreement that these particular forms of dependency, where the defeated could stay in their own land as a rural subject population under new rulers, had come about through war.[14] They farmed the estates and were obliged to pay tribute. The new masters had estates (*klároi*) assigned or allocated to them, complete with the workers on the land. As an institution, this slave collective was called *mnoía*; the "allocates" to individual citizens were called *klarốtai* or *a(m)phamiốtai*.[15] This last term derives either from *aphamía*, "infamy," or from *apamía*, the term for peripheral land.[16] In addition, there were probably some chattel slaves who had been

13 Athen. 6.84 p. 263e–f: καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οἰκέτας χρυσωνήτους, ἀμφαμιώτας δὲ τοὺς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἐγχωρίους μὲν ὄντας, δουλωθέντας δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον· διὰ τὸ κληρωθῆναι δὲ κλαρώτας. Athen. 6.93, p. 267c (similarly in the epitomes): Ἀμερίας δὲ ἑρκίτας φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς οἰκέτας. Ἕρμων δὲ ἐν Κρητικαῖς Γλώτταις μνώτας τοὺς εὐγενεῖς οἰκέτας. – "Amerias says that slaves (*oikétai*) who work in the fields are referred to as *herkítai*; Hermon in the *Cretan Vocabulary* says that indigenous slaves (*oikétai*) are referred to as *mnốtai*." Eustathius, drawing on the work of Athenaeus, which is preserved in Comm. ad Il. 15.431 (p. 752), writes: Ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλως δουλικαὶ λέξεις ἐν Κρήτῃ μὲν οἱ κλαρῶται διὰ τὸ κληρωθῆναι, ἔτι δὲ οἰκέται μὲν οἱ κατὰ πόλιν χρυσώνητοι, ἀμφαμιῶται δὲ οἱ κατὰ ἀγρὸν ἰδίᾳ δοῦλοι. ἐκάλουν δέ, φασί, Κρῆτες καὶ μνοίαν τὴν κοινὴν δουλίαν, καὶ μνώτας τοὺς ἐγγενεῖς οἰκέτας. – "There were other words for slaves (*doulikaí léxeis*) in Crete, the *klarốtai* [who were so named] for having been appointed by lot, also *oikétai* for those who had been bought for gold (*chrysốnētoi*) in the city, and *amphamiốtai* for those slaves (*doúloi*) in the country [who had been allocated] privately; he says the Cretans also called public slavery (*koinḗ doulía*) *mnoía*, and native slaves (*oikétai*) *mnốtai*" (my own translation). For *a(m)phamiốtai* see also Strab. 15.1.34 (= Onesikrates FgrH 134 F24).

14 For the Mariandyni see Strab. 12.3.4 (see also above n. 3); for the Cretan *a(m)phamiốtai* see Callistratus apud Athen. 6.84 (see above n. 12).

15 The terms *woikeús* and *woikéa* are only attested in Cretan inscriptions (Michael Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 127 (2010): 14–31, here 16).

16 Hesych. α 8548 s.v. ἀφαμιῶται· οἰκέται ἀγροῖκοι, περίοικοι. For the *aphamiốtai* and a possible epigraphic attestation, see Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 15, n. 1; Hans-Joachim Gehrke, "Gewalt und Gesetz: Die soziale und politische Ordnung Kretas in der Archaischen und Klassischen Zeit," *Klio* 79 (1997): 23–68, 26, n. 10 follows Henri van Effenterre, who states that *apamía* is "eine lokale Bezeichnung für Land-, insbesondere Grenzgebiet." (Henri van Effenterre, "Terminologie et formes de dépendence en Crète," in *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoy*, ed. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich and Georges Raepsaet (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1982): 35–44, here 38–41; Paula Perlman, "Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Sailor. The Economies of Archaic Eleutherna, Crete," *Classical Antiquity* 23 (2004): 95–137, here 103). According to Angelos Chaniotis, *mnoitai* were public slaves who work communal land, while *aphamiotai* were the unfree peasants who farmed the *aphamía*, land on the periphery of the *pólis* territory. In this model, citizens reclaimed marginal, less fertile land near the border, took possession of it and had it worked by slaves (Angelos Chaniotis, *Das antike Kreta* [Munich: Beck, 2004]: 76).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 236

bought, and as such were their masters' personal property (the so-called "urban slaves," οἰκέται κατὰ πόλιν, or *chrysṓnētoi*).[17]

David M. Lewis argues in his 2018 work, *Greek Slave Systems in their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC*, that the dependent populations of Crete, Sparta and Thessaly should not be described as serfs. He sees instead compelling reasons for classifying *klarṓtai*, helots and *penéstai* as "privately owned slaves," and believes that ancient Sparta should therefore be considered an extreme example of a "slave society." In his view none of the three groups had any rights, including that of owning property. By arguing that helots, *penéstai* and *klarṓtai* were not tied to the soil and had not been allotted to the citizens (who thereby received a share of the usufruct of their work on the land), and that they were instead owned by individual masters and could be sold, David Lewis positions himself in direct opposition to Moses I. Finley, who had regarded this form of dependency as singularly positioned between freedom and slavery. Helots, *penéstai* and *klarṓtai* could only be termed "serfs" if they had been inalienable from the point of view of private citizens because they belonged to the *pólis*, and tied to the individual plot of land – a point refuted by David Lewis.[18] Instead, Lewis believes that literary and epigraphical sources provide

17 There is extensive debate among scholars whether *woikeís*, *klarṓtai*, *aphamiṓtai*, *mnōtaí*, *dóloi* and *chrysṓnētoi* were different or identical unfree groups, and the ways in which their legal or social status may have differed. Lotze, *Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων*; Detlef Lotze, "Zu den ϝοικέες von Gortyn," *Klio* 40 (1962): 32–43; Fritz Gschnitzer, *Studien zur griechischen Terminologie der Sklaverei*, vol. 2, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 7 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976): 75–82; Claude Mossé, "Le problème des dépendants paysans dans le monde grec," in *Actes du colloque sur l'esclavage (Nieborów 2–6 XII 1975)*, ed. Iza Bieżuńska-Małowist and Jerzy Kolendo (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1979): 57–64; Yvon Garlan, *Les esclaves en Grèce ancienne* (Paris: La Découverte, 1982): 99–133; Reinhard Koerner, *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993); Alberto Maffi, *Il diritto di famiglia nel Codice di Gortina* (Milan: CUEM, 1997): 120–21; Claude Brixhe (with Monique Bile), "La circulation des biens dans les Lois de Gortyne," in *Des dialectes grecs aux lois de Gortyne*, ed. Catherine Dobias-Lalou (Nancy: de Boccard, 1999): 75–116, here 93–97; Stefan Link, "'Dolos' und 'Woikeus' im Recht von Gortyn," *Dike* 4 (2001): 87–112; David M. Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems in their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 150–53.

18 David Lewis, "Slave Marriage in the Laws of Gortyn: A Matter of Rights?," *Historia* 62 (2013): 390–416, 394. Stefan Link (*Das griechische Kreta. Untersuchungen zu seiner staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994): 31–44) similarly disputed that *woikeís* were inalienable and that they had a right to property and to marriage. He believes that legally, there were only quasi-institutions akin to the Roman *peculium* and *contubernium*, respectively. But Edmond Lévy ("Libres et non-libres dans le code de Gortyne," in *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne*, ed. Pierre Brulé and Jacques Oulhen (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1997): 25–41, here 32–40), believes that *woikées* could not be sold and had (albeit limited) property rights and marriages that were legally recognized; as does Paul Cartledge (*Sparta and Laconia. A Regional History 1300–362 BC* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979): 164–65; Cartledge, "Raising Hell? The Helot Mirage – a Personal Review," in *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia. Histories, Ideologies, Structures*, ed. Nino Luraghi and Susan

proof that Laconic helots and Cretan *klarôtai* were private property, with the only restriction that they could not be sold beyond the borders.[19] This ban on selling *beyond* the borders implied the right to sell them *within*, i.e. to other citizens.[20] Lewis sees the ban on manumitting and selling abroad Mariandyni, helots or *klarôtai* as a restriction of the otherwise unimpeded property rights of slave owners. He draws a parallel to classical Athens where in emergencies the authorities could legally manumit slaves who served as combatants in the army or the fleet – even without their masters' consent.[21] The reported agreement between Heracleians and Mariandyni he regards as an "obviously apocryphal 'contract of servitude'." Instead, Lewis prefers to interpret such "'contract' stories as charter myths that seek to account for the origins of genuine historical bans on sale."[22] Such treaties between victors and vanquished are in fact more likely to have been a voluntary commitment by the citizens of Heracleia (or of Sparta) not to sell off or manumit any Mariandyni (or helots) and to allow only the *pólis* authorities to effect manumissions.[23] Even so, I do not agree that the property rights of masters over dependents were as clear-cut as David Lewis claims.

Alcock (London: Harvard University Press, 2003): 12–30; Cartledge, "The Helots: A Contemporary Review," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1, *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 74–90). For marriage law see Lotze, *Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων*: 20–25 and Maffi, *Il diritto di famiglia nel Codice di Gortina*: 139–47.

19 Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 395: "Helotage was a system of private slavery" and, "the Gortynian laws make it clear that slaves could be privately sold." Jean Ducat, *Les Hilotes* (Paris: de Boccard, 1990): 19–29 and Nino Luraghi, "Helotic slavery reconsidered," in *Sparta: Beyond the Mirage*, ed. Anton Powell (London: Duckworth, 2002): 227–48, here 228–33 also argue that slaves were privately owned.

20 Ephorus FgrH 70 F117 (πωλεῖν). For *penestai* and Mariandyni see Poseidonius FgrH 87 F8 (see above n. 6) and Archemachus FgrH 424 F1 (see below n. 23).

21 For slaves serving in the army and navy, and being manumitted before or subsequent to serving, see Peter Hunt, *Slaves, Warfare and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Brian Bertosa, "The Social Status and Ethnic Origin of the Rowers of Spartan Triremes," *War and Society* 23 (2005): 1–20; Melina Tamiolaki, *Liberté et esclavage chez les historiens grecs classiques. Le discours historique et politique d'Hérodote, Thucydide et Xénophon* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010); Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, "Militärdienst," in *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 2, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner 2017): 1940–49.

22 Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 138.

23 Ephorus (apud Strab. 8.5.4–365 C) calls the helots δοῦλοι ἐπὶ τακτοῖς τισιν, "slaves in a way" (who could neither be set free nor sold outside the borders of the country, μήτ' ἐλευθεροῦν μήτε πωλεῖν). Perhaps more plausible is the mutual arrangement in which the Boeotians were reported to have agreed to submit to the Thessalians. Archemachus relates that a number of the Boeotians who had settled near Arne did not return to Boeotia, but preferred to stay (presumably despite the conquest of the area by the Thessalians). They entered into voluntary dependency on the Thessalians (*douleúein*) "by agreement (*homología*), to be their slaves; on condition that they should not take them out of the country (*chôra*), nor put them to death, but that they should cultivate the country for them, and pay them a yearly revenue (*syntáxeis*) for it." Archemachus even goes on to claim that "many of them are richer than their masters." (FgrH 424 F1; Athen. 6.84, p. 263e–264a).

I would like to look at three aspects to illustrate my view that Mariandyni, *penéstai*, helots and *klarôtai* were dependent rural populations whose living conditions and form of life were fundamentally different from the slavery practised in classical Athens and many other Greek cities.

1 The Law on Marriage in Ancient Crete

Numerous law texts survive in inscriptions from ancient Crete, beginning in the mid-seventh and extending into the fifth century. The best known is the so-called Great Code of Gortyn, which is today on display in the Roman Odeion at the archaeological site of Gortyn. The Code lists a large number of laws in twelve columns. The first column covers status and slave ownership, continuing in the second with comprehensive rules about rape and adultery:

> If someone rapes a free man (*eleútheros*) or woman (*eleuthéra*), he will pay a hundred staters [200 drachmas] [. . .] If a slave (*dólos*) [rapes] a free man or woman, he will pay double. If a free man [rapes] a *woikeús* or *woikéa*, [he will pay] five drachmas. And if a *woikeús* [rapes] a *woikeús* or *woikéa*, five staters [= 10 drachmas].[24]

On adultery, the Code states:

> If someone is caught committing adultery (*moikíōn*) with a free woman (*eleuthéra*) in her father's or brother's or husband's [house], he will pay a hundred staters. And if in someone else's house, fifty. [. . .] And if a slave (*dólos*) with a free woman (*eleuthéra*), [he will pay] double. *vacat* And if a slave (*dólos*) with a slave's (*dólos*) [woman], five [staters]. Let [the captor] declare before three witnesses to the relatives (*kadestaí*) of the one who is caught that he is to be ransomed within five days. *vacat* And to the master (*pástas*) of the slave (*dólos*) before two witnesses.[25]

What is interesting here is the use of the terms *woikeús* and *woikéa* alongside *dólos* and *dóla*. The question of whether *woikeís* and *dóloi* were two different unfree groups or whether the terms may be used synonymously has been long and hotly

---

24 ICret IV 72 col. 2.2–10: vac. αἴ κα τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἒ τὰν ἐλευθέραν κάρτει οἴπει, ἑκατὸν στατῆρανς καταστασεῖ· [. . .] αἰ δέ κ' ὁ δῶλος τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἒ τὰν ἐλευθέραν, διπλεῖ καταστασεῖ· αἰ δέ κ' ἐλεύθερος ϝοικέα ἒ ϝοικέαν, πέντε δαρκνάνς· αἰ δέ κα ϝοικεὺς ϝοικέα ἒ ϝοικέαν, π[έν]τε στατῆρανς. vac. See Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 345–50, who translate *woikeús* as "serf": "[I]n this section, in particular, the terms appear to be legally interchangeable, but that would not mean they are synonyms" (348). Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 75, n. 2 place the stress on the first syllable: *woíkea*.

25 ICret IV 72 col. 2.20–33: vac. αἴ κα τὰν ἐλευθέραν μοικίον αἰλεθῆι ἐν πατρὸς ἒ ἐν ἀδελπιῶ ἒ ἐν τῶ ἀνδρός, ἑκατὸν στατῆρανς καταστασεῖ· αἰ δέ κ' ἐν ἄλο, πεντέκοντα· [. . .] αἰ δέ κ' ὁ δῶλος τὰν ἐλευθέραν, διπλεῖ καταστασεῖ· vac. αἰ δέ κα δῶλος δόλο, πέντε. προϝειπάτο δὲ ἀντὶ μαιτύρον τριῶν τοῖς καδεσταῖς τῶ ἐναιλεθέντος ἀλλύεθθαι ἐν ταῖς πέντ' ἀμέραις· vac. τῶ δὲ δόλο τῶι πάσται ἀντὶ μαιτύρῶν δυῶν. vac.

debated among ancient historians and legal historians. Most scholars are of the opinion that the Code uses those terms interchangeably.[26] Only if we assume that both terms signify the same group of people does the text list all possible situations of rape and adultery in which in all possible configurations of free and unfree persons may be perpetrator or victim. But we still need to explain why a legal text – which would surely strive for semantic precision – continually switches between *woikeús*/*woikéa* and *dólos*/*dóla*. One explanation could be that this law, which was written down in or at the beginning of the first half of the fifth century, takes into account earlier legal texts in which the dependents of a master (*pástas*) were called *woikeús* and *woikéa*; while the later, more comprehensive, redaction employed the terms *dólos* and *dóla*.[27] And it is in fact the case that *woikeís* is attested in earlier inscriptions, while *dóloi* is only found in later ones and then increasingly becomes the more common term. W*oikeús* and *woikéa*, on the other hand, are not attested later than in the Great Code of Gortyn.[28]

However, in an article published in *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte,* Michael Gagarin suggested a more subtle and convincing explanation for the different usages of *woikeús*/*woikéa* and *dólos*/*dóla*.[29] He posits that they are different groups. *Dólos/dóla* should be understood as the general signifier for servile status, which in some

26 Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 44–47; for the most extensive discussion see Link, "'Dolos' und 'Woikeus'": 87–112; see also Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 150–53 and Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 392–93; Maffi, *Il diritto di famiglia nel Codice di Gortina*: 120–21; Karen Rørby Kristensen, "On the Gortynian ΠΥΛΑ and ΣΤΑΡΤΟΣ of the 5th Century BC," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 53 (2002): 65–80, here 73. For a different position see Lotze, *Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων*: 16–18; Lotze, "Zu den ϝοικέες von Gortyn"; Ronald F. Willetts, "The rights of ἐπιβάλλοντες," *Eirene* 5 (1966): 13–16; Andreas Wittenburg, "Zum sozialen Gefüge in Kreta," *Opus* 1 (1982): 67–74; Koerner, *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte*: 467–70; Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 30–31; cf. Karl-Wilhelm Welwei, "Ursprung, Verbreitung und Formen der Unfreiheit abhängiger Landbewohner im antiken Griechenland," in *Unfreie und abhängige Landbevölkerung*, ed. Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag 2008): 1–52, here 2–3.

27 Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 153. As a rule, Anglophone scholars tend to translate *woikeís/woikéa* as "serf," see e.g. Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 81, n. 216: "We translate *woikeis* by 'serf' for convenience, without claiming an exact correspondence. Although a serf may be defined as 'an agricultural laborer bound under the feudal system to work on his lord's estate' (*The New Oxford American Dictionary*), the term is often used more broadly." Lewis disagrees with this understanding of *woikeís* as "serfs," see Lewis, "Slave Marriage" and Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 147–65.

28 *Woikeús* is the more ancient term, attested in two (probably sixth-century) inscriptions as τõ ϝοικήος (Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: G23 l. 3; L5 l. 14) and in ICret IV 41 col. 4.6 and the Great Code of Gortyn, but has not been found to occur later (Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 16; Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 81).

29 Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 14–23, which builds on positions in Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 93–97 and Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 25–41. In a similar vein, Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 81–84.

regulations included the *woikeís*.[30] It depends on the context in each case, Gagarin argues, whether the law uses the more specific terms, *woikeús* and *woikéa*, or the more general ones, *dólos/dóla*. Where it is a question of legal status and the opposition and juxtaposition of free (*eleútheros*/*eleuthéra*) and unfree, the text employs *dólos* and *dóla*.[31] In these cases the *woikeís* were subsumed under the term *dóloi*, since both were unfree for legal purposes, and penalties applied equally to both.[32]

In the case of rape, the penalty for an unfree perpetrator was twice that for a free one, reflecting the increased loss of honor for the victim. The *law on rape* includes offences where the victim was a *woikeús* or a *woikéa*.[33] In the case of adultery – where, again, the perpetrator could be free (*eleútheros*) or unfree (*dólos*) – it was clear that the woman referred to, who was wife to a *dólos*, had to be a *woikéa*, as only *woikeís* could enter into marriages protected by law.[34]

So the law on rape and adultery uses the term *dólos* because the central issue is the contrast between "free" and "unfree," and *woikeís* are considered "unfree"; the term *woikeús* is employed only when there is an additional need to clarify that of all the unfree, only the *woikeís* are meant. So the two laws do not contradict the assumption that in Gortyn (and in other Cretan cities) there lived two groups of unfree persons, the *woikeís* and the other slaves. But the law also shows that in the first half of the fifth century the *woikeís* could be subsumed under the term *dóloi*, that they were "unfree": "slaves."[35] Other sources (see below) also make it seem plausible that *woikeís* could enter into legally protected marriages,[36] and at least possible that a *woikeús* perpetrator was liable himself to pay his fine, and a *woikeús* victim liable himself to receive his compensation, rather than his master paying or receiving

30 Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 15–16: "The words refer to two different kinds of slaves but in most cases the law treats both groups identically." Detlef Lotze had previously advanced the same argument, see Lotze, "Zu den ϝοικέες von Gortyn."

31 Such as e.g. in ICret IV 72, col. 1, which is about status disputes. Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 31; Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 18.

32 He concludes, "Thus, there do seem to be reasons why one term or the other is used in the laws. First, each term is used when the law applies exclusively or primarily to one group and not the other: thus, *woikeus* is used of serfs living in a town house [. . .], and *dolos* is used of slaves bought in the agora [. . .] Second, *dolos* is used whenever the law designates a servile person in general, especially in contrast with an *eleutheros* [. . .]" (Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 22). For the legal status of *woikeís* as an unfree group, see also Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 165.

33 Presumably this law did not concern itself with the rape of chattel slaves.

34 Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 31: "Il est donc clair que dans la ligne 27 *doulos* désigne un *woikeus* et uniquement un *woikeus*." See also Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 16–18.

35 Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 392–93 is then correct in arguing that *woikeís* signified an unfree population group.

36 For marriage law in Gortyn see Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 39–40; Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 23–24; Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 396–402. By contrast, Lewis argues that those living at the time would have known who paid or received the fine in question – the masters or the *woikeís* – so that there was no need to have this information included in the written text.

payment for him, respectively. In principle, the fines to be paid by *dóloi* perpetrators were twice as high as those by free ones, whereas a *wokeús* victim would only receive one fortieth of the compensation paid to a free victim. A clause in column 3/4 points to the legal recognition of marital ties even between *woikeís*:

> If a divorced woman (γυνὰ κε[ρ]ε[ύο]νσᾳ) should bear a child, [she] is to bring it to her [former] husband at his house (*stéga*) before three witnesses. [. . .] *vacat* If a divorced *woikéa* should bear a child (αἰ δὲ ϝοικέα τέκοι κερεύονσα), [she] is to bring it to the master (*pástas*) of her husband, who married [her] (ἐπελεῦσαι τõι πάσται τõ ἀνδρός, ὃς ὄπυιε), in the presence of two witnesses. And if he does not accept it, the child is to be in the hands of the master of the *woikéa*. And if she should marry the same [man] again within a year, the child is to be in the hands of the master of the *woikeús*.[37]

So the biological mother, the *woikéa*, and the biological father, the *woikeús*, have no claim to their child: it belongs to their master. But what is remarkable here is that the primary right of deciding whether to accept or abandon the child lies not with the mother's, but with the *father's* master.[38] In chattel slavery, the child of a slave is always the property of her master, since slaves cannot legally marry and, in law, a slave child has no father. But under the laws of Gortyn, we have patrilineality, just as in any regular marriage in the ancient Greek world.[39] It is also noticeable that the father and the mother did not necessarily have the same master.

This "right" of paternal descent also shows in another clause: "If an unmarried *woikéa* (ϝοικέα μὲ ὀπυιομένα) should be pregnant and give birth, the child is to be in the hands of her father's master; but if the father is not alive, it is to be in the hands of the masters of her brothers."[40] The assumption is that a *woikéa* will have a

---

37 ICret IV 72 col. 3.44–4.6: vac. αἰ τέκοι γυνὰ κε[ρ]ε[ύο]νσα, ἐπελεῦσαι τõι ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ στέγαν ἀντὶ μαιτύρον τριõν. [. . .] vac. αἰ δὲ ϝοικέα τέκοι κερεύονσα, ἐπελεῦσαι τõι πάσται τõ ἀνδρός, ὃς ὄπυιε, ἀντὶ μαιτύρον δ[υ]õν. αἰ δέ κα μὲ δέκσεται, ἐπὶ τõι πάσται ἔμεν τὸ τέκνον τõι τᾶς ϝοικέας. αἰ δὲ τõι αὐτõι αὖτιν ὀπυίοιτο πρὸ τõ ἐνιαυτõ, τὸ παιδίον ἐπὶ τõι πάσται ἔμεν τõι τõ ϝοικέος. Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 357–61.

38 Lewis does not regard these and other legal regulations as "slave rights" of marriage or ownership: "[T]he rules may well be aimed at clarifying the property rights of other interested parties" (Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 402); he argues that marriages or unions between the slaves of different masters are not a singular phenomenon, but that they may be found in many slave societies.

39 Again, there is no distinction in how the terms for "to marry" (*opyíen*) and "to divorce" (*kereúen*) are used for free and for *woikeís*. Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 19, n. 15 points out: "The verbs for divorce are *krinen* for *woikeis* (3.41) and *diakrinen* for free persons (2.46), but *krinen* is used of the divorce of free persons in 11.46"; similarly: 23–24; Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 83, 360 and see already Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 39. Gagarin also sees the ruling about the children born by a *woikéa* as confirmation for the existence of legally recognized marriages. While Lewis, "Slave Marriage" concedes that the terminology is the same, he argues that "there is no *a priori* reason, therefore, to suppose that the identical use of vocabulary for free and slave marriages in Gortyn need imply legal equivalency" (402).

40 ICret IV 72 col. 4.18–23: vac. αἰ κύσαιτο καὶ τέκοι ϝοικέα μὲ ὀπυιομένα, ἐπὶ τõι τõ πατρὸς πάσται ἔμεν τὸ τέκνον· αἰ δ' ὁ πατὲρ μὲ δόοι, ἐπὶ τοῖς τõν ἀδελπιõν πάσταις ἔμεν. vac.

father and brothers who are legally relevant – again, unlike chattel slaves, who had no family ties and, as such, no family members; a state for which Orlando Patterson coined the term "natal alienation."[41] If the law states that the child born to the unmarried *woikéa* is "to be *in the hands* of her father's master" (ἐπὶ τõι τõ πατρὸς πάσταιἔμεν), it suggests that the child was not his property, but merely under his control (as the head of household).[42] It seems that when a *woikéa* got married, she came under the authority of her "husband's" master (the text says in col. 3.54, τõ ἀνδρός, not τõ δόλο or τõ ϝοικέος) and lived with her husband, i.e. a virilocal relationship. If they divorced, she returned to her former master. Compensation does not seem to have been paid in such a case; the clause that deals with the woman's property states, "If a *woikéa* is separated from a *woikeús*, either while he is living or by his death, she is to have her own things (τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς), but if she should carry away anything else, it is a matter for trial."[43] So a *woikéa* had some sort of personal property; or she might have been given a dowry by her master which she could take with her after a divorce or the death of her husband. Unlike a free woman, a *woikéa* was not entitled to any gifts from her husband, not even half of what she had produced in the marriage, or her share of what was in the house. During their marriage, all proceeds of her work went to her husband's master.[44] To my mind, the only possible conclusion from the clause about the divorced or widowed *woikéa* is that the woman's original master was not entitled to compensation for the loss of her labor after she had gone to live with her husband in his master's house. I

41 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982): 35–76; Orlando Patterson, "Sklaverei in globalhistorischer Perspektive. Von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart," in *'Die Sklaverei setzen wir mit dem Tod gleich' – Sklaven in globalhistorischer Perspektive*, ed. Winfried Schmitz (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 67–104, 68.

42 For ἐπὶ see Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 359, "in the hands of"; for further references with ἐπὶ see 366, "in none of these cases does it indicate ownership, though the master of a serf does own the baby. Here [in col. 4.37] it is assumed by all scholars that the expression indicates ownership, since the items mentioned are part of an estate to be inherited. But in 5.32–3 [. . .] the expression clearly designates only temporary possession of the property."

43 ICret IV 72 col. 3.40–44: vac. αἴ κα ϝοικέος ϝοικέα κριθẽι δοõ ἒ ἀποθανόντος, τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς ἔκεν· ἄλλο δ' αἴ τι πέροι, ἔνδικον ἔμεν. Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 356–57. This clause applies exclusively to unfree rural people, not to chattel slaves in the city, so only the terms *woikeús* and *woikéa* are used. Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 19, concludes that "[t]hese rules show that *woikeis* could marry in the same way as free persons." I am however skeptical about his subsequent conclusion that the same applied to *dóloi* (19–20). Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 399 argues from the context that τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς was a *peculium* (as does Maffi, *Il diritto di famiglia*: 124) and that the purpose of this provision was to ensure a just division among the various owners. It cannot have meant that slaves enjoyed a formal right of ownership.

44 In the case of a free woman, the code states that upon the death of her husband she is entitled to have her own property back and to remarry (ὀπυίεθθαι). There is no such provision for the case of a married *woikéa*, which must mean decisions about her (re)marriage were made by her *pástas*. Compare ICret IV 72 col. 3.16–20: vac. αἰ ἀνὲρ ἀποθάνοι τέκνα καταλιπόν, αἴ κα λẽι ἀ γυνά, τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς ἔκονσαν ὀπυίεθθαι with the provision in col. 3.40–44 (see n. 43).

conclude this from the fact that there is no provision in the Code for the return of such a payment after the *woikeús*' death or her divorce from him.

Things might have been different in the case of male *woikeís*. If an unmarried and fatherless *woikéa* had a child, it was to come under the authority of the masters of her brothers; in other words: the brothers could have different masters. This seems to indicate that male *woikeís* could be "sold" to other masters, whose *woikeís* had not produced male offspring who would continue to work their allotted land (*kláros*).[45] So it is perhaps not implausible if Strabo claims that members of these dependent groups could be sold, as long as they remained inside the territory. Of course, this is not a "right" granted to the dependents, but merely an arrangement between members of the ruling elite in order not to lose valuable labor.

In view of the epigraphic record I am not entirely certain whether those sales were the sort of transaction where property passes from one person to another. We read in Column 4:

> The fugitive *woikeús* (τὸν δὲ ϝοικέα τὸν ἐπιδιόμενον) is not to be sold (μὴ ἀποδόθθαι) when he has taken refuge in a temple (μήτε ναεύοντα) nor before one year has passed. If the fugitive (ὁ ἐπιδιόμενος) belongs to someone who is *kósmos*, he is not to be sold (μὴ ἀποδόθαι) while he is *kósmos* nor before one year has passed.[46]

However, an *epidiómenos* is not a runaway who has fled *from* someone, but one who has fled *to* someone.[47] You are not allowed to sell this "windfall" before a year has passed, because you only acquire the right to him – whether in terms of ownership or of (paternal) power – after that period. And perhaps we should not

---

45 For the brothers' masters, see Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 361, "This implies that it was common for a master to sell some or all of the sons of his serfs."

46 ICret IV 41 col. 4.6–15: τὸν δὲ ϝοικέα τὸν ἐπιδιόμενον μὴ ἀποδόθθαι μήτε ναεύοντα μήτ' ἦ κ' ἀπέλθηι τõ ἐνιαυτõ. αἰ δέ κα κοσμίοντος ἦι ὁ ἐπιδιόμενος, μὴ ἀποδόθαι ἃς κα κοσμῆι μηδ' ἦ κ' ἀπέλθηι τõ ἐνιαυτõ. The translation given above has been slightly adapted from that by Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*. Cf. Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 395. See also ICret IV 72 col. 1.47–51: a *woikeús* who has been transferred as surety must be returned within the year, otherwise the recipient acquires legal ownership over him.

47 ἐπιδιόμενον derives from ἐπι-δίεμαι (δίεμαι "be scared away," "drive away," "flee"). For the uncertain meaning of ἐπιδιόμενον see Monique Bile, "IC 4.41 et le sens de ἐπιδίομαι," in *La codification des lois dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 27–29 novembre 1997*, ed. Edmond Lévy (Paris: de Boccard, 2000): 161–74. According to Bile's analysis, ἐπιδίομαι has the meaning "amener," "to bring"; she puts the provision into the context of a theft committed by a *woikeús*; for her interpretation and those attempted by other scholars, see Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 298. I believe the provision should be read as referring to the *woikeús* "taking/bringing himself (to another master)," "fleeing to (him)." He may then not be "sold" before the year is out because only after a year will the new master have acquired legal ownership based on continuous possession. For the question of whether μήτ' ἦ κ' ἀπέλθηι τõ ἐνιαυτõ should be understood to mean "not for one year after he has run away" or perhaps rather "not before a year has expired," see Bile, "IC 4.41 et le sens de ἐπιδίομαι": 172–73. Cf. Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 32, who suggests the *epidiómenos* is not a "*woikeus* fugitive," but "un *woikeus* poursuivi en justice."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 244

translate ἀποδόθθαι as "to sell," either; it might be better understood in the sense of "to yield" or "to give up (i.e. into the authority of another person)"; this would have included the payment of compensation for the labor of the *woikeús*.[48]

So what we have in Gortyn is a situation where *woikeís* were able to enter into marital, virilocal and patrilineal relationships with each other which were, however, arranged by their respective masters. Upon marriage the *woikéa* came under the authority of her husband's master, who was also entitled to the fruits of her labor. In the case of divorce or the death of her husband, the *woikéa* received back any moveable property she had brought into the marriage. Neither of the biological parents had any rights to their children. These laid instead, first, with the husband's master, second with the wife's, or if the *woikéa* was unmarried, with her father's or her brothers' master or masters. This also meant that before her marriage, a *woikéa* would grow up in her father's or one of his brothers' house, even though her relatives had no rights over her and could not make any decisions regarding her marriage.[49] If no sons were born to the marriage between a *woikeús* and a *woikéa*, their master was entitled to have another *woikeús* "given up" to him, to whose master he probably paid some form of compensation. If a *woikeús* escaped and was taken in by someone, this person had to wait for one year; if his old master laid no claim to him during that period, he came under the authority of the new master. *Woikeís* could also seek refuge in a sanctuary.

2 The Law of Inheritance

If the *woikeís* were "privately owned slaves," as David Lewis posits, we should find this reflected in the law of inheritance, which is the litmus test for slave ownership. Among the dependent groups we know of in ancient Greece, it is only for the dependent population of Crete, the *klarṓtai*, that we have any more specific information about regulations regarding inheritance. These are part of the so called Great Code of Gortyn.

48 For *apodóththai* see Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 298: "Here the verb in each case could be middle – '(one) is not to sell' – or passive – the serf 'is not to be sold' or 'is not to be given back'. But 'sell' is the more likely meaning (whether middle or passive)." However, I do not find Gagarin's and Perlman's subsequent interpretation of the one-year interval convincing. The passage can only mean that to acquire the *woikeús* legally, the master must have been in his possession for a full year, so that he cannot "sell" him before that time. Ephorus employs the verb *pōleín* ("sell") for the ban on "selling" helots outside the borders of the country (see above n. 20).

49 Lewis again interprets the absence of the *woikeís*' right to their children as evidence for the fact that they were their masters' privately owned slaves (Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 398); he sees it as solely a matter of the owners' property rights (403–4).

Regulation on inheritance for citizens is fairly comprehensive. The Code states:

> And when one dies, the houses (*stégai*) in the city (*pólis*) and whatever is inside the houses (*stégai*) – those in which a *woikeús* who lives (*enwoikeî*) in the country (*chṓra*) is not residing, – and the livestock, small and large – that are not those of a *woikeús* –, are to be in the hands of the sons; and all the rest of the property (*chrḗmata*) is to be 'nicely' (καλῶς, i.e. fairly) divided, and the sons, however many there are, are to receive two shares each, and the daughters, however many there are, [are to receive] one share each. The maternal estate too is to be divided, when she dies, in the same way as is written for the paternal estate. And if there should be no property (*chrḗmata*) but [only] a house (*stéga*), the daughters are to receive their share as is written. *vacat*.[50]

The law indicates a fundamental spatial separation: the citizens of Gortyn have "houses" in the city. The inheritance that goes to the sons includes houses as well as "whatever is inside the houses": the word *stéga* must mean a building. It should not be understood as being synonymous with *oíkos*, which is descriptive of a residence that includes land and cattle and both free and unfree inhabitants: a household. The term *stéga* itself, which in the narrower sense means a roof, similarly indicates that what is meant is the residence as a building. The sons' inheritance explicitly excludes *stégai* (in the city) "inhabited" (ἐνϝοικῆι) by a *woikeús* who lives in the country. So, as a rule, free Gortynians and *woikeís* are separated in spatial terms: free citizens live in the city while the *woikeís* live in the country (*chṓra*). Only in exceptional cases does a *woikeús* live in the city.[51] He was probably one of the *woikeís* mentioned in one of the clauses in the Great Code of Gortyn:

> [If the unfree man] goes to a free woman (*eleuthéra*) and marries her (*opyíei*), their children are to be free (*eleúthera*). *vacat* But if the free woman (*eleuthéra*) [goes to] the slave (*dólos*), their children are to be slaves (*dóloi*). *vacat* And if free and slave children are born from the same

50 ICret IV 72 col. 4.31–48: ἔ δέ κ' ἀποθάνει τις, 'τέγανς μὲν τὰνς ἐν πόλι κἄτι κ' ἐν ταῖς 'τέγαις ἐνῆι αἷς κα μὲ ϝοικεὺς ἐνϝοικῆι ἐπὶ κόραι ϝοικίον καὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ καρταί̣ποδα ἄ κα μὲ ϝοικέος ἦι, ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱάσι ἔμεν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κρέματα πάντα δατεῖθθαι καλῶς, καὶ λανκάνεν τὸς μὲν υἱύνς, ὀπόττοι κ' ἴοντι, δύο μοίρανς ϝέκαστον, τὰδ δὲ θυγατέρανς, ὀπόττα κ' ἴοντι, μίαν μοῖραν ϝεκάσταν. δ̣ατεῖθ[θ]αι δὲ καὶ τὰ ματρῶια, ἦκ' ἀποθά̣[νε]ι, ἦιπερ τὰ [πατρῶ]ι' ἔγ̣[ρατ]ται. αἰ δὲ κρέματα μὲ εἴε, στέγα δέ, λακὲν τὰθ θ[υ]γατέρας ἦι ἔγρατται. vac. See Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 20–21; Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 406–8; Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 361–67. For a discussion of the question of whether we should read ἐπὶ κόραι (= ἐπὶ χῶρᾳ) or ἐπικῶρα (= ἐπικουρία), see Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 89–90, who put forward good reasons for maintaining the reading ἐπὶ κόραι ("in the country").

51 Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 20 comments on the phrase ϝοικεὺς ἐνϝοικῆι ἐπὶ κόραι ϝοικίον: "Thus it is likely that ἐπὶ κόραι, though perhaps not strictly necessary, helps explain the sense: the sons are given houses in the town for their residences, though occasionally a serf, who normally resides in the country, may be living in a town house." I.e. this provision only applies to *woikeís* and not to urban slaves (*dóloi*), who would have lived in houses in the city.

> mother, when the mother dies, if there is property (*chrḗmata*), the free children are to have it; but if there should be no free children, her relatives are to inherit it.[52]

This clause appears to target primarily cases in which a free widow after the death of her first husband enters into a second relationship, this time with an enslaved man who lives "in the country" (*chṓra*). As the focus here is again on issues of status, *dólos* is employed as the opposite to *eleuthéra*. As, however, the unfree man "goes to the woman to marry her" (ἐπὶ τὰν ἐλευθέραν ἐλθὸν ὀπυίει) and the free woman "to the unfree man" (ἐπὶ τὸν δῶλον), *dólos* can only refer to the *woikeús* living in the county. If he goes to the free woman in the city and weds her, the house (*stéga*) will be lost to her brothers as part of their inheritance, as there is now "a *woikeús* residing in it." Unlike the livestock, which "is" that of a *woikeús*, the *woikeús* only "resides" in the *stéga*.[53] This means that the house will pass to the free children from the marriage between free mother and *woikeús* father. It will provide them with a permanent livelihood, since they cannot expect an inheritance from their father, who cannot leave any property to them. If the free woman takes a *woikeús* into her house "in the city," their child is born and grows up there among the free citizens, and, on reaching adulthood, becomes one of them. But if the woman should join her second husband "in the *chṓra*," she relinquishes her citizen status, and their child will be a *woikeús* or *woikéa*.

The fact that the sons explicitly inherit the houses in the city plus their contents and livestock indicates that the land was not part of the inheritance – if it was, it should have been mentioned.[54] Again, in the case of livestock, excluded from the

---

52 ICret IV 72 col. 7.1–10: [– αἴ κ' ὁ δῶλος] ἐπὶ τὰν ἐλευθέραν ἐλθὸν ὀπυίει, ἐλεύθερ' ἔμεν τὰ τέκνα. αἰ δέ κ' ἀ ἐλευθέρα ἐπὶ τὸν δῶλον, δῶλ' ἔμεν τὰ τέκνα. {palmula} αἰ δέ κ' ἐς τᾶς αὐτᾶς ματρὸς ἐλεύθερα καὶ δῶλα τέκνα γένεται, ἦ κ' ἀποθάνει ἀ μάτερ, αἴ κ' ἦι κρέματα, τὸνς ἐλευθέρονς ἔκεν. αἰ δ' ἐλευθέροι μὲ ἐκσεῖεν, τὸνσ ἐπιβάλλον τανς ἀναιλῆθαι. vac. I agree with Michael Gagarin that *dólos* is being used here in opposition to *eleútheros*. Where questions of status were concerned, there were only either the "free" or the "unfree"; whereas significant differences could and probably did exist in the actual lives of rural *woikeís* and chattel slaves in the cities. It is therefore likely that this provision was primarily concerned with the marriages of free women to *woikeís*, esp. since the woman is spoken of as going "to the unfree man" (ἐπὶ τὸν δῶλον).

53 This is also highlighted by Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 26: "This law shows that serfs could certainly own livestock, but it also implies that the serf is only residing in the house and does not own it. Serfs, then, could own moveable property but perhaps not real property."

54 Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 365 also discuss the possibility of understanding this rule on inheritance as stating that the sons were to inherit the "houses in the city" as well as the furnishings of such houses in the country which were not being lived in by a *woikeús*, and the livestock (in the country) that was similarly not that of a *woikeús*. So in addition to the houses in the city, the sons would have inherited rural houses that had been vacated by *woikeís* without descendants. But the text should not be read in this way. The provisions pertaining to the claims of heiresses and the relatives they are required to marry stipulate that, if the heiress refuses to marry the nearest eligible relative or to wait until he has come of age, she "is to have the house (*stéga*), if there is one in the city, and whatever is in the house, and she is to receive half of the remaining"

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 247

sons' inheritance are those "of a *woikeús*." A further clause divides "all the rest of the *chrḗmata*," giving daughters half the share of sons. Some scholars suggested that these *chrḗmata* might have included both the land and the *woikeís* who worked there, in order to explain why explicit mention is made of the house and livestock, but not of the land and the *woikeís*.[55] The latest of these is David Lewis, who follows Stefan Link's view that both the land and the *woikeís* who worked it are included in τὰ δ' ἄλλα κρέματα πάντα, and would have been divided between sons and daughters.[56] However, the order in which they are named argues against this view: one would expect strategic property – the house, land, farming equipment, flocks and herds – to be named first, followed by other, mobile assets.[57] In addition, we find that literary evidence for this clause has been preserved by Ephorus, a fourth-century BCE author. He points to an idiosyncrasy of Crete whereby a daughter who has brothers receives half of her brothers' portion as *pherné*.[58] This term can denote a dowry; however in the classical era dowries only comprised mobile assets, never a house, land or livestock. In classical Athens, *pherné* is the word for the personal

(col. 7.52–8.7: vac. αἰ δέ κα τõι ἐπιβάλλοντι ἐβίονσα μὲ λẽι ὀπυίεθαι ἒ ἄνορος ἓι ὸ ἐπιβάλ[λ]ον [κα]ὶ μ [ὲ λẽι μέν]εν ἀ πατροιõκος, στέγαμ μέν, αἴ κ' ἓι ἐν πόλι, τὰμ πατροιõκον ἔκεν κἄτι κ' ἐνẽι ἐν τãι στέγαι, τõν δ' ἄλλον τὰν ἐμί<ν>αν διαλακόνσαν ἄλλοι ὀπυίεθαι τᾶς πυλᾶς τõν αἰτιόντο¯ν ὄτιμί κα λẽι. vac.). The same wording is used here as in col. 4.31–33, making it clear that what is being referred to are "houses in the city" and "such contents as are in *these* houses."

55 Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 79–82; Alberto Maffi, "Studi recenti sul Codice di Gortina," *Dike* 6 (2003): 175–80, here 175–76. For a brief summary of the arguments for both positions, see Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 24–25. Cf. Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 365: "Serfs could own property in some sense (3.40–4), but serfs also belonged to a master and thus must have been included (along with *doloi*) in the total estate that was divided among all the children. Any cattle that a serf 'owned' presumably were inherited along with the serf himself by one of the children in the distribution of 'all the rest of the property'." Also 366: "'All the rest of the property' would include country houses together with their furnishings, slaves and serfs, livestock, and land." Brixhe with Bile ("La circulation des biens": 86, 108–15) however assume that there were goods (*chrḗmata*) that could be sold and others that could not, and that the town house could not be sold. Land, they believe, fell into the same category, and is therefore not mentioned in the law of inheritance.

56 Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 406; Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 35. Gehrke, "Gewalt und Gesetz": 27, is more skeptical. However, Yvon Garlan, Ronald F. Willetts, Edmond Lévy and Claude Brixhe, all infer from this clause that the *woikeís* had their own right of possession.

57 Proponents of the view that the land cultivated by the *woikeís* was included among the "other goods" believe that the houses with inventory were reserved for the sons, whose status as members of a common mess depended on having a house; while a daughter left her father's house upon marriage and so did not need a dwelling of her own (Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 407–8). Lewis suggests that houses inhabited by *woikeís* may have been of a lower quality: "not of the same standard as the town houses in which a free citizen would live," and so would not have met the latter's expectations.

58 Ephorus FgrH 70 F149 (= Strab. 10.4.20–482 C): φερνὴ δ' ἐστίν, ἂν ἀδελφοὶ ὦσι, τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μερίδος. Link's assumption that a daughter received half a brother's portion of land, i.e. strategic property, seems highly unlikely given the term *pherné*.

belongings taken with her by a bride in addition to her dowry, such as jewelry or clothes. In column 4.31–48, the "other *chrḗmata*" are juxtaposed with the house (*stéga*), its contents and the livestock, as they are in the next clause: "And if there should be no property (*chrḗmata*) but (only) a house (*stéga*), the daughters are to receive their share as is written."[59] So *chrḗmata*, like *dólos*, can denote different things: *chrḗmata* can mean goods other than the house, its content and the cattle; or it can mean all assets.[60] The next section, which deals with intestate succession in Gortyn (col. 5.9–54), regulates who is to have the *chrḗmata* upon the death of a male or female citizen. Unlike col. 4.37 and col. 4.40/42, it does not speak of "sons" nor of "sons" and "daughters," but of "children" (*tékna*), which means that the inheritance is to be divided according to the preceding stipulations, i.e. one part to sons, another to sons and daughters. So in these clauses, again, the term *chrḗmata* probably encompasses all assets, immobile and mobile.

Informative for the question of which assets were bequeathed and in what matter are the provisions concerning heiresses in such cases where the deceased had no sons, but one or several daughters. The principle was the same as in Attic law, by which an heiress was required to marry the next male heir on her father's side to ensure that all property (especially strategic property) remained in the paternal family. However, the law of Gortyn provides for several cases in which this marriage did not take place. Significantly, the regulations on who was to receive which shares of the property again name "the house in the city" and "revenue," but do not mention land or *woikeís*. If both, i.e. the heiress and the nearest paternal relative, should be minors, "if there is a house (*stéga*), the heiress (*patroiṓkos*) is to have it, and the claimant to marry is to receive half of all the revenue (*epikarpía*) [from the estate]" (col. 7.29–35). If both the groom-elect and the heiress are of age but he does not wish to marry her, "all the property (*tá krémata pánta*) and the produce (*karpós*) are to be in the hands of the heiress until he marries [her]" (col. 7.35–40). So if the nearest male relative does not marry her according to the law, "the entire property" (*tá krémata pánta*) is to fall to the next in line, if there is one (col. 7.47–50). But if the heiress for her part refuses to marry the groom-elect or is unwilling to wait for him to reach his majority, she is "to have a house (*stéga*), if there be one in the city, besides whatever may be in it (κἄτι κ' ἐνẽι ἐν τᾶι στέγαι), and, obtaining half a share of the rest, she is to be

59 ICret IV 72 col. 4.46–48.

60 For the meaning of *krḗmata* (= χρήματα) in the Great Code of Gortyn see Henri van Effenterre and Françoise Ruzé, *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridicques de l'archaïsme grec*, vol. 2 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995): 180 no. 49 (stating that "other goods" did not include the house, its contents or livestock); Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 86: "l'extension du champ couvert par *krḗmata* est liée au context." For the questions of whether or not *chrḗmata* included land, see Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 31; Maffi, "Studi recenti": 175–80. Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 377: "Property (*kremata*) [. . .] refers to everything the deceased owned, almost certainly including land."

married to another [. . .]" (col. 7.52–8.7). So in all cases what is being discussed is the house as a building (*stéga*), located in the city; and "produce" and "revenues" (*karpós*, *epikarpía*), a term that probably means the proceeds of the *woikía* assigned to the family, but not the *woikía* including the *woikeís* themselves. This inventory does not exclude the house "in which a *woikeús* resides." These regulations concern daughters who at the time of their father's death are frequently still minors. At this point, the widow does not (yet) contemplate a second marriage with a *woikeús* who will share her house. Again, *chrḗmata* is used in a very broad sense: in col. 7.35–40, *tá krémata pánta* includes everything, the house and its contents, livestock and all other goods, excluding only the "produce" and "revenue" subsequently mentioned (presumably from the *woikía*); and in col. 7.47–50 it comprises everything, including the "revenue."

From the laws on inheritance we can reconstruct the following model of ownership and dependency in Gortyn: the houses in the city including all of their contents were the private property of citizens, who bequeathed them to their sons. Land was not private property, but divided into land lots (*klároi*) and farmed by the *woikeís* "living in the *chṓra*," who had to pay tribute to the citizens.[61] These tributes made up a large part of the "revenues" (*chrḗmata*) that, upon the death of a male or female citizen, were shared out between their sons and daughters. Each citizen of Gortyn was allotted a *kláros* over which, as *pástas*, they exercised the authority of a household head.[62] This authority over the *kláros* was probably passed on down the generations, because the heir was entitled to the "revenue" or "produce." But a *kláros* was not property, and so – like the *woikeís* themselves – could not form part of an inheritance.[63] Both land and *woikeís* were

61 This made them literally *perí̈oikoi*, "those who dwell around." Cf. Aristot. pol. 2.10, 1271b 40–42: ἔχει δ' ἀνάλογον ἡ Κρητικὴ τάξις πρὸς τὴν Λακωνικήν. γεωργοῦσί τε γὰρ τοῖς μὲν εἵλωτες τοῖς δὲ Κρησὶν οἱ περίοικοι. – "The Cretan organization is on the same lines as that of Sparta. In Sparta the land is tilled by the helots and in Crete by the *perí̈oikoi*." For use of the term *perí̈oikoi* for the Cretan *woikeís* see Lotze, Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων: 8–9; Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 30–31; cf. Avram, "Bemerkungen zu den Mariandyni": 22–23. We know the names of settlements, *póleis*, of the Mariandyni, which makes it likely that at least some of them lived in self-contained settlements (Avram, "Bemerkungen zu den Mariandyni": 23–24, with references).

62 The word *pástas* is derived from *páomai*, "to purchase, to own" (Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 151, n. 15). Cf. Alberto Maffi, "Droit et épigraphie dans la Grèce archaïque: A propos d'un ouvrage recent," *Revue historique de droit français et l'étranger* 75 (1997): 435–46, here 443–45.

63 Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 376 suggest that "in many cases joint ownership would clearly have been preferable to division. If the heirs could not agree, however, then the property could be sold and the proceeds divided among them." – If the *chrḗmata* were made up primarily of revenues from the *woikía*, it is quite conceivable that a daughter with e.g. two brothers will receive one fifth of the revenue upon her marriage. In the case of divorce, the wife is to have "her own property" as well as "half of the produce (*karpós*), if there is any from her own *chrḗmata*" (ICret IV 72 col. 2.45–50). Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 352–53, comment: "The natural sense of *karpos* is 'produce, fruit of the land'; [. . .] there is no good reason to deny this

public property.[64] But in order to safeguard his authority over the dependent population, the *pástas* was entitled to exercise the powers of a de-facto owner over the *kláros*: he made decisions on the *woikeís'* marriages and on whether their children would be accepted or exposed; if a *woikéa* got married he gave her a sort of dowry, released her from his authority as household head and transferred this authority for the duration of the marriage to another citizen; and "sold" one of "his" *woikeís* to any citizen on whose *kláros* no male children had been born. If a fugitive *woikeús* sought refuge with him, he was only allowed to "sell" him after one year had passed (and not while he was *kósmos,* i.e. while holding the highest office), because only after that time would he have acquired possession of him.[65] And because *kláros* has this very specific meaning, the word for an heiress was not *epíklēros* but *patrōiṓkos* (*patroúchos* in Attic Greek).

So the *woikeís* were a dependent population group, subjugated originally in war and forced into a state of slave-like dependency.[66] They had to deliver a share of their harvests to their master and could only get married if he agreed.[67] When she married, a *woikéa* came under the authority of another master, as did a *woikeús*

---

sense here or to deny that women could own land at Gortyn, although perhaps landownership among women was not common." To my mind, however, this clause does not allow the conclusion that "*kremata* ('things, property') here must include land," since it may describe a wife's share of the revenues from her father's *woikía*, of which she may have inherited half a brother's share. Compare this with Plutarch's statement in his life of Lycurgus that each *kláros* was large enough to produce seventy bushels of barley for a man and twelve for his wife, with a proportionate amount of wine and oil (Plut. Lyc. 8.4: ὁ δὲ κλῆρος ἦν ἑκάστου τοσοῦτος ὥστε ἀποφορὰν φέρειν ἀνδρὶ μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα κριθῶν μεδίμνους, γυναικὶ δὲ δώδεκα, καὶ τῶν ὑγρῶν καρπῶν ἀναλόγως τὸ πλῆθος).

64 Claude Brixhe and Monique Bile also inferred that this was a case of a collective agricultural economy in which the annual yield at harvest was distributed among the families: "Si était exacte l'hypothèse – développée *infra* § 4.7 – d'une exploitation collective de la terre et d'une redistribution annuelle de ses produits à travers les familles nucléaires ou les branches familiales, [. . .]" (Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 100); similarly 110: "Ainsi, on ne trouve dans les *Lois* aucun indice permettant de supposer que la terre agricole peut être divisée ou changer de main, ni même qu'elle était la propriété de quelqu'un. De toute évidence, il n'y a entre la terre et le citoyen aucun lien patrimonial" (cf. also their Conclusion, 113; 114–15).

65 Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 26 also concluded that *woikeís* could be bought and sold, but assumed that, as a rule, they were bought or sold with the land; only in special circumstances could a *woikeús* change hands without the land. In his view, however, the master owned both. Lévy's view is very similar, cf. Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 32.

66 The same conclusion is reached by Michael Gagarin and Paula Perlman: "They were primarily agrarian workers, who may have been working the land before chattel slaves were introduced to Crete, and thus continued to have certain rights not available to slaves." (Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 83).

67 David Lewis does not dispute that *woikeís* could be married, but stresses "that the servile marriage relationship for which this legislation was created was not a distinctively Gortynian institution but a common arrangement that can be found in many slave systems" (Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 391; a similar view was expressed in Lotze, Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων: 20–25). For

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 251

when he was "sold" to another *pástas*.[68] As the *woikeís* were not the property of their "owners," they could not be manumitted or sold outside Gortyn.[69] This was only possible for the *chrysṓnētoi*, chattel slaves from elsewhere who had been bought for money. The *woikeís* did not own property: if they had been capable of ownership, we would have expected the inheritance regulations for free citizens, male and female, to have been followed by a section on *woikeís*, such as in the case with the offences of rape and adultery and the clauses on divorce.[70] It follows that *woikeús* and *woikéa* could enter into a legally protected marriage, but had no property rights.[71] Livestock that "belongs to a *woikeús*" remained in the possession of the city of Gortyn, as did all of the land. If a *pástas* died without leaving issue or other family members or any other persons who had a right "to the *woikía*," "those of the household composing the *kláros* are to have the 'property' (*chrḗmata*)."[72]

There is a lively discussion among scholars about whether *tás woikías* (τᾶς ϝοικίας) in this section refer to ἐπιβάλλοντες or to οἴτινες, in other words whether what is meant is, "if there are no claimants from the house [i.e. when there are no further relatives], the goods are to go to those who are the *kláros*"; or whether what is meant is, "if there are no claimants, those from among the *woikía* are to have the

---

the question of whether *woikeís* had the legal capacity to be party to a lawsuit see Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 34–5, and Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 29–31, both of whom opine that they did (Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 84). Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 390, who is of the view that *woikeís* did not "hold rights," disagrees.

68 For the *woikéa*, see Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 23, n. 28: "After a divorce, a serf couple would have different masters [. . .], but it is possible that a serf woman would automatically belong to her husband's master as long as they were married, and would then revert to her former master after the divorce."

69 There is no mention of manumission in the Great Code of Gortyn. Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 24, however believes that manumissions did happen in the course of the adoptions of slaves or *woikeis*. The freedmen settled in Latosion (*apeleútheroi*) may have been the *woikeís* manumitted by the *pólis* of Gortyn in the context of a war (ICret IV 78).

70 It would also explain why there is no mention at all of *woikeís* in the columns that deal with heiresses and with adoption (cf. Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 25–26).

71 Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 26 (also Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 356) assumes that the *woikeís* had a right of possession (excluding land), since a divorced *woikéa* could take "her own things" (τὰ ϝὰ αὐτᾶς) away with her; he can however not explain why a divorced *woikéa* – unlike a free divorced woman – is not to have half the revenues from her own property, and half "of whatever she has woven within." He also fails to offer an explanation for why the Great Code of Gortyn makes no provision for *woikeús* inheritance. David Lewis disagrees with the conclusions drawn by Gagarin from the fact that a divorced *woikéa* could take "her own things," and interprets this provision instead as a reference to the fair division of property between the respective slaveowners (Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 405).

72 ICret IV 72 col. 5.25–28: {palmula} αἰ δὲ μὲ εἶεν ἐπιβάλλοντες τᾶς ϝοικίας, οἴτινές κ' ἴοντι ὁ κλᾶρος, τούτονς ἔκεν τὰ κρέματα. vac.

goods that are the *kláros*."[73] I do not propose to discuss here the various solutions proposed by scholars as to the possible meanings of *woikía* and *kláros* in this context, but rather to suggest another solution, which is that τᾶς ϝοικίας should be understood as an objective genitive, i.e., "if there are no claimants *to* the *woikía*, those who are the *kláros* are to have the goods." The objective genitive makes clear that what is meant is not the entire property of the deceased (the house in the city, its contents, livestock and more), but only the claim to the *woikía*, i.e. to the yields of the *kláros*.[74] In concrete terms, this means that the revenues generated by the *woikeís* reverted to and were divided among them upon the death of a citizen with no family and no descendants. As the sole issue was "entitlement *to* the *woikía*," this regulation does not imply that the *woikeís* on the *kláros* are to be manumitted or even gain the citizenship.[75]

---

73 For the controversial question of whether τᾶς ϝοικίας refers to ἐπιβάλλοντες or to οἴτινες, and what precisely κλᾶρος means in this context see Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 76–77, Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 88, 108–10, and Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 27 (cf. Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 375–76), according to whom the inheritance went to the unfree persons who made up the *kláros*. Like Lipsius and Kohler/Ziebarth before him, Lotze, Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων: 12–14, had assumed that during the early period the *klároi* of the ancestral lineages had been divided into small family estates. In his intensive discussion of the theses of K. M. Kolobowa, Detlef Lotze in 1962 reaffirmed his thesis that the ἐπιβάλλοντες τᾶς ϝοικίας would have included relatives of every degree (not only paternal ones), see Lotze, "Zu den ϝοικέες von Gortyn": 35; for a similar view see Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 39. In the absence of "Anspruchsberechtigten der *woikía*," Lotze believed the inheritance (n.b. only the movable property) would have gone to the *kláros*.

74 This would also explain why the *epibállontes* are named 28 times in the Great Code of Gortyn, but never with a qualifier such as τᾶς ϝοικίας (Lotze, "Zu den ϝοικέες von Gortyn": 33; similarly, Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 38). It is likely that the income from the *woikía* was usually shared among the heirs; cf. where it says in col. 3.24–29: "And if he [the deceased] should leave her [his wife] childless, she is to have her own property and half of whatever she has woven within and obtain her portion of the produce that is in the house along with [her husband's] lawful heirs (καὶ [τ]ᾶ καρπ[ᾶ] τᾷ ἔνδ[ο]θεν πεδὰ τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντ[ον] μοῖραν λακὲν) [. . .]" (cf. the similar provision at col. 7.35–40; 8.47–50). A *woikía* is again mentioned in the decree honoring Dionysios (ICret IV 64; Nomima I 8). He was granted exemption from public burdens (*atéleia*) and rights equal to those of a citizen, as well as a *woikía* in Aulon and a house site (*oikópedon*). Does that mean the honorand was given a plot of land on which to build a house (*stéga*) and the right to the revenue of a *woikía* produced by *woikeís*? The honors were awarded by "all of Gortyn and those residing (*woikíontes*) in Aulon." Cf. Brixhe with Bile, "La circulation des biens": 88 ("on concède à Dionysios 'un terrain à bâtir à l'extérieur des terres'"); Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 330–32.

75 Link, *Landverteilung*: 110–14; Link, *Das griechische Kreta*: 48, 76–79 assumes a right of inheritance for the *woikeís* in this case, in consequence of which they would be considered as freedpeople but not as citizens. Many scholars consider it implausible that the *woikeís* could have inherited the house, land and livestock of their deceased master. They argue that this would necessarily require manumission and possibly even citizenship, and is therefore unlikely (rejected on these grounds by Koerner, *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte*: 503, Maffi, *Il diritto di famiglia*: 59–61 and Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 38). Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 27–29 (also Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws*

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 253

If in the inheritance law of Gortyn an inheritance consisted of houses, their contents, and livestock, while land was excluded, the social prestige of a citizen of Gortyn rested primarily on the livestock, the flocks of *próbata* and herds of *kartaípoda*,[76] that he owned, perhaps also on the furnishings of the "houses in the city." The produce from the *kláros* made up a large part of his *chrḗmata* and went towards his contribution to his common mess.[77] An *apétairos* was presumably a person who had lost his *kláros*, for whatever reason.

This model, which I have developed based on the Great Code of Gortyn, is consistent with our literary evidence about forms of dependency in Cretan city states:[78] Callistratus distinguished between Crete's "urban slaves" (οἰκέται κατὰ πόλιν), who were called *chrysṓnētoi* ("bought for gold" or "money"), and "rural slaves" (κατ' ἀγρόν) who were locals (ἐγχώριοι) and had been enslaved in war (δουλωθέντες κατὰ πόλεμον), and who were called *a(m)phamiṓtai*. These were also called *klarṓtai* because they are "allotted."[79] The "urban slaves," *chrysṓnētoi*, were chattel slaves; they

---

of Ancient Crete: 376), however, believes it is possible: if a *woikeús* could live in a house in the city and own livestock, why should he not, absent an heir, acquire the property not just de facto, but also de jure, and be a free man forthwith, if only an *apétairos*?

76 Lotze, Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων: 10 similarly does not believe that free citizens practiced subsistence farming to any great degree. However, ICret IV 75 (Koerner, *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte*: no. 147) lists a number of articles – very probably those that are exempt from being seized – which includes not only the loom, wool, iron implements and plough, but also the team of oxen (δυγὸν βοῦν).

77 According to Dosiades, in Lyttos in Crete every man had to contribute one tenth of his crops (*karpoí*) as well as the income from the city which the magistrates divided among the individual households; while each slave had to pay one Aeginetan stater (Athen. 4.22, p. 143a–b): οἱ δὲ Λύττιοι συνάγουσι μὲν τὰ κοινὰ συσσίτια οὕτως. ἕκαστος τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν ἀναφέρει τὴν δεκάτην εἰς τὴν ἑταιρίαν καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως προσόδους, ἃς διανέμουσιν οἱ προεστηκότες τῆς πόλεως εἰς τοὺς ἑκάστων οἴκους. τῶν δὲ δούλων ἕκαστος Αἰγιναῖον φέρει στατῆρα κατὰ κεφαλήν. διῄρηνται δ' οἱ πολῖται πάντες καθ' ἑταιρίας, καλοῦσι δὲ ταύτας ἀνδρεῖα.

78 For the literary sources on slavery in Crete see Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*. 148–50. Strabo gives the most important features of the Cretan constitution as described by Ephorus: The lawgiver, says Ephorus, appears to have regarded liberty as a city state's greatest good, because only liberty makes property belong to its owner, while (the goods held) in slavery belong to the rulers, not the ruled. Does this description contain an echo of the fact that the *woikeís* produced their goods for the citizens of Gortyn while being unable to own any property themselves? And is it the lack of their own land that Ephorus refers to when he goes on to say that those who have liberty must guard it, and that harmony ensues when dissent has been removed, dissent which grows out of greed and luxury? "[F]or when all citizens live a self-restrained and simple life there arises neither envy nor arrogance nor hatred towards those who are like them." (Strab. 10.4.16–480 C; Ephorus FgrH 70 F149).

79 Callistratus FgrH 348 F4 and Ephorus FgrH 70 F29 (Athen. 6.84 p. 263e–f): καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ Κρῆτες τοὺς μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οἰκέτας χρυσωνήτους, ἀμφαμιώτας δὲ τοὺς κατ' ἀγρὸν ἐγχωρίους μὲν ὄντας, δουλωθέντας δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον· διὰ τὸ κληρωθῆναι δὲ κλαρώτας. ὁ Ἔφορος δ' ἐν γ' ἱστοριῶν· 'κλαρώτας, φησί, Κρῆτες καλοῦσι τοὺς δούλους ἀπὸ τοῦ γενομένου περὶ αὐτῶν κλήρου. Amerias und Hermon in Athen. 6.93, p. 267c (the same in the epitomes): Ἀμερίας δὲ ἑρκίτας φησὶ καλεῖσθαι τοὺς

could be bought in the agora and were mentioned as such in the Great Code of Gortyn.[80] According to Sosikrates and Dosiades, the Cretans used the term *mnoía* for communal slavery (*koinḗ douleía*), while private (*ídia* [*douleía*]) slavery was called *aphamiṓtai* and the subjects (*hypḗkooi*) *perí oikoi*.[81] Those who Callistratus terms "slaves on the land" (οἰκέται κατ' ἀγρόν), *klarṓtai* and *a(m)phamiṓtai*, are the equivalents of the *woikeís* in the Great Code of Gortyn. They farmed the land for the Gortynians and, because they lived "in the *chṓra*," were called *perí oikoi* by Aristotle, literally "those who live around [the *pólis*]." This dependent rural population had to pay tribute: to their masters, but also to the *pólis*. It was from these latter shares that the sacrifices to the gods and contributions to the common messes were financed.[82]

κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς οἰκέτας. Ἔρμων δὲ ἐν Κρητικαῖς Γλώτταις μνώτας τοὺς εὐγενεῖς οἰκέτας. – "Amerias says that rural slaves are called *herkítai*, Hermon in the *Cretan Glossary* defines *mnṓtai* as indigenous [εὐγενεῖς should be emended to ἐγγενεῖς – 'native'] slaves (*oikétai*)." Eustathius, Comm. ad Il. 15.431 (p. 752) (see n. 13). For the synonymous use of *hypḗkooi*, *klarṓtai*, *mnṓtai* and *aphamiṓtai* see Gehrke, "Gewalt und Gesetz": 26.

80 ICret IV 72 col. 7.10–15: vac. α[ἴ] κ' ἐκς ἀγορᾶς πρ[ι]άμενος δῶλον μὲ περαιόσει τᾶν ϝεκσέκοντ' ἀμερᾶν, αἴ τινά κα πρόθ' ἀδικέκει ἒ ὕστερον, τõι πεπαμένοι ἔνδικον ἔμεν. vac. – "If someone has bought a slave (*dólos*) from the market-place (*agorâ*) and has not terminated [the purchase] within sixty days, if [the slave] has done wrong to anyone before or after [the purchase], litigation is to be conducted against the one who has acquired him." This is very likely a reference to the slaves "bought for gold," as the addition "in the *agora*" shows (so also Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 21–22: "The answer probably lies in the fact that the *dolos* in 7.10–15 is bought in the agora, and that if a *woikeus* could be sold, he would not be sold in the agora. This would make sense if *doloi*, some of whom would be new slaves captured in war or imported from abroad, were sold in the agora, but *woikeis*, as indigenous inhabitants, were only sold directly from one master to another, perhaps only as part of the land they lived on"). Cf. Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 25: "there is no doubt that *doloi* could be sold [. . .], but if *woikeis* were attached to the land, it may not have been possible to sell them except with the land to which they belonged." Some scholars concluded on the basis of this provision that *woikeís* could be sold (Link, "'Dolos' und 'Woikeus'": 98–100; Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 395); Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 25–26 is less positive.

81 Sosicrates FgrH 461 F4; Dosiades FgrH 458 F3 apud Athen. 6.84, p. 263f–264a: Σωσικράτης δ' ἐν δευτέρῳ Κρητικῶν 'τὴν μὲν κοινήν, φησί, δουλείαν οἱ Κρῆτες καλοῦσι μνοίαν, τὴν δὲ ἰδίαν ἀφαμιώτας, τοὺς δὲ ὑπηκόους περιοίκους.' τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Δωσιάδας ἐν δ΄ Κρητικῶν.

82 Aristot. pol. 2.10, 1272a 16–21: ἐν δὲ Κρήτῃ κοινοτέρως· ἀπὸ πάντων γὰρ τῶν γινομένων καρπῶν τε καὶ βοσκημάτων δημοσίων, καὶ ἐκ τῶν φόρων οὓς φέρουσιν οἱ περίοικοι, τέτακται μέρος τὸ μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὰς κοινὰς λειτουργίας, τὸ δὲ τοῖς συσσιτίοις, ὥστ' ἐκ κοινοῦ τρέφεσθαι πάντας, καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ ἄνδρας. – "[B]ut in Crete the system is more communal, for out of all the crops and cattle produced from the public lands, and the tributes paid by the *perí oikoi*, one part is assigned for the worship of the gods and the maintenance of the public services, and the other for the public mess-tables, so that all the citizens are maintained from the common funds, women and children as well as men [. . .]." The last point is in agreement with Ephorus FgrH 70 F149 (Strab. 10.4.20–483 C): τρέφονται δὲ δημοσίᾳ. This roughly corresponds to arrangements in Lyttos, where citizens had to contribute one tenth of their crops and slaves one Aeginetan stater each. A law whose text is extant in an inscription might refer to this; it lists (probably barley), figs and must and refers to the *karpodaístai* who are entitled to take produce that has been stolen or not distributed. Michael Gagarin and Paula Perlman have read this law as referring to the collection of

Even Aristotle's and Strabo's statements that these were "public slaves" and "public revenues" are quite true.[83]

3 "Between Free and Slave"

The *Onomasticon* is a dictionary produced in the second century AD by the lexicographer Pollux. In it, he subsumed Lacedaemonian helots, Thessalian *penéstai*, Cretan *klarṓtai* or *mnoítai*, the Mariandynian "bringers of gifts," the *gymnḗtes* of Argos and the *korynephóroi* at Sicyon under the heading "between free and slave."[84] David Lewis has empathically rejected Pollux, arguing that this late source does not provide a sufficient basis on which to argue for a specific legal or social status "between free and slave" of these populations.[85] Instead, he believes that all of these groups were slaves who were allowed to live communally; he explains the ban on manumission or sale outside the territory as due to specific circumstances: helots far outnumbered Spartan citizens, so that the *pólis* of Sparta saw itself obliged to make this concession, which did not however grant the helots any rights. The purpose of conceding *de facto* marriages and families was, in his view, to increase the helots' motivation to work, but also to ensure slave reproduction in sufficient numbers, since Sparta imported virtually no foreign slaves.[86]

But it is a curious fact that not only Pollux in the second century AD, but also earlier authors bracketed the helots of Sparta, the *penéstai* of Thessaly and the *klarṓtai* in the cities of Crete as specific, unfree groups whom they differentiated from the slaves in other cities. This is especially true for Aristotle, who lists helots, *penéstai* and *klarṓtai* among the *perioikoi*, literally "those who live around" – which is exactly what they were if they lived in the rural environs "around" the *pólis* of the citizens.[87]

---

produce either for communal meals or as a fixed share for public use (Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: no. G77).

83 Ephorus (Strab 8.5.4–365 C) uses the term δημόσιοι δοῦλοι in referring to the helots of Sparta. David Lewis ("Slave Marriage": 394) rejects the term on the grounds that the sources for it are late (Strabo and Pausanias).

84 Poll. 3.83; see also Eustathius, Comm. ad Il. 3, p. 537 l. 15; 3, p. 752 l. 18–p. 753 l. 2.

85 Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 165: they were "not serfs or some other mysterious status 'between free men and slaves'."

86 Lewis, "Slave Marriage": 409–11; Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 160. This would however still not explain why legally protected marriage had to be conceded to the *woikeís*, instead of stable concubinate arrangements such as existed in Athenian slavery.

87 For *perí̈oikoi* in the *Politics* see Aristot. pol. 2.9, 1269b 3 (*penéstai* in Thessaly, helots in Sparta and conditions in Crete); pol. 2.10, 1271b 30 and 1272a 18 (Crete); pol. 2.10, 1272b 18 (Cretan *perí̈oikoi* and helots); pol. 2.10, 1272a 1 (Cretan *perí̈oikoi* in analogy with the Spartan helots); pol. 5.3, 1303a 6–8 (Argive *perí̈oikoi*); pol. 7.6, 1327b 11 (the city of Heraclaea); pol. 7.9 and 10, 1329a 26 and 1330a 29 (in Aristotle's ideal state, those working the land [οἱ γεωργοί] ought to be slaves or "barbarian

Chattel slaves became the property of citizens through purchase: they could be beaten and whipped, inherited, lent and pledged, sold or manumitted. In Athens, they worked in many different sectors including agriculture, trade and commerce, mining and banking.[88] They had many different ("barbaric") origins and cultures and spoke different languages. By contrast, the helots, *penéstai*, *klarṓtai* and Mariandyni "lived around" the *pólis* territory with their families in the country, the *chora*, that had originally been theirs; they shared an ethnic and cultural origin, which made them "sons of the land" or "locals" (*enchṓrioi*); they worked the land and had to give up a part of their harvest to their masters or to the *pólis* as euphemistically titled "bringers of gifts." But they were not the property of their masters, they could not be manumitted or sold outside the territory, and probably only "given up" inside it. Aristotle calls them *perioikoi*, "those who live around," a term used in some ancient city states for populations who were free but did not enjoy citizen rights. He also points out that the Cretans had put themselves on an equal footing with their slaves (*doúloi*) in all respects, forbidding them only gymnastic exercises and the possession of weapons.[89] Aristotle agrees, then, that these populations enjoyed a significantly better position than chattel slaves. I believe that Pollux classified them as "between free and slave" because that was how he found these groups depicted in his sources. It was probably due to the increasing pervasiveness of chattel slavery that Greeks in the fifth and fourth centuries were familiar only with the extremes of either liberty or slavery, so that they equated the *woikeís* of Gortyn and the helots in Laconia and Messenia with slaves (*dóloi*).[90]

---

perîoikoi" whose nature is similar [παραπλήσιοι] to that of slaves). Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 14, n. 1 points to an inscription that reads περιϝοι[– –] in ICret IV 65 l. 10, but admits that several other reconstructions are possible. Cf. Ronald F. Willetts, "The Servile Interregnum at Argos," *Hermes* 87 (1959): 495–506, here 496: Aristotle "normally in the *Politics* uses περίοικοι to mean *serfs* and not *perioikoi*."

88 For the components of the right of ownership and the legal definition of slavery see Lewis, *Greek Slave Systems*: 25–55.

89 Aristot. pol. 2.5, 1264a 20–22: ἐὰν μή τι σοφίζωνται τοιοῦτον οἷον Κρῆτες; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ τἆλλα ταὐτὰ τοῖς δούλοις ἐφέντες μόνον ἀπειρήκασι τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅπλων κτῆσιν. See also pol. 7,10, 1329b 1–3.

90 Gagarin, "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn": 23: "At Gortyn it is likely that all *woikeis* were *doloi*, or could be classified as *doloi* for legal purposes, but not all *doloi* were *woikeis*." He concludes (31) that the *woikeís* "had a higher status and greater degree of independence than *doloi*, who were probably chattel slaves introduced to Gortyn later (perhaps in the sixth century). Despites these differences in origin, the two groups came to be treated the same for legal purposes, and *woikeis* appear to have been gradually assimilated to the status of *doloi*"; so also Gagarin and Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete*: 357. Gehrke, "Gewalt und Gesetz": 27, aptly summarizes that "sie standen zwar auf der Skala μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων letzteren sehr nahe, waren aber keine reinen Sklaven." Lévy, "Libres et non-libres": 40, believes that the emergence of chattel slavery reduced the status of the *woikeís*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 257

Bibliography

Asheri, David. *Über die Frühgeschichte von Herakleia Pontike*, Forschungen an der Nordküste Kleinasiens 1 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1972).

Avram, Alexandru. "Bemerkungen zu den Mariandyni von Herakleia am Pontos," *Studii Clasice* 22 (1984): 19–28.

Bertosa, Brian. "The Social Status and Ethnic Origin of the Rowers of Spartan Triremes," *War and Society* 23 (2005): 1–20.

Bile, Monique. "IC 4.41 et le sens de ἐπιδίομαι," in *La codification des lois dans l'antiquité. Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 27–29 novembre 1997*, ed. Edmond Lévy (Paris: de Boccard, 2000): 161–74.

Bittner, Angela. *Eine Polis zwischen Tyrannis und Selbstverwaltung: Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Herakleia* (Bonn: Habelt, 1998).

Brixhe, Claude (with Monique Bile). "La circulation des biens dans les Lois de Gortyne," in *Des dialectes grecs aux lois de Gortyne*, ed. Catherine Dobias-Lalou (Nancy: de Boccard, 1999) 75–116.

Burstein, Stanley M. *Outpost of Hellenism. The Emergence of Heraclea* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976).

Cartledge, Paul. *Sparta and Laconia: A Regional History 1300–362 BC* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979).

Cartledge, Paul. "Raising Hell? The Helot Mirage – a Personal Review," in *Helots and their Masters in Laconia and Messenia. Histories, Ideologies, Structures*, ed. Nino Luraghi and Susan Alcock (London: Harvard University Press, 2003): 12–30.

Cartledge, Paul. "The Helots: A Contemporary Review," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1, *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009): 74–90.

Chaniotis, Angelos. *Das antike Kreta* (Munich: Beck, 2004).

Ducat, Jean. *Les Hilotes* (Paris: de Boccard, 1990).

Ducat, Jean. *Les Pénestes de Thessalie* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 1994).

Gagarin, Michael. "Slaves and Serfs at Gortyn," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 127 (2010): 14–31.

Gagarin, Michael, and Paula Perlman, *The Laws of Ancient Crete c. 650–400 BCE* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

Garlan, Yvon. *Les esclaves en Grèce ancienne* (Paris: La Découverte, 1982).

Gehrke, Hans-Joachim. "Gewalt und Gesetz: Die soziale und politische Ordnung Kretas in der Archaischen und Klassischen Zeit," *Klio* 79 (1997): 23–68.

Gschnitzer, Fritz. *Studien zur griechischen Terminologie der Sklaverei*, vol. 2, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei 7 (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976).

Hunt, Peter. *Slaves, Warfare and Ideology in the Greek Historians* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Koerner, Reinhard. *Inschriftliche Gesetzestexte der frühen griechischen Polis* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993).

Kristensen, Karen Rørby, "On the Gortynian ΠΥΛΑ and ΣΤΑΡΤΟΣ of the 5th Century BC," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 53 (2002): 65–80.

Lévy, Edmond. "Libres et non-libres dans le code de Gortyne," in *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne*, ed. Pierre Brulé and Jacques Oulhen (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1997): 25–41.

Lewis, David. "Slave Marriage in the Laws of Gortyn: A Matter of Rights?," *Historia* 62 (2013): 390–416.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 258

Lewis, David M. *Greek Slave Systems in their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c. 800–146 BC* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Link, Stefan. *Landverteilung und sozialer Frieden im archaischen Griechenland* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991).

Link, Stefan. *Das griechische Kreta. Untersuchungen zu seiner staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr*. (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994).

Link, Stefan. "'Dolos' und 'Woikeus' im Recht von Gortyn," *Dike* 4 (2001): 87–112.

Lotze, Detlev. *Μεταξὺ ἐλευθέρων καὶ δούλων. Studien zur Rechtsstellung unfreier Landbevölkerung in Griechenland bis zum 4. Jh. v. Chr*. (Berlin: Akademie, 1959).

Lotze, Detlef. "Zu den ϝοικέες von Gortyn," *Klio* 40 (1962): 32–43.

Luraghi, Nino. "Helotic slavery reconsidered," in *Sparta: Beyond the Mirage*, ed. Anton Powell (London: Duckworth, 2002): 227–48.

Maffi, Alberto. *Il diritto di famiglia nel Codice di Gortina* (Milan: CUEM, 1997).

Maffi, Alberto. "Droit et épigraphie dans la Grèce archaïque: A propos d'un ouvrage recent," *Revue historique de droit français et l'étranger* 75 (1997): 435–46.

Maffi, Alberto. "Studi recenti sul Codice di Gortina," *Dike* 6 (2003): 175–80.

Mauritsch, Peter. "Penesten," in *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 2, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 2181–84.

Mossé, Claude. "Le problème des dépendants paysans dans le monde grec," in *Actes du colloque sur l'esclavage (Nieborów 2–6 XII 1975)*, ed. Iza Bieżuńska-Małowist and Jerzy Kolendo (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1979): 57–64.

Paradiso, Annalisa. "Sur la servitude volontaire des Mariandyniens d'Héraclée du Pont," in *Fear of Slaves, Fear of Enslavement in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Anastasia Serghidou (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2007): 23–33.

Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982).

Patterson, Orlando. "Sklaverei in globalhistorischer Perspektive. Von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart," in *'Die Sklaverei setzen wir mit dem Tod gleich' – Sklaven in globalhistorischer Perspektive*, ed. Winfried Schmitz (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 67–104.

Robu, Adrian. *Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin: histoire et institutions* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014).

Saprykin, Sergei J. *Heracleia Pontica and Tauric Chersonesus before Roman Domination IV. –I. c. B.C*. (Amsterdam: A.M. Hakkert, 1996).

Schütrumpf, Eckart. "Aristoteles," in *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 1, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 180–208.

Tamiolaki, Melina. *Liberté et esclavage chez les historiens grecs classiques: Le discours historique et politique d'Hérodote, Thucydide et Xénophon* (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2010).

van Effenterre, Henri. "Terminologie et formes de dépendence en Crète," in *Rayonnement grec. Hommages à Charles Delvoy*, ed. Lydie Hadermann-Misguich and Georges Raepsaet (Brussels: Editions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1982): 35–44.

van Effenterre, Henri and Françoise Ruzé. *Nomima: Recueil d'inscriptions politiques et juridicques de l'archaïsme grec* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994–95).

Welwei, Karl-Wilhelm. "Neuere Forschungen zur Rechtsstellung der Penesten," in *Antike Lebenswelten. Konstanz – Wandel – Wirkungsmacht. Festschrift für Ingomar Weiler zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Mauritsch, Werner Petermandl, Robert Rollinger, and Christoph Ulf (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008): 393–411.

Welwei, Karl-Wilhelm. “Ursprung, Verbreitung und Formen der Unfreiheit abhängiger Landbewohner im antiken Griechenland,” in *Unfreie und abhängige Landbevölkerung*, ed. Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2008): 1–52.

Welwei, Karl-Wilhelm. “Militärdienst,” in *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 2, ed. Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2017): 1940–1949.

Willetts, Ronald F. “The Servile Interregnum at Argos,” *Hermes* 87 (1959): 495–506.

Willetts, Ronald F. “The rights of ἐπιβάλλοντες,” *Eirene* 5 (1966): 13–16.

Wittenburg, Andreas, “Zum sozialen Gefüge in Kreta,” *Opus* 1 (1982): 67–74.

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Inca State

Karoline Noack. “Mobilization as Dependency: The Case of Mitimaes in the Inka State as a Hotspot of Early Glocalization,” in *Comparative and Global Framing of Enslavement*, eds. Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud R. Toledano, and Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 81-116.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-004

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.

Note: The first draft of this paper was presented at the joint workshop of Tel Aviv University and the University of Bonn "What is Global about Global Enslavement?" which was held in Tel Aviv in December 2019 and organized by Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud R. Toledano, and Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz.

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-004

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 264

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 265

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.

---

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

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 269

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.

---

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).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 272

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 273

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*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 275

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 277

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]

---

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]

---

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 280

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 281

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

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 284

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 285

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 286

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 289

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.

Bibliography

Alexiades, Miguel, ed. *Mobility and Migration in Indigenous Amazonia: Contemporary Ethnoecological Perspectives* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

Appadurai, Arjun, ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Arze, José Antonio. *Fué socialista o comunista el imperio inkaiko?* (Bogotá: Argra, 1958).

Baleva, Martina. "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].

Bantimaroudis, Philemon. "Victor Roudometof, Globalization: A Critical Introduction," *International Journal of Communication* 11 (2017): 728–30.

Barnes, Monica. "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.

Baudin, Louis. *Der sozialistische Staat der Inka*, Rowohlts Deutsche Enzyklopädie (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1956).

Baudin, Louis. *Die Inka von Peru* (Essen: Dr. Hans v. Chamier, 1947).

Baudin, Louis. *El Imperio Socialista de los Incas* (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Zig-Zag, 1978).

Baudin, Louis. *Essais sur le Socialisme*, vol. 1, *Les Incas du Pérou* (Paris: Librairie de Médicis, 1944).

Baudin, Louis. *L'Empire socialiste des Inka*, Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie (Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie, 1928).

Bauer, Brian S. *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*, Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004).

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

Braun, Hans-Gert. "Die Planwirtschaften der Inkas und der Sowjetunion im Vergleich," *Wechselwirkungen, Jahrbuch aus Lehre und Forschung der Universität Stuttgart* (2004): 31–39.

Brumfiel, Elizabeth M., ed. *The Economic Anthropology of the State*, Monographs in Economic Anthropology 11 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1994).

Carrasco, Pedro. "Comment on Offner," *American Antiquity* 46, no. 1 (1981): 62–68.

Chase-Dunn, Christopher, and Thomas D. Hall, eds. *Core/Periphery Relations in Precapitalist Worlds* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1991).

Choy, Emilio. *Antropología e Historia* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1979).

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

Choy, Emilio. “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).

Covey, R. Alan. “A Processual Study of Inka State Formation,” *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 22, no. 4 (2003): 333–57.

Covey, R. Alan. *How the Incas Built Their Heartland: State Formation and the Innovation of Imperial Strategies in the Sacred Valley, Peru*, History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010).

Covey, R. Alan. “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.

Cunow, Heinrich. “Die altperuanischen Dorf- und Markgenossenschaften,” *Das Ausland: Wochenschrift für Erd- und Völkerkunde* 63 (1890): 821–78.

Cunow, Heinrich. *Die soziale Verfassung des Inkareichs: Eine Untersuchung des altperuanischen Agrarkommunismus* (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz, 1896).

D’Altroy, Terence. “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).

D’Altroy, Terence N. *The Incas*, Peoples of America (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002).

D’Altroy, Terence N., and Timothy K. Earle. “Staple Finance, Wealth Finance, and Storage in the Inka Political Economy,” *Current Anthropology* 26, no. 2 (1985): 187–206.

D’Altroy, Terence N., 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.

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

Demarest, Arthur A., 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).

Dillehay, Tom D., 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.

Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar. “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.

Espinoza Soriano, Waldemar. *Los Modos de Producción en el Imperio de los Incas* (Lima: Editorial Mantaro, 1978).

Gabelmann, Olga, 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).

Geurds, Alexander. “Globalization Processes as Recognized in the Americas,” in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 173–76.

Gyarmati, János, and András Varga. *The Chacaras of War: An Inka State Estate in the Cochabamba Valley, Bolivia* (Budapest: Museum of Ethnography, 1999).

Hann, Chris. “Economic Anthropology,” in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. Hilary Callan (Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell, 2018): 1–16.

Hartmann, Roswith. “Märkte im alten Peru” (PhD diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 1968).

Hodos, Tamar. “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): 3–11.

Hodos, Tamar, ed. *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization* (London: Routledge, 2017).

Hu, Di, 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.

Isbell, William H., and Katharina J. Schreiber. "Was Huari a State?" *American Antiquity* 43, no. 3 (1978): 372–89.

Janusek, John Wayne. *Identity and Power in the Ancient Andes: Tiwanaku Cities through Time*, Critical Perspectives in Identity, Memory, and the Built Environment (New York: Routledge, 2004).

Janusek, John Wayne, 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): 404–30.

Jennings, Justin. "Distinguishing Past Globalizations," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 12–28.

Julien, Catherine J. *Hatunqolla: A View of Inca Rule from the Lake Titicaca Region*, University of California Publications in Anthropology 15 (Berkley: University of California Press, 1983).

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

Karsten, Rafael. *A Totalitarian State of the Past: The Civilization of the Inca Empire in Ancient Peru*, Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 16/1 (Helsinki: Ejnar Munksgaard Forlag, 1949).

La Lone, Darrell. "An Andean World-System. Production Transformations under 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): 17–41.

Lau, George F. "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): 194–211.

LeVine, Terry Y. "The Study of Storage Systems. Introduction," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 3–28.

Lorandi, Ana María. "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): 311–30.

Luxemburg, Rosa. *Gesammelte Werke*, vol. 5, *Ökonomische Schriften* (Berlin: Dietz, 1975).

Maclay, Kathleen. "John Rowe, Authority on Peruvian Archaeology, Dies at 85," UC Berkeley News, 07.05.2004, https://www.berkeley.edu/news/media/releases/2004/05/07_rowe. shtml [accessed 29.01.2023].

Martens, Oscar. *Ein sozialistischer Grossstaat vor 400 Jahren: Die geschichtliche, soziale und politische Grundlage des Reiches Tahuantinsuyu, dem[!] Staatswesen der Incas, auf dem südamerikanischen Hochlande* (Berlin: Verlag von Emil Streisand, 1905).

Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital*: *Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1890]).

Marx, Karl. *Das Kapital*: *Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1966 [1894]).

Mayer, Enrique. *Casa, chacra y dinero: Economías domésticas y ecología en los Andes* (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2004).

McAnany, Patricia A. "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).

Meillassoux, Claude. *Anthropologie der Sklaverei*, Theorie und Gesellschaft 9 (Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag, 1989).

Morris, Craig. "Huánuco Pampa: Nuevas evidencias sobre el urbanismo inca," *Revista del Museo Nacional* 44 (1978): 139–52.

Morris, Craig, and Donald E. Thompson. *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland*, New Aspects of Antiquity (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985).

Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. "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.

Mumford, Jeremy Ravi. “Litigation as Ethnography in Sixteenth-Century Peru: Polo de Ondegardo and the Mitimaes,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 88, no. 1 (2008): 5–40.

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

Murra, John V. *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andino*, Historia andina 3 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1975).

Murra, John V. *La organización económica del estado Inca*, trans. Daniel R. Wagner (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1978).

Murra, John V. *The Economic Organization of the Inka State*, Research in Economic Anthropology, Supplement 1 (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980).

Murra, John V. “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.

Murra, John V., and John Howland Rowe. “An Interview with John V. Murra,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64, no. 4 (1984): 633–53.

Netherly, Patricia J. “Local Level Lords on the North Coast of Peru” (PhD diss., Cornell University 1977).

Neumann, Hans. “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*, eds. Ingrid Kreide, Sabine Imeri, Karoline Noack, Leonore Scholze-Irrlitz (forthcoming).

Noack, Karoline. “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 de Castro and Doris Kurella (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2013): 140–52.

Noack, Karoline. “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, Javier Flores Espinoza, Doris Kurella and Karoline Noack (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, 2015): 16–37.

Noack, Karoline. “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): 107–30.

Noack, Karoline. “‘. . . 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.

Núñez Añavitarte, Carlos. “Carácter Esclavista-Patriarcal de la Moral Inca,” *Revista Universitaria* 47, no. 115 (1958): 117–36.

Pease, Franklin. *Del Tawantinsuyu a la historia del Perú*, Historia Andina 5 (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 1978).

Pease, Franklin. “La formación del Tawantinsuyu: mecanismos de colonización y relación con las unidades étnicas,” *Histórica* 3, no. 1 (1979): 97–120.

Pease, Franklin. *The Incas* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la PUCP, 2011).

Peregrine, Peter N. “Introduction: World Systems. Theory and Archaeology,” in *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, ed. Peter N. Peregrine and Gary M. Feinman, Monographs in World Archaeology 26 (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996): 1–10.

Peregrine, Peter N., and Gary M. Feinman, eds. *Pre-Columbian World Systems*, Monographs in World Archaeology 26 (Madison, WI: Prehistory Press, 1996).

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

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

Quave, Kylie E. *Labor and Domestic Economy on the Royal Estate in the Inka Imperial Heartland (Maras, Cuzco, Peru)* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University, 2012).

Río, María de las Mercedes del. *Etnicidad, territorialidad y colonialismo en los Andes: Tradición y cambio entre los Soras de los siglos XVI y XVII (Bolivia)*, Colección Cuarto Centenario de la Fundación de Oruro Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Etudes Andines/Institut Français d'Études Andines (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Bolivianos, 2005).

Robertson, Roland. *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* (London: Sage, 1994).

Roudometof, Victor. *Glocalization: A Critical Introduction*, Routledge Studies in Global and Transnational Politics (London: Routledge, 2016).

Rowe, John H. "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.

Rowe, John H. "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.

Schmidt-Welle, Friedhelm. "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.

Schneider, Jane. "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.

Sillar, Bill. "Globalization without Markets? Population Movement and Other Integrative Mechanisms in the Ancient Andes," in *The Routledge Handbook of Archaeology and Globalization*, ed. Tamar Hodos (London: Routledge, 2017): 229–42.

Sillar, Bill, 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): 21–46.

Smith, Michael E., and Frances F. Berdan, eds. *The Postclassic Mesoamerican World* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2003).

Smith, Michael E., and Frances F. Berdan. "The Postclassic Mesoamerican World System," *Current Anthropology* 41, no. 2 (2000): 283–86.

Snead, James. "Imperial Infrastructure and the Inka State Storage System," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 62–106.

Stanish, Charles. *Post-Tiwanaku Regional Economies in the Otora Valley, Southern Peru* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).

Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Andean Political Economy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

Stanish, Charles. "Nonmarket Imperialism in the Prehispanic Americas: The Inka Occupation of the Titicaca Basin," *Latin American Antiquity* 8, no. 3 (1997): 195–216.

Stanish, Charles. "Regional Research on the Inca," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 9, no. 3 (2001): 213–41.

Stanish, Charles. *Ancient Titicaca: The Evolution of Complex Society in Southern Peru and Northern Bolivia* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003).

Thurner, Mark. *History's Peru: The Poetics of Colonial and Postcolonial Historiography* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012).

Topic, John R., and Coreen E. Chiswell. "Inka Storage in Huamachuco," in *Inka Storage Systems*, ed. Terry Y. LeVine (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992): 206–33.

Trimborn, Hermann. "Die Gliederung der Stände im Inka-Reich," *Journal de la Société des Américanistes* 19 (1927): 303–44.

Trimborn, Hermann. "El Socialismo en el Imperio de los Incas," *Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria. Actas y Memorias* 13 (1934): 235–38.

Tzoref-Ashkenazi, Chen. "Romantic Attitudes toward Oriental Despotism," *Journal of Modern History* 85, no. 2 (2013): 280–320.

Valdivia Carrasco, Julio. *El Imperio Esclavista de los Inkas* (Lima: Editorial e Imprenta Desa S.A., 1988).

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

Wachtel, Nathan. "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.

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

Willmann, Urs. "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].

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 29.01.2023].

Yoffee, Norman. "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.

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

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

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

South Asia

Julia Hegewald. “Dependency, Subjugation and Survival: A Working Paper on the Jaina Culture in Medieval Karnataka, South India,” *BCDSS Working Paper* September 2022.

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/research/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/wp_9_hegewald.pdf

WORKING PAPER 22 | 09

Julia A.B. Hegewald

DEPENDENCY, SUBJUGATION AND SURVIVAL: A WORKING PAPER ON THE JAINA CULTURE IN MEDIEVAL KARNATAKA, SOUTH INDIA

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Working Paper, ISSN 2747-9331
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Editors: Abdelkader Al Ghouz/Jeannine Bischoff/Stephan Conermann

Working Paper 2022/09
© December 2022, by the author

Julia A. B. Hegewald
Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies, Department of Asian and Islamic Art History, University of Bonn

Dependency, Subjugation and Survival: A Working Paper on the Jaina Culture in Medieval Karnataka, South India

Download
https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/working-papers
……

"Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433"

"Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433"

Contact:
Dr. Abdelkader Al Ghouz
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Email: publications@dependency.uni-bonn.de
Web: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Abstract

This paper investigates the changing position of the Jaina religious community in the south Indian State of Karnataka in premodern times. From the early fifth century onwards, the influence of the Jainas in the region had consistently increased. This situation changed significantly during the middle of the twelfth century. This was due in part to transformations which the Jainas themselves made to the structure of their society, religious practices and ethical standards; but also because Jainism became side-lined by the arrival of competing religious groups. As a consequence, the Jainas suffered a significant loss in power. From a former position of superiority, they dropped to one of extremely strong asymmetrical dependency. The persecution of the Jainas led to the destruction and annexation of their icons, temples and religious centres. This paper examines the changes this severe form of dependency had on Jaina art and architecture—and through the absorption of Jaina religious objects and spaces, also on the cultures of the newly dominant groups.

Table of Contents

I. Introduction 1
II. Dependency Studies and the Visual Arts 2
III. Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka 4
III.1. The Arrival of the Faith and its Popularity 5
III.2. Changing Fortunes in Karnataka 6
IV. Internal Modifications, Undermining the Resilience of Jainism 8
V. Interactions with Other Faith Groups 10
VI. Indications of Change and Dependency in Jaina Icons and Temples 11
VI.1. Modifications by Choice 11
VI.2. External Influences on Jaina Temple Architecture 13
VI.3. Re-Using Icons, Sacred Objects and Edifices 21
VII. Survival and Endurance 26
VIII. Concluding Thoughts 29
Bibliography 31
Secondary Sources 31
Internet Sources 34
Photo Credits 35
Captions 35

I. Introduction

This chapter embodies work in progress and represents the first results[1] of a large research project on the changing history and status of the Jaina religious group in the south Indian State of Karnataka in pre-modern times.[2] From the early fifth century onwards, the authority and influence of the Jainas in the region consistently intensified. At this time, many local kings, their ministers, generals and the upper levels of society professed to Jainism. The production of literature as well as other arts and architecture were clearly in Jaina hands; they expressed the core ideas of the religion and were frequently even produced by members of the community itself.[3] The situation changed substantially during the middle of the twelfth century. On one hand, this was due to deliberate and voluntary changes which the Jainas themselves had undertaken on the structure of their society, religious practices and values. On the other hand, Jainism became more and more marginalised with the arrival of competing religious groups in the area. Consequently, they suffered a substantial loss in influence, got ostracised, threatened and often even killed. From a former position of superiority and wide-ranging control, they plunged into strong asymmetrical dependencies[4] as they lost their financial base as the previously dominant trading community. The persecution of the Jainas led to the destruction of their venerated icons, sacred temple complexes and religious centres. In other cases, their statutes, additional objects of worship and architectural structures were forcibly taken over, adapted and re-used by newly formed or incoming faith groups. This chapter examines the changes these extreme asymmetrical dependencies had on Jaina art and architecture and, consequently, also on the cultures of the newly dominant faith groups. Despite the severe decline in Jaina authority throughout the wider region, the belief continued to be practiced by individual families and in certain urban, religious and provincial centres, where rulers from other faith groups, as well as Jaina merchants who had retained some limited local influence, continued to support the community. This enabled Jaina cultural activities to

[1] This chapter represents a longer version and further development of the ideas expressed in an earlier paper presented in the lecture series, titled "Control, Coercion, and Constraint: The role of religion in overcoming and creating structures of dependency." The lecture series was organised during the winter semester 2021/22 and the following summer semester 2022 by the Bonn Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies. The paper is being published as Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Vīra-Śaiva and Jaina Rivalries in Medieval South India: Creating and Overcoming Structures of Dependency," in *Coercion, Control, and Constraint: The Role of Religion in Overcoming and Creating Structures of Dependency*, 2 vols., ed. Wolfram Kinzig and Barbara Loose, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming). An even more comprehensive and substantial book publication on this topic, including a number of issues not included in the discussion here, will be submitted to the publication series of the Cluster of Excellence, "Dependency and Slavery Studies," with De Gruyter publishers in 2023.

[2] For a brief introduction to the Jaina religion in India and Karnataka, see section 3. "Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka."

[3] We know that in India, the workmen creating sacred objects and edifices for one faith often also worked for other religious groups, and there was no expectation of belonging to a religious group yourself to fashion art works for them.

[4] By and large, asymmetrical relationships are characterised by strong inequalities. In such relations, one side clearly has more power or resources—of any kind—than the other. A more in-depth discussion and definitions of the concept can be found in Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1*,* Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 2–3, 8 (https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 11.11.2022]).

endure in the region to the present day. Nevertheless, they never regained their former position of authority.

II. Dependency Studies and the Visual Arts

This research project on the changing conditions of the Jaina religious community and the influence this had on its art and architecture in Karnataka is part of the large interdisciplinary and transregional Cluster of Excellence, 'Beyond Slavery and Freedom: Asymmetrical Dependencies in Pre-Modern Societies'.[5] The aim of this network of researchers from various disciplines and faculties of the university is to overcome the broad Western conceptual opposites of 'slavery' and 'freedom' which are both strongly ideologically charged terms. Alternatively, the objective is to investigate situations of 'asymmetrical dependency' more generally.[6] This particular subproject contributes to widening the view in this debate.

Everywhere in the world and at all times, artists have been constrained by a number of dependencies, whether these be a reliance on donors, materials or religious and social contexts. However, even more interesting than these limitations are the freedoms, which artisans, artists, master builders and architects have constantly developed to overcome these at times long-term (e.g. climatic, social), but also more temporal and local dependencies (e.g. ruling dynasties, changing faiths). It is in the areas of their liberties, creative energy and imagination that they have succeeded to transgress these restrictions and find freedoms within strongly asymmetrical dependencies.[7]

Publications on theoretical, analytical and terminological aspects of slavery and from the emerging field of dependency studies at times differentiate between the two terms, 'dependence' and 'dependency'.[8] They argue that 'dependence' focusses mainly on specific defined cases that illustrate temporarily limited developments and spatially constricted situations of dependent relationships on a comparatively small scale. In contrast, 'dependency' (*dependencia*) is interpreted as being of longer duration, acting in larger and often global frameworks. Thus, dependencies are more likely to be based on highly

[5] The Cluster was established at the University of Bonn in 2018/2019.

[6] For further information, see the webpage of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/about-us [accessed 30.05.2022]. This information is also based on the unpublished Application for the Cluster of Excellency, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, University of Bonn (BCDSS 2021). Concerning the research undertaken within the context of the Bonn Research Cluster, Antweiler draws our attention to the fact that 'the concept of slavery may be problematic in scientific terms to describe many of the forms we study, as it is only one case of asymmetrical dependency, and an extreme one at that' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 11.11.2022]).

[7] The issue of general dependencies incumbent on artist communities and architects have been discussed in more detail in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 1–32.

[8] Consult, for example, the publication by Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn": 1–16.

formalised, instituted or systemic practices, frequently sustained through a firmly established wide-ranging system.[9] Nonetheless, the two concepts of 'dependence' and 'dependency' are closely related, and situations of the more limited dependence can intensify or expand over time to culminate in larger entities of more wide-reaching dependency. Whilst it is comparatively straightforward to differentiate clearly between the two concepts in theory, in actual practice, this is often less so.[10] Therefore, and as this chapter is not a theoretical treatise but an introduction to a concrete case study, in this paper we will not differentiate between the two terms along the lines outlined above. Rather, we will apply the two idioms synonymously.[11]

Questions of dependency have thus far not represented a major focus of enquiry in the area of Asian history of art and architecture. However, a conference organised at the University of Bonn in October 2021 addressed the topic for the first time in more depth.[12] The papers presented at this two-day conference and published in the conference volume clearly illustrate the wide-spread nature and huge variety of extreme forms of unequal dependencies, which we find reflected in Asian art and architecture and affecting Asian artist communities.

Immediate representations of slavery and slave-like relations, although existent in South Asian societies, have rarely been depicted in pre-modern art.[13] Art has, until the modern period, been very much exclusively produced for a sacred context, where the focus was on the representation of what were considered to be higher caste professions—such as priests and warriors—and the eternal myths surrounding the life and deeds of the gods. However, there are allegorical representations of dependencies[14] and material artefacts, such as

[9] See Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn": 2, 4.

[10] On this issue, see the discussion in subchapter 3 ("Dependencies, Dependences and Freedoms") in Hegewald, "Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms."

[11] I am not a specialist in the areas of slavery and dependency studies but a historian of art and architecture with specialisation in South Asia. Nonetheless, the case study presented in this chapter illustrates how strong forms of asymmetrical dependency influence and become visible in the art and architecture of the Jainas and of other faith groups in Karnataka.

[12] The conference titled "Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia" was organised by Julia A.B. Hegewald and brought together fifteen specialists. They presented aspects of their research work, concentrating on solid unequal dependencies in the art and architecture of South Asia (India and Nepal), the region of Tibet, the Silk Routes, mainland China and Japan. Thirteen papers were eventually included in the published conference volume, which is forthcoming in the publication series of the Cluster of Excellence (Julia A.B. Hegewald, ed., *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, Dependency and Slavery Studies [Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming]).

[13] In South Asia, it is likely that this has to do with a wide-spread belief in the concept of *karma*. Corresponding to this, rebirth into a modest and dependent position, such as a caste which is considered of lower rank, is to a certain extent understood to indicate the spiritual status and religious purity of an individual. Resulting from this perception, situations of strong dependency can be explained as reckonings for one's own actions in previous lives and resulting manifestations of one's own liability. Further details on the notion of *karma* can be found in Karel Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994): 86, and Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999): 95. For this reason, South Asian representations concentrate more strongly on noble divinities and individuals or groups of society who are judged to be purer and more high-ranking within the prevailing social system.

[14] See, for instance, the chapter by Gudrun Bühnemann, "Patterns of Dependency in the Buddhist Tantric Iconography of Nepal," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 237–49.

damaged or annexed icons or spaces, which dominant groups absorbed from dependant people, indicating asymmetrical power relations. Further areas of interest already briefly mentioned before are the various dependencies in which individual artists as well as artist communities find themselves.[15] Amongst others, they are dependent on the locally dominant climate and availability of resources for the production of art objects and edifices. They are further reliant on oral and written regulatory texts, religious, social, gender and artistic conventions, on customers and patrons and today, also on local and global art markets.

This working paper focusses on one specific case study: the intense asymmetrical dependencies suffered by the Jaina religious community in Karnataka between about the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. To lead into the topic, Chapter 3 below (Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka) provides a brief introduction to the origins of Jainism, its arrival, establishment and initial burgeoning in the region. This is followed by Chapters 4 and 5, which provide deliberate as well as unintended causes that led to the subsequent decline and suppression of the Jainas. Through these, the formerly prevailing Jaina community was relegated to a subordinate rank and became strongly dependent on other religions that became dominant throughout the region from the mid-twelfth century onwards. As will be shown in Chapter 6, these new ruling groups not only embezzled and mutilated Jaina sacred objects of worship and damaged or entirely crushed their temple structures and sacred centres, but also annexed and re-used their statues, sacred objects and temple edifices. In doing so, they integrated elements of Jaina religious tradition into their own culture. Through this, the culture of the newly governing factions of society also got transformed.

As the Jainas were vigorously pursued and, in many cases, forced to convert and even killed, this was life-changing for them. Furthermore, they were deprived of their economic, social and political position. This lasted not just for the four centuries of their active persecution—from the twelfth to about the fifteenth centuries—but in ample regions, much longer. In many areas and villages, the Jainas never regained any significant influence, politically, economically or from a religious point of view. Therefore, their situation can clearly be characterised as one of 'strong' or 'extreme' dependency.[16]

III. Jaina Religion, History and Culture in Karnataka

This section deals with the condition of the Jainas in Karnataka before these immense historic transformations took place. The first part briefly delineates the origins of Jainism in the north of India, its advent in the south, as well as reasons for its early popularity in the region during the early centuries CE. Further outlined are the period of flourishing and start of the decline of Jainism in the region.

[15] As association with a particular group of artisans has traditionally been dependent on caste and sub-caste attachment, artists are organised in guild-like groups.

[16] Bethany Walker has argued that 'Strong dependencies emerge when one actor cannot exit without the other'. and for this, the relationship between the two sides has to be 'heavily unequal' (Bethany J. Walker, "Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?," *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 2). For further thoughts on this, see also Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 8.

III.1. The Arrival of the Faith and its Popularity

If we were to start with the legendary arrival of Jainism in Karnataka and the South of India more generally, we have to commence our story in the north of the country. Jainism originated in the east Indian state of Bihar in about the fifth to sixth centuries BCE. In the fourth century BCE, an acute drought and grave famine affected the region and forced large parts of the population to flee the area, including the substantial local Jaina community. The Jainas emigrated into two main directions, the north-west and the south, which led to a split of the community and, subsequently, to a religious schism between the two main groups. Those who remained in the north largely formed the Śvetāmbara sect of Jainism, of which the ascetics wear simple white cotton robes. Those who went to the south essentially formed the Digambara subgroup, whose ascetic male members have no belongings and go naked.[17]

Traditional stories recounting the legendary arrival of Jainism in Karnataka in the fourth century BCE tell of the Jaina teacher Bhadrabāhu fleeing the north-eastern famine and travelling with a large group of Jaina followers to the south. According to local lore, he was accompanied by Candragupta Maurya, the grandfather of the famous emperor Aśoka. Links to the purported presence of these two prominent historical personalities can be found at numerous sites throughout the region (**Plate 1**). Edifices have been named after them, and later literary works also refer to this account.[18] However, the conversion of Candragupta to Jainism and the induction of the religion to Karnataka at this early age have been questioned by contemporary scholars.[19] Historically, it appears more likely that Jainism moved south from its place of origin in north-eastern Bihar, through Orissa and into Tamil Nadu, from where it was likely to have reached Karnataka during the early centuries of the Common Era, most probably in the second century CE.

[17] Today, the regional division between the two sections is no longer as clearly delineated. For further information on the schism and the differences between the two main sects, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, G+H-Verlag, 2009): 17–19.
[18] Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Deccan Heritage Foundation and Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 12, 54, 68–70.
[19] This has been discussed in more detailed by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 476–77, 319.

Plate 1: Amongst the sites connected with the alleged migration of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Maurya is the meditation and enlightenment cave of Bhadrabāhu on Candragiri at Vijayanagara.

III.2. Changing Fortunes in Karnataka

This initiated a period from the second until about the ninth century CE, in which Jainism became firmly established and proliferated extensively in Karnataka. One reason for the early popularity and increase in followers at this time appears to have been the positive influence of the Digambara subgroup of the Yāpanīyas. Although they were loyal to the key Digambara tenets, such as the rejection of garments by its male penitents, the Yāpanīyas are believed to have followed a more moderate form of the religion.[20] Thus, due to their general balanced approach, the Yāpanīyas are said to have played an important role in promoting Jainism and contributing to a wide-ranging communal coherence and harmony throughout the region. The latter point and the fact that the Jainas give the impression of having been well-integrated into the wider society during the early centuries of the

[20] Contrary to conventional Digambara opinion, they argued, for instance, that salvation is also achievable for women. As women are socially not permitted to wander naked, mainstream Digambara Jainas stress that they cannot give up all their belongings and worldly attachments, which, however, would be necessary for the attainment of deliverance. On this issue, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991). The position taken by the Yāpanīyas is therefore more akin to Śvetāmbara belief. This issue has been further deliberated by Aloka Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 213–43. In this context, it is intriguing that the Vīraśaivas, who replaced Jaina dominance in wide areas of Karnataka, also support the belief that women can reach enlightenment (Blake Michael, "Women of the Śūnyasaṃpādane: Housewives and Saints in Vīraśaivism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 2 [1983]: 361–68).

Common Era, is reflected in a number of inscriptions.[21] These indicated that the local Hindus also offered protection and assets for the founding and preservation of Jaina places of worship. The spread of Jainism appears to have been further supported by their ability to adapt to local circumstances.[22] As will be shown later in this chapter, Jainism persisted particularly well in the coastal area of western Karnataka, where it entered into a particularly intense dialogue and close relation with local and Hindu sacred practices.

Following this initial phase of arrival and establishment in Karnataka during the early centuries CE, Jainism thrived strongly from the ninth to about the eleventh centuries, a period, which has often been classified as a 'glorious' period or 'golden' age of Jainism in Karnataka.[23] Up to the early-twelfth century, the literature in the south was almost completely Jaina in origin. In this context, revered Jaina poets, such as Pampa, Ponna and Ranna, advanced the development of literature in south India. In the area of the visual and built arts, too, the simpler Gaṅgā design—as will be discussed in more detail in section 6.1. Modifications by Choice—was succeeded by the more opulent Hoysaḷa style. Many important statues were carved, new shrines raised and further pilgrimage centres inaugurated.

This period of great blossoming, however, was soon followed by difficulties, intimidations and persecution. During the second half of the eleventh century and at the start of the twelfth century, Jainism began to come under severe pressure. This resulted in a grave deterioration of power, the active discrimination against Jaina followers and their fight for survival in Karnataka. There is literary and physical evidence in the form of artistic and architectural proof, of this persecution. References to it can be found in Jaina as well as in Vīraśaiva literature and art.[24] Thus far, the ability of the Jainas to change and adapt to new or different circumstances has been highlighted as a constructive, positive proficiency. However, a religion which changes too much and progresses too far from its core ideas and beliefs risks losing its own identity and integrity in the end. The changes outlined in the following section illustrate that this seems to have been one of the problems that led to the loss of power and subjugation of the Digambara Jaina community in Karnataka, to a position of extreme asymmetrical dependency.

---

[21] For further information on the Yāpanīyas and their social standing, see P.N. Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka: Developments from the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 47–49; Shantinath Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis: A Historical Perspective," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 66; Parasher-Sen, "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan": 221–23; and Vatsala Iyengar, "Jaina Goddesses and their Worship in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 247.

[22] This capacity is even more pronounced in the proliferation and expansion of Buddhism, also beyond South Asia.

[23] R.V.S. Sundaram, for instance, calls this a 'glorious period'. See the chapter by R.V.S. Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 30–34.

[24] Sundaram provides substantial textual references, pointing to a clear weakening of Jaina power and the mistreatment of its followers from the early-twelfth century onwards. See the chapter by Sundaram on this issue (Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature": 29–37).

IV. Internal Modifications, Undermining the Resilience of Jainism

This subchapter examines the transformations that Jainism underwent from the tenth century onwards. Although these changes were voluntary and initiated by the Jainas themselves, they weakened the religion and its society from within and paved the way for the downgrading of this formerly dominant faith group to the unfortunate position of being a severely dependent player in the region.

During the so-called 'glorious' or 'golden' period of Jainism under the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi in the north[25] and the Hoysaḷas in the south of Karnataka from the early tenth century onwards, Jainism prospered. Royal patronage and the persistent support from influential traders and landowners led to the accumulation of enormous wealth by Jaina temple establishments. This capital had to be administered and new outlets found to invest the money in. This motivated the Jainas to undertake considerable changes in their religious organisation, the structure of their society and ritual practices.[26] Hence, the Digambara Jainas of Karnataka initiated and further elaborated monasteries as more permanent seats of learning, landownership and administration; castes that structured society hierarchically; and elaborate ritual practices conducted particularly in temple contexts.

If we examine these aspects in more detail, castes had initially been absent from the earlier, more simple form of the religion. The creation of castes led to a fragmentation into sub-groups, such as the Yāpanīyas. All these factions paid allegiance to different monastic institutions, the *maṭha*s. The unity of the Jaina population was diminished and this made it easier to further disintegrate and disempower the community.[27] Additionally, the Jainas developed more highly evolved temple rituals and enlarged the pantheon of divinities, which were venerated alongside the most important fully-enlightened human teachers, known as Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras, as well as other more abstract objects of veneration (**Plate 2**).[28] Whether this intensification of ritual practices and development of Tantric Jainism actually further debilitated Jainism remains questionable. Today, it is widely acknowledged that a 'pure' and abstract form of Jainism probably never existed.[29] Nevertheless, these changes undermined the distinct nature of Jaina custom and established firmer links with Hindu ritual practices. In contrast, one might argue that the integration of the images of gods and goddesses, which are more approachable than the fully-enlightened and detached Jinas, might have made Jainism more attractive to ordinary believers.[30] However, it is striking that the faith group that gained power most rapidly following the unseating of the

[25] The Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi are also known as the Later Western Cālukyas. They arose as an independent political power in the tenth century.

[26] On this topic, see Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 43–44.

[27] In their openness towards women, for instance, the Yāpanīyas were in some ways more appealing to followers than conventional Jainism with its more fixed rules. Although the Yāpanīyas did not endanger majority Digambara Jainism, they contributed to a diversification and internal segregation of the Jaina community, which some scholars argue, eventually destabilised and reduced Digambara unity in Karnataka. On this issue, see, for instance, the chapter by Narasimha Murthy, "History of Jainism in Karnataka": 38–62.

[28] For a discussion of the different kinds of figures and objects, venerated in a Jaina sacred context, see Chapter 3 by Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 63–125.

[29] Paul Dundas has written on this topic (Paul Dundas, *The Jains* [London and New York: Routledge, 1992]: 182). See also Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 94, 107.

[30] On this issue, see Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India*: 92.

Jainas were the Vīraśaivas. At least officially, they reject all ritual practices and objects of veneration, besides the small stone *liṅga*, which its followers carry around their neck, chest or upper arm.[31] Many of the changes, such as the maintenance of running *maṭha*s, large pilgrimage centres with complex temple structures and regularly prescribed rituals, could only be sustained during the period in which Jaina religious institutions had amassed enormous wealth and land for their financing.

Plate 2: As part of the voluntary changes which the Jainas undertook on their own religion, they expanded the number of deities and statues displayed in their temples, as can be seen at Mudabidri.

From the early-twelfth century, there was a decline in the support of influential royal families and wealthy merchants and landowners in the region. Simultaneously, resentment against the originally ascetically-minded but now often prosperous and dominant Jaina elite led to confrontations and conversions to other religions, and this reduced the financial and political influence of the Jainas even further. This resulted in discrimination, communal violence and outright attacks on Jaina religious institutions and Jaina followers themselves.

[31] Whilst ordinary worshippers carry a small black stone or raisin *liṅga* tied to a thread or contained in a small cloth sachet or sliver container, there are also more elaborate necklaces. Frequently, they integrate *rudrākṣa* (alternatively: *rudrākṣi*) beads and elaborate metal boxes, containing the *liṅga,* into their design. *Rudrākṣa* garlands of seeds are generally sacred to Śiva and used to make rosaries for prayer. Amongst the Vīraśaivas, the *liṅga* as the divine principle is also referred to as *iṣṭaliṅga.*

V. Interactions with Other Faith Groups

In addition to the voluntary or internal changes, which in the long-term weakened the Jaina community, the period of stability from the tenth century onwards was soon disturbed and threatened by external, non-Jaina forces as well. These arrived mainly in the form of one newly-founded local as well as other incoming religious groups coming from further afield.

Especially pronounced was the influence of the novel religious movement of the so-called 'heroic Śaivas', the Vīraśaivas. Alternatively, they are known as the Liṅgāyats, meaning 'the bearers of the *liṅga*'. This is a faith group that was founded by the religious leader Basava within Karnataka at the start of the twelfth century.[32] In his book, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Henry Cousens wrote 'The Liṅgāyats were particularly hostile towards the Jains, and wherever they could, they appropriated their temples as well as those of the orthodox Hindus'.[33] This statement stresses the difference between mainstream Hindus on the one hand and Vīraśaivism on the other, as distinct creeds. Additionally, local Śaivas and Kāḷāmukhas also gained power.[34] In the fifteenth century, the powerful and expanding cult of the Vīraśaivas absorbed the Kāḷāmukhas.[35] Following the communal unrest, persecution and appropriation of their sacred sites,[36] the Jainas became a minority in Karnataka, with different Śaiva denominations above all increasing in numbers and authority, posing active threats to Digambara Jainism in the region.

Aside from the largely local, internal strife with Śaivas and Vīraśaivas, other religious groups also penetrated the area. Whilst the Vīraśaivas are *bhakti* followers of Śiva, *bhakti* groups focussing on the worship of Viṣṇu, such as the Śrīvaiṣṇavas, also moved into Karnataka from Tamil Nadu.[37] This began in the middle of the twelfth century and increased towards the thirteenth-century. From the north, Muslim groups also moved into the area from the late thirteenth century onwards.[38] All these different religious groups acted as additional

[32] In reality, Basava probably strongly reformed an earlier form of the faith, which appears to have been called Liṅgāyatism. The reformed version of the religion from the time of Basava is more regularly referred to as Vīraśaivism.

[33] Refer to Henry Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series (Government of India, 1926 [reis.: New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996]): 13.

[34] On this subject, see Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis": 70. The Kāḷāmukhas, meaning 'black-faced', were an extreme Śaiva sect, mainly prevalent in South India between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries CE. Their followers worshipped the goddess Kali and her consort Śiva in his manifestation as Bhairava. The name 'black-faced' relates to the practice of their followers, who bore a black line or mark on their foreheads. The Kāḷāmukhas are a southern Indian Tantric offshoot of one of the oldest Śaiva sects, the Pāśupatas. (Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage of Southern India and Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 22–23.

[35] Refer to Hegewald, "Introduction: The Jaina Heritage of Southern India and Karnataka": 23.

[36] This has been outlined in detail by Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis": 67–72.

[37] *Bhakti* means 'love' or devotion'. The *bhaktimārga* is 'the path of devotion', an emotional path, leading to salvation. It consists of practicing love and devotion to a personal divinity, usually given shape in a physical representation. For further details, see K. Sharma, *Bhakti and the Bhakti Movement: A New Perspectiv*e (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987), Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism*: 42, and Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism*: 36.

[38] After the fourteenth century, a part of the Deccan came under the Baḥmani Sultanate, and then under five

rivalling forces and upset the previous relative equilibrium where the Jainas had been dominant, followed by the mainstream Hindus.

The discussion so far has shown that in the Jaina collapse into severe dependency, internal and external factors came together. The fact that Vīraśaivas played an important role in trade and rapidly started to control mercantile activities throughout the area appears to have accelerated the speedy conversion to Vīraśaivism of the ruling Jaina families of landowners and other important economic players heading trade guilds. This had devastating consequences for the maintenance of Jaina temples and funding of expensive ceremonies, as conversions of formerly generous donors resulted in the withdrawal of their financial support. With the conversion of such significant players to new religious cults, the population followed suit. We know that even Jaina monks, who were in charge of often substantial properties, were oftentimes more concerned with their recently acquired worldly powers and estates than preserving the unity and authority of the Jaina religion. Because of the immense religious and political importance that temples had for the community, and also as they were centres of wealth, these edifices were usually the first to come under siege in the strife for sovereignty in the region.[39] In this fight for hegemony, all the religious groups—Vīraśaivas, Śaivas, Śrīvaiṣṇavas, Kāḷāmukhas and Muslims—participated in damaging, destroying and absorbing the Jaina cultural assets.[40] Recorded throughout the region are countless glorifications of conversions of Jainas and their temple structures.

VI. Indications of Change and Dependency in Jaina Icons and Temples

We have outlined both internal religious adjustments taking place in Jainism itself, as well as confrontations with new and incoming religious denominations, which had a marked effect on the unity, stability and authority of the Jaina faith. These transformations are also reflected in material remnants, such as the venerated statues and temple architecture. Due to their transformed outlook on life and religious practices, the Jainas modified their sacred edifices and increased the number of their images and other objects of worship. In the confrontations with other religions, these icons and temples were targeted in the violent attacks.

VI.1. Modifications by Choice

In the same way that Jainism as a religion, its practices, organisation and self-understanding were reformed by the Jainas, there were also controlled and deliberate changes which the Jainas themselves undertook regarding their sculpted figures and sacred edifices. These

---

later *sultān*s.

[39] For further details, consult the chapter on temple destructions by Dibbad, "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina Basadis": 63–76.

[40] Two former Jaina temples in Karnataka which have been converted by Vīraśaivas have been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald in a joint chapter with Subrata K. Mitra (Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared: The Politics of Appropriation, Re-Use and Regional State Traditions in India," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP)* 36 (2008): 1–37, http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/8015. See in particular, 22–29.

iconographic and architectural amendments become especially visible from the second half of the twelfth century onwards.[41] This was a period when the situation of the Jainas, although beginning to deteriorate, was still reasonably favourable and the hostilities had not yet reached its apex. Nevertheless, these alterations are by no means merely superficial, caused by artistic influences and modifications in style. The makeover of the art and architecture mirrors the broad changes in Jaina society, philosophy and religious outlook.

In terms of the Jaina icons, the pantheon increased substantially. Whilst there were no additions to the group of twenty-four enlightened teachers—the venerated Jinas—the number of gods and goddesses became substantially larger and their significance and standing within religious practice increased. The female goddesses (*devī*s) especially, also referred to as *yakṣī*s or mothers (*mātā*s), gained in influence.[42] Whilst before, they served as subsidiary divinities in temples dedicated to the Jinas, now, large temples dedicated to them as major objects of veneration were erected.

In the architecture, the modifications were even more noticeable, especially with regards to temple structures. In Karnataka, Jaina temples were referred to as *basti*s or *basadi*s. The earlier Jaina shrines of the Gaṅgā period (ca. fourth to eleventh centuries) reveal a strongly functional and utilitarian character and mirror a form of the religion, which propagated an ascetic life-style. With the increase in power and affluence, the creation of monasteries and enhanced economic influence of temples, the socio-religious values of the Jainas changed. This was also reflected in the style of the Jaina temples, dating from the subsequent Hoysaḷa period (ca. eleventh to fourteenth centuries). In contrast to the earlier shrines that were plain and simple, the Hoysaḷa structures displayed a larger expanse of decoration and ornamentation. Visually, the later temples expressed a more pronounced interest in decorative beauty and displayed a more worldly attitude. One of the most elaborate temple examples that expressed this move from the ascetic cubical shrines of the Gaṅgās to the more elaborate and ornamental temple exteriors associated with the Hoysaḷas, was the Śāntināth Basti at Jinanathapura (Jinanāthapura).[43] On this temple, the outside niches were filled with many statues. Even though this unique amount of figural representations was rare in a Jaina context, it became more common to have highly ornate mouldings and pilasters, elaborately framed niches and richly decorated roofs.

[41] On this issue, see, for instance, the entire chapter by M.S. Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture in Southern Karnataka: From the Beginning to c. 1300 CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 95–115.

[42] The concept of the sacred mother refers to earlier fertility cults and still survives in the concept of the seven or eight sacred mothers.

[43] Whereas Krishna Murthy explains this as representative of the general changes that took place in the religious attitudes, practice and architectural approach of the Jainas (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 112), Del Bontà argues for more personal reasons by the local patron of the temple (Robert J. Del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 121, 123–25). In the context of the changed self-understanding of the Jaina community, I am more inclined to support Krishna Murthy's interpretation, although personal reasons, too, might have played a certain role, as this temple is exceptionally ornate. The first time a place name is mentioned, its local spelling, including diacritical marks, is given if this differs from the English spelling.

VI.2. External Influences on Jaina Temple Architecture

Even more noticeable than the voluntary stylistic changes was the influence of external forces, such as other faith groups, on the design of Jaina temple architecture. Religions which had just gained in power in the region removed and desecrated the icons, damaged and entirely destroyed temples, but also re-used and adapted them for their own ritual needs. As outlined above, the period starting with the early-twelfth century was marked by religious strife and loss of power of the Jainas in most parts of Karnataka. In this context, large numbers of sacred places, which were centres of prosperity and also social and political hubs, were looted and devastated. In the following, the effects these had on Jaina icons and religious architecture are outlined.

VI.2.1. Removal, Desecration and Disfigurement of Jaina Statues

The icons housed inside Jaina temples represent the focal elements of the sacred sites. Therefore, they were usually targeted first during the violent assaults. As part of these religiously motivated attacks, different approaches were taken towards the sacred images. Whilst in some cases, the figural representations were removed entirely, in others, they were desecrated or mutilated in varying degrees.[44] Only very rarely were such disfigured icons later repaired by the Jainas.

Large numbers of Jaina temples were robbed of their central religious sculptures. This can be seen in the Śāntīśvara Basti at Nittur (Niṭṭūr), whose initial icon was removed and only replaced much later, during more peaceful periods.[45] At other sites, the stolen statues were never replaced, as illustrated by most of the Jaina temples in the village of Aihole (Aihoḷe) (**Plate 3**). The only items that remained in these cases were the frequently very beautifully carved and ornate image platforms (*siṁhāsana*), but lacking the principal statue for which they were originally carved.[46] If the images were taken away, the religious edifices were frequently spared, as the elimination of the most sacred objects of worship sufficed to render them religiously and politically ineffective. This situation can be observed at Bhatkal (Bhaṭakaḷa) in the coastal region of Karnataka, where the Candranāteśvara Basti was not re-consecrated after all its images had been stolen, although the edifice itself was only slightly damaged. Of particular interest were the metal figures, which could be melted down and recast to form other statues or non-religious artefacts, such as jewellery, coins and armoury. Precious stones, which have often been inlaid into Jaina icons, were also extracted and recycled in new settings.[47]

---

[44] In chapter 6.3.2, the re-use of Jaina sacred icons will also be discussed.

[45] On this, see K.V. Soundara Rajan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300: The Deccan and South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 318.

[46] This can, for instance, be seen in a destroyed Jaina temple in the village of Aihole. When Cousens visited the temple in the early 1920s, an unusual statue—not clearly identifiable—possibly the image of a *yakṣa*, had been placed on the seat. According to Cousens, the figure was obviously not the original one made for the pedestal (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*: 49, Fig. 14). In 2001, when I visited the temple, the pedestal was empty.

[47] For a discussion of the concept of 'recycling' in an art historical context, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Sse: The Art*

Plate 3: During the time of struggle, large numbers of venerated icons were removed from their pedestals in the main shrine rooms of Jaina temples, and they remain empty to the present day, as seen here at Aihole.

Illustrating a second approach are instances where the images were left behind but desecrated. To dishonour them, they were removed from their raised altars and placed onto the dusty ground (**Plate 4**). Icons of all Indic religious groups should be elevated above the floor to signal their purity and significance. In their new Śaiva or Vīraśaiva setting, they were also often smeared with sacred ashes (*vibhūti*), signalling the conversion and annexation of the temple and its sacred images.[48] An example can be seen in the former Jaina temple at Hallur (Haḷḷūr), which was converted by the Vīraśaivas (Plate 4).[49] Alternatively, the statues

and Politics of Integration and Anxiety, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 32.

[48] Blake Michael, *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect: A Typological Analysis of Ritual and Associational Patterns in the Śūnyasaṃpādane* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992): 84 mentions five so-called 'supports' in Vīraśaivism, which he calls 'the minor sacramental substances'. The fourth substance is *vibhūti*, sacred ash, prepared in a complex process from cow dung. The end product is used to mark the forehead with a dot or with horizontal lines known as signs (*tilaka*). These denote the belonging of a person or a statue to Vīraśaivism.

[49] For further details on this converted temple, see the discussion by Hegewald in the two pieces by Hegewald and Mitra (Hegewald and Mitra, "Jagannatha Compared": 1–37; Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra, eds. "The Past in the Present: Temple Conversions in Karnataka and Appropriation and Re-Use in Orissa," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra [New Delhi: Sage

were physically mutilated. This was also done to figures decorating the outer facades of the temples. In the shrine at Hallur, the Jaina statues immediately flanking the entrance were partially damaged. On the image to the west one of its arms was removed and on the one to the east, the face was sliced off.[50] The disfigurement of the face of a sacred image is an especially pronounced gesture.[51]

Plate 4: Other images were taken down from their altars, placed on the ground and tarnished with white ash to vandalise them and signal the Vīraśaiva annexation of the sacred temple space as, for instance, at Hallur.

Even more powerful than the damage or defacement of a statue is its full decapitation, illustrating the third method of defilement. This can, for instance, be seen in the first-floor shrine of the deserted Meguḍi Temple on the hill at Aihole. Whilst the halo of the statue has been preserved, the head has been cut off, with the remaining circular mandorla further

Publishers, 2012]: 55–85).

[50] The deformity of these statues has also been highlighted by Michael Meister and M.A. Dhaky, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India—Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Early Phase, A.D. 550–1075)*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986): 147, and by K.M. Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi," *in The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 110.

[51] This practice is also known from an Islamic context. During acts of mutilation, the faces and, in the case of female sculptures, the breasts were frequently marred.

emphasising the lost body part. As the statue is still present but has been severely maimed, this is an especially poignant specimen. From a ritual viewpoint, the elimination of the head prevents devotees from gazing into the eyes, which although less important in a Digambara than in a Śvetāmbara context, still bears strong significance in Jaina worship. Furthermore, such intensely marred icons can never be re-consecrated again. At times, the beheaded figures were displayed at the front of temples to signal their takeover to anybody approaching the site. There are still a number of places where, even after the regaining of control and re-consecration of the shrines by the Jainas, such disfigured statues are still kept on display. These serve as stirring reminders of the violent times the community endured and survived. Their subsistence is taken as a proof of the strength and ultimate superiority of the Jaina faith. A poignant example is the headless torso of a seated statue of a Tīrthaṅkara placed on view at the front of the temple neighbouring the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi (Lakkuṇḍi).[52] Moreover, the detached limbs and heads, which were chopped off sacred icons, were also put on display in the context of Jaina shrines. Examples are kept in the framed outer niches of the Anantanātha Basti in Lakshmeshvar (Lakṣmeśvara). Other mutilated statues are found leaning against the facades of temple edifices, gateway structures and their compound walls (**Plate 5**). At first, it was the local dominant powers' agents who violated Jaina icons and exhibited them as signs of suppression and control. Later, they were kept in place by the Jainas themselves, as powerful aides-mémoires of the hostility and carnage they and their sacred sites of worship had been subjected to. Therefore, it is very uncommon for such damaged statues to have been repaired. However, during the preparations for the 2018 Mahāmastakābhiṣeka, Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Bhānu Kīrtti Svāmījī commissioned the restoration of the statues placed in the outer niches of the temple and the gateway at the Pañcakūṭa Basti at Kambadhalli (Kambadhallī). In this instance, the reinstated elements were moulded out of grey plaster, which can clearly be differentiated from the original yellow sandstone of the stone sculptures. It appears that this has less to do with modern Western restoration practices surrounding the idea of 'authenticity', than with the Jaina approach of preserving historically suffered 'wounds'. This victory of survival is taken as a reconfirmation of the strength and, to a certain extent, also the superiority of the Jaina faith.[53]

[52] Displayed alongside the mutilated Jina icons are small stone images, which look like statues of Nandī, the vehicle of Śiva or a symbolic representation of Basava and of Gaṇeśa, the son of the Hindu god Śiva. It is not entirely clear whether these indicate a Hindu period of occupation which has ended and which the Jaina community is remembering through this ensemble, or whether it points towards a looting of all the temples at the site—both Jaina and Hindu—by another religious force. Unfortunately, it is often difficult to obtain precise information about attacks on sites due to the sensitivity of the issue and the wish of the informants not to accuse any community as the culprit, and today, to live together as much in harmony as possible.

[53] Only rarely have the new occupiers of annexed Jaina temples converted or appropriated the statues to reflect representations more fitting of their own specific mythology or religious system. These will be discussed in section 6.3.2., Re-using Icons and Sacred Objects, in this chapter.

Plate 5: Mutilated Jinas and other sacred statues were put on display by newly dominant groups—as can be seen at Kambadhalli—and often kept in place later by the Jainas as reminders of the wrongs they had suffered.

VI.2.2. Destruction and Re-Construction of Temples

With regard to how the new dominating religious powers dealt with the Jaina statues, we have discussed the theft, desecration and various degrees of mutilation of images. However, the temple edifices housing these icons were also targeted in these violent conflicts. Here again, we can identify a number of distinct methods.

Plate 6: Ruined Jaina temples, as at Vijayanagara, can be found throughout the region and are the result of military assaults and neglect due to a loss in influence which the Jainas suffered from the twelfth century onwards.

In one approach, the temple structures were severely damaged or even demolished. Completely impaired structures and the foundations of entirely levelled Jaina temples can be found throughout the region of Karnataka (**Plate 6**). Such annihilations have been attributed to Muslims but particularly to Vīraśaivas. Basava, in one of his famous religious sayings (*vacana*s), pronounces 'Things standing shall fall, but the moving ever shall stay' (*Vacana* 820).[54] In a Vīraśaiva context, the 'moving' appear to be the practitioners themselves, who follow the religion by carrying the symbol of the divine principle, the *liṅga*, on their own body.[55] The human body of the follower is argued to replace the need for any temples. It seems that, obeying Basava's wish to bring to a fall the shrines of other religions, large numbers of Jaina shrines were completely devastated. At Chikka Hanasoge (Chikka-

[54] See A.K. Ramanujan, *Speaking of Śiva* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973 [reis.: 1985]): 88.

[55] Besides ordinary worshippers, 'the moving' also relates to the so-called 'Moving One', the *jaṅgamana*, the enlightened sage who has, by fusing with the *liṅga*, turned his body into a moving temple. According to Vīraśaiva teachings, the human body is the true temple (John Bowker, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* [Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 (reis. 1999)]: 581). *Liṅga*, *jaṅgamana* and *guru*, the enlightened sage heading a *maṭha*, form a central trinity in the Vīraśaiva faith. Due to the importance of moving and walking in this religion, the shoes worn by their saints were placed on funerary monuments (*samādhi*) and kept in their religious headquarters, the *maṭha*s, where they receive special veneration (Tiziana Lorenzetti, "The Cult of Feet and Footwear in the Liṅgāyat Tradition: Symbology and Peculiarities," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020]: 344–52).

Haṇasoge), there is one very well-preserved temple, the large and complex Ādinātha Trikūṭa Basti. However, according to local knowledge, there were another sixty-four temples at the site, most of them Jaina. It is said that they were shattered in religiously motivated attacks, leaving no trace of them above the ground.[56] For some sacred structures, we have clear epigraphic records informing us of their destruction. The famous sixteenth-century inscription from Mulgund (Muḷgund), near Dharwar, portrays the annihilation of the local Pārśvanātha Jinālaya by Muslim armies, and the martyrdom of Ācārya Sahasra Kīrtti, who was killed in the assault.[57] A particularly interesting case is the Ādinātha Basti (1589 CE) in Srirangapatnam (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa). The large number of statues on display inside the temple are said to have come from supposedly one thousand and eight completely destroyed Jaina shrines in the area.[58] These are understood to have been wrecked by the Muslim, Malik Kafur, a general of 'Alau'd-Dīn Khiljī.[59] The Jaina re-use of their own icons from other sites is relatively rare.[60] The icons were frequently buried in the ground to protect them from theft and desecration by approaching armies and thugs. Previously buried and exhumed, as well as returned looted icons were not usually re-consecrated. It appears that somehow, they were considered to be stained or disempowered. This can be seen in the Pārśvanātha Jaina Temple at Bijapur, whose main black marble statue of Mahāvīra was concealed in the ground to protect it from the Islamic assaults on the site. When it was brought back to light, it was only displayed in the porch of an adjacent small shrine and not reinstated as a main sacred image (*mūlanāyaka*). Above entirely crushed Jaina temples, new buildings could be erected by other religious groups, or later even by the Jaina community itself. In actual fact, it is very common to observe such a continuity of sacred sites.[61] The flattening of temples of one religious denomination and their replacement with a structure associated with a different faith can be a powerful political statement.[62]

---

[56] This information is based on a personal communication with local Jaina families at Chikka Hanasoge in 2001.

[57] The inscription states that Ācārya Sahasra Kīrtti remained inside the temple and died when it was set alight. On this, see P.B. Desai, ed., *South-Indian Inscriptions*, vol. 15, *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964): 433, inscription no. 695, and K.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 365. This act of self-sacrifice is interpreted as a demonstration of extreme non-violence (*ahiṃsā*), one of the main tenets of the Jaina faith.

[58] One thousand and eight is a number perceived as sacred and auspicious by most indigenous religious groups in South Asia and is often used when a particularly large amount is referred to.

[59] This information is based on personal communications with the Jaina family caring for the temple in Srirangapatnam and with neighbouring Jaina families in 2001. Malik Kafur defeated the Hoysaḷa King Ballāla II in Tamil Nadu (James C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, The Pelican History of Art [Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1986]: 261) and Karnataka (Krishna Murthy, "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture": 114).

[60] This is a case of 'conventional re-use', in which an object is used for the same purpose without a change in function. The only aspect which changed is the particular named temple in which the statues are venerated. For more information on the concept of conventional re-use, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 31–34.

[61] On this issue, see Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 34.

[62] Cases of such utter destruction and complete rebuilding, often recycling the building materials taken from the wiped-out structures, are also known from an early Islamic context in India. This has been discussed in the chapter by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty," in '*Das alles hier*' *Festschrift für Konrad Klaus zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrike Niklas, Heinz Werner Wessler, Peter Wyzlic and Stefan Zimmer (Heidelberg: Xasia eBooks, 2021): 151–74.

In most instances of complete destructions of sacred buildings, local legends name a culprit. However, some structures may have also degenerated and collapsed due to general negligence, such as the abandonment suffered after voluntary or enforced conversions away from Jainism. Other sites and temples were discarded for different reasons. The city of Vijayanagara, for instance, was abandoned when the empire collapsed in the middle of the seventeenth century. Whilst the local Hindu structures have generally been restored and well-maintained by the Archaeological Survey of India, only a few of the originally numerous Jaina edifices at the site have been preserved. Only the Pārśvanātha Temple and the Gaṇagitti Temple, in neighbouring Kamalapura (Kāmalāpur), have been completely refurbished and well-maintained. Most other Jaina structures at the site have fallen into a state of grave decay and are no longer in use (Plate 6).

At some sites, completely broken temples, which were of particular significance for the community, were later rebuilt. A striking example is the Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar, raised under the Kalyāṇi Cāḷukyas in the eleventh century.[63] The attack on this temple was so ferocious that its fabric was ground down to minute stone fragments. Therefore, an authentic re-construction of the original structure was not possible. Small wall segments and sculptural remains were fitted together in a fairly random manner (**Plate 7**). The result was an edifice that very strongly reflected the aggression and scars from the past.[64] At other sites, only selected former building elements, such as thresholds, doorframes or altars were integrated into the largely new temple buildings. The Śrī Śanteśvara Svāmī Digambara Jaina Basti in Mysore is characteristic of this situation. Although the fabric of the temple dates from the twentieth century, it preserved some ancient doorframes, integrating elaborate lintels and life-size statues of door guardians (*dvārapāla*s).[65] The Jaina community, however, also demolishes their own temples to replace them with pristine new structures. In Karnataka, this can be seen at Dharmasthala. Originally, the Candranātha Basti was a mostly wooden structure, which was torn down and entirely rebuilt in concrete, clad with marble panels sometime between 2000 and 2005.[66]

[63] For more information on this temple, see Soundara Rajan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300": 312–13.

[64] It is fascinating that the Lakṣmīliṅgeśvara Temple at Lakshmeshvar, which is at least today under Hindu control, also represents as much of a building patch-work as the Śaṅkha Jinālaya. On the basis of the present remains, it is not entirely clear whether a Jaina and Hindu temple were destroyed by Vīraśaivas or Islamic troupes moving into the area or whether possibly both were Jaina to start with but one was reconstructed by the Hindus. Dhaky does not refer to this or the destruction of the temple in his brief discussion (M.A. Dhaky, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India—Upper Drāviḍadēśa [Later Phase, A.D. 973–1326]*, 2 vols. [New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996]: 173). The reverse case, where the Jainas re-consecrated a destroyed former Hindu temple after Muslim assaults, can be seen at Khajuraho. This has been discussed in the article by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Architectural, Sculptural and Religious Change: A New Interpretation of the Jaina Temples at Khajuraho," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies, vol. 1, ed. P. Flügel (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 401–18.

[65] In addition, the temple houses a sizeable collection of medieval Jaina metal statues.

[66] Kurt Titze has published a photograph of the earlier wooden structure which must have been taken before the publication of his book in 1998 (Kurt Titze, *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* [Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998]: 223, plate 318).

Plate 7: The Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar illustrates the attempt at re-construction of a severely damaged Jaina temple where, due to the violence of the attack, a faithful rebuilding could not be done.

VI.3. Re-Using Icons, Sacred Objects and Edifices

We have discussed stolen, dishonoured and damaged images, as well as completely flattened, rigorously impaired and reconstructed temples. Another approach taken by rival religious groups who wished to establish new religious and worldly orders was to absorb and adapt icons and sacred spaces. Sculptures and shrines were converted by different faith groups and, by doing so, they were re-used in a changed religious context and invested with new meanings. Through this, often ancient and treasured objects and architectural spaces were preserved and continued to play important roles as valued cultural relics. These remained to bear an active influence on the local culture and identity. Soundara Rajan writes regarding the shattered but reconstructed and re-consecrated Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi: 'Even in their utter desolation and nominal worship, the temple-ruins present a grandeur befitting its [their] famed past from the sixth to the thirteenth century'.[67] For those robbed of their valued places of veneration, however, such temples harbour traumatic memories and act as lasting reminders of the degradation, theft, destruction and conversion. In Karnataka, there are particularly many cases of temple changeovers and conversion from Jaina to Vīraśaiva ownership. There are examples where no Jaina remnants have been preserved and it is only the evidence that Vīraśaivism simply did not exist in its reformed state before the twelfth century which reveals that an annexation of a former

[67] For this quote, refer to Soundara Rajan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300": 315.

Jaina temple must have taken place. However, there are also edifices that continue to display obvious Jaina elements and where the act of reappropriation has not been completely masked. The most famous Jaina temple site in the region which has been converted is Sringeri. Formerly, a Jaina temple since the fourteenth century, it is one of the most celebrated Hindu religious centres in Karnataka.[68] The Muslims, too, seized Jaina temples and adjusted them to fit their own ritual practices.[69]

VI.3.1. Methodologies in the Re-Use of Architecture

Generally, we can identify three approaches which were followed in the re-use of Jaina temples in Karnataka. Structures characteristic of the first approach clearly expose the fact of annexation. Those belonging to the second carefully aim to conceal the act of appropriation and pretend that the shrines were raised by its most recent users. Those temples falling into the third and last group follow a less conscious and clearly delineated tactic. Here, certain elements, characteristic of the previous religious users, have been coarsely removed but not replaced with new ornaments or symbols that would be more fitting of the latest owners. Let us examine some examples to illustrate the points more clearly.

Converted shrines belonging to the first class are by and large reasonably unusual. However, a perfect example of a confident annexation, which is not hiding this fact, is the already mentioned Meguḍi Temple at Hallur, converted by Vīraśaivas. Very prominent statues of naked Jaina ascetics have been preserved on the facades of the temple. Only those statues immediately flanking the entrance to the structure show slight impairments. Nevertheless, they are still clearly identifiable as Jaina figures and, as such, form elements which do not belong in a Vīraśaiva environment. The nude icons embellishing the outside of this forcefully converted temple appear like war trophies, exhibited to disgrace the Jaina faith and its venerated saints.

Re-used temples, where the Jaina foundation is less clear, are more common. In a way, the second and third approaches only illustrate two degree of how vigilantly the conversion was handled. There are examples where the attackers took great care to eradicate all obvious hints pointing to a Jaina origin. Acting as helpful identifiers for the religious identification of temples are the statues—in a Jaina context, frequently Jinas—and ornaments that have been carved onto the lintels (*lalāṭabimba*) leading into the temples and shrine rooms. In adapted buildings, such denominational markers have often been eliminated. In instances where no *lalāṭabimba*s were present in the first place, where they have been carefully removed and the area has been polished to eliminate all traces, or where an entire lintel has been replaced to show symbols of the latest users, it is difficult to prove the annexation of a temple without written and historical evidence.

[68] This is based on personal conversations with Prof. Dr. Robert Zydenbos in Munich in 2005, and with a number of local informants during fieldwork in Karnataka between 2001 and 2007.

[69] See, for instance, Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity," *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 9 [special issue on Jainism, guest editor: Prof. Aloka Parasher-Sen].

In most cases, the third approach was taken, in which the *lalāṭabimba*s have been chiselled away quite crudely. In this middle way, the former images and symbols have been removed, but the fact that the original denomination of the temple was altered is not completely hidden. Two good examples illustrating this technique are the former Jaina Temple at Hangal (Hāngal) and the Pārśvanātha Temple at Annigeri (Aṇṇīgeri). In both, the icons adorning the lintels to the sanctum of the temple have been coarsely removed.[70] Well-defined iconographic elements indicating the religious denomination of a structure are, however, not only found inside temples but also on the lintels above entranceways. Even though the outer walls of Jaina temples are often quite sparsely decorated, figural images have often been incorporated into the parapets and roof structures of halls, and more elaborate superstructures found above the shrines. These representations were also frequently eradicated during the conversion of temples. Most of these small statues adorning the roof of what is today the Vīr Nārāyaṇ Hindu Temple, a Viṣṇu shrine at Gadag, were removed and only a very small number of Jina statues can still be found in more hidden places. These clearly indicate the original Jaina nature of the temple.[71] Another example is the former Jaina temple at Pattadakal (Paṭṭadakal). Today, the shrine houses a prominent *liṅga*, whilst its initial sculptural panels were removed. A reasonable clean-up was easily possible in the context of this temple, as it appears that its iconographic scheme did not contain unique Jaina imagery. Cousens commented on this temple as follows:

> There are no dedicatory blocks over the doors, and the only indications to show that it was a Jaina temple are two little images of seated Jainas, one halfway up the back or west side, and one on the north side of the tower. To this might be added the negative evidence that there are no Brahmanical images about the building. (1996: 72)

Another example of this approach is the Nāganātha Temple—which today is dedicated to Śiva—which still bears icons of Jinas in its roof structure (**Plate 8**). On the inside, the empty pedestal (formerly of Pārśvanātha) has been fitted with a *liṅga* as new religious icon.[72] These examples demonstrate the middle or third approach, which neither publicises nor disguises the fact that a takeover and change in denomination has taken place.

[70] The Pārśvanātha Temple at Annigeri is a fascinating example, where although many images on the door lintels have been chiselled away, indicating at least a temporary take over or at least a sectarian attack, today, it is again used as a sacred place of Jaina worship. An image of a Jina flanked by elephants, which strongly resembles a representation of *gajalakṣmī*, was not removed, although it is located above the main entrance to the temple. It appears that this image is so close to a Hindu concept that it could be appropriated. There are a few temples where the coarsely removed images adorning the door lintels are more puzzling. Amongst these are the temples on Hemakutta (Hemakūṭam) Hill at Vijayanagara, which appear to have been conceived as Hindu but where the *lalāṭabimba* have been removed as well. It is not entirely clear whether these were actually Jaina and whether the outside Hindu statues and decorations have been added later, or whether this was a change-over from mainstream Hindu to Vīraśaiva usage.

[71] More obviously, Jaina is the prominent *mānastambha*, with an empty image pavilion standing in front of the temple. Also common in a Jaina context is the lotus altar at its side.

[72] This fits especially well, as both Pārśvanātha and Śiva are closely associated with snakes, depicted on the back of the pedestal.

Plate 8: Temples such as the Nāganātha Temple at Lakkundi frequently still bear small Jaina statues in their roof decorations, which continue to indicate the original dedication of converted temples.

The previous temple is not the only that had been provided with a new icon after the most prominent remnants of the former denomination were removed.[73] Jaina temples which were converted to Vīraśaivism have generally been endowed with a *liṅga* in their main sanctum (*garbhagṛha*). Facing this, placed in the vestibule (*antarāla*) or adjacent hall, are usually small statues of Nandī, the bull associated with Śiva and with Basava.[74] This can be seen in the Virūpāksha and other former Jaina temples of the Cāraṇṭī Maṭha group at Aihole. In former Jaina temples which have further shrines on raised levels, typically only the lower sanctum has been supplied with new Vīraśaiva statues after their transformation. The shrines on raised floor levels have, in most cases, been retained but are usually empty and no longer in use. A good example again is the former Jaina temple at Hallur. These abandoned higher shrines do not form part of the new ritual practices of the converted

[73] Jainas themselves also at times change the specific dedication of their temples. For instance, the Maṅgāyi Basti in the village of Shravanabelgola today houses a statue of Pārśvanātha, although an inscription on the lintel identifies it as Anantanātha. There are many more instances where today, the name of a temple does not reflect the identity of the principal enshrined statue.

[74] This can be seen in the converted Jaina temple at Hangal, in Jaina Temple no. 7 in Aihole and in the Meguḍi Temple at Hallur. In the latter two temples, the *lalāṭabimba* statues have been coarsely removed as well.

temple. This is because Vīraśaiva practice is less ritualistic and does not involve many statues.

VI.3.2. Re-Using Icons and Sacred Objects

Thus far, we have focussed on the annexation of architectural spaces or empty altars. However, statues and other sacred objects housed in the context of Jaina shrines were also taken over, rededicated and sanctified anew by other faith groups. Despite their existence, such cases are reasonably rare but can be found in the context of different religious groups. Prominent examples are associated with a new Vaiṣṇava context. In particular, sculptural representations of Pārśvanātha and Supārśvanātha, who are sheltered by three to seven-headed snake hoods, could be transformed into icons of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa without much trouble.[75] His iconography also prescribes a sheltering snake hood.[76] However, it is particularly intriguing that Vīraśaivas, who as was outlined before have a very reduced ritual and should focus their veneration on the *liṅga* only, also adopted and continued to worship statues of the Jinas. A conspicuous example is the large seated stone Jina, in what is today the main Liṅgāyat temple of Adargunchi (Adarguñchi). Nowadays, the Jina icon is referred to as 'Doḍḍappā', which in Kannada language means 'paternal uncle'.[77] Its religious transformation is evident from the pronounced parallel white lines, which have been painted onto the body of the statue, and from the fresh flower offerings draped in garlands around its neck.[78] There are other instances where Vīraśaivas appear to venerate other divinities outside their strict doctrinal frame.[79] Another fascinating example are the Jaina *kṣetrapāla*s, guardians of the sacred temple compound in a Vīraśaiva shrine at Kagvad (**Plate 9**). Today, they are venerated as forms of Śiva, although only the *liṅga* and not Śiva are part of Vīraśaiva worship. In addition to icons, other venerated objects, such as representations of Jaina footprints, were also annexed and venerated by Vīraśaivas.[80]

[75] Nārāyaṇa is a representation of Viṣṇu sleeping on the cosmic snake (Śeṣaśāyin) between two world eras.

[76] Examples of such conversions have been discussed by Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use": 33. See also Plate 2.3 in the same publication.

[77] For additional information, see the discussion by Hegewald in Hegewald and Mitra, eds., "The Past in the Present": 63–64. Locally, no information was available about the specific meaning of Doḍḍappā, who does not appear to have a specific significance in a Vīraśaiva context. Instead, it seems to provide ceremonial contact to a family-like figure that believers can turn to in times of trouble.

[78] For further details and photographs from the converted temple and venerated objects at Adargunchi, see Hegewald and Mitra, eds., "The Past in the Present": Plates 3.4 and 3.5.

[79] Dr Sara Mondini, in the digital lecture series "Religious Traditions of India," organised by the University of Ghent, showed in her presentation on 17 November 2021 that the Vīraśaivas of Madiyal, located between Sholapur and Kalaburagi in the very north of Karnataka, carry a statue of the south Indian mother goddess Maisamma in procession. Also fascinating is the close connection of the Vīraśaivas of that area with the local Muslim community, described by Mondini.

[80] For a discussion of the particularly easy conversion of footprints from one to another religious ritual use, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Foot Stones and Footprints (Pādukās): Multivariate Symbols in Jaina Religious Practice in India," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 7 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 357–423.

Plate 9: Although they are not part of the reduced Vīraśaiva ritual practices, Jaina *kṣetrapāla*s, as can be seen in the converted temple at Kagvad, were re-used by the new temple owners and venerated as forms of Śiva.

VII. Survival and Endurance

Jaina temples were targeted not only during this period of intense communal and religious unrest from about the mid-twelfth to the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries. According to Cousens, the situation continued well into the later periods.[81] Literary evidence points towards continuous prejudices and discrimination waged against the Jaina community in Karnataka. This appears to have persisted well into the nineteenth century.[82] Despite verbal and written threats as well as real physical persecution which the Jainas experienced, the religion and its art and architecture continued to be produced and to evolve. Not much has been written about Jaina art and architecture after the thirteenth century. This applies not only to the south, which forms the focus of this chapter, but also to the whole of India.

[81] In his book on Cālukyan architecture first published in 1926, he reveals that the central icon of Mahāvīra, originally enshrined in the Brahma Jinālaya at Lakkundi, was thrown out by '*badmāshes*' a few years before his visit (Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*: 78). '*Badmāshes*' is an Anglo-Indian term for rogues or rascals. On a later visit by Cousens, also before 1926, the temple had been re-consecrated by the Jainas and remained closed to visitors. For this information, refer to the book by Cousens mentioned in this footnote on p. 79.

[82] Sundaram has written on this issue. See Sundaram, "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature": 35.

With regards to Karnataka, there is a particular appeal felt towards the Vijayanagara empire, founded by Harihara I and his brother Bukka Rāya I in 1336 CE. The rulers themselves were Hindu; however, some had Jaina wives. The kings seem to have been particularly tolerant towards other religions and to have offered protection to the Jainas.[83] The capital city, Vijayanagara, alternatively known as Hampi (Hampī), has a number of substantial Jaina temples. One of the most prominent structures amongst these is the Pārśvanātha Basti. It was constructed under Devarāya II (1422–1446) in 1426 CE.[84] Another elaborate granite structure is the Gaṇagitti Temple, alternatively known as Gaṇigitti or Kunthunātha Temple, in nearby Kamalapuram (**Plate 10**). According to an inscription found on the pillar in front of the temple, it was commissioned by the Jaina general Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka (1384–1442) in 1385 CE.[85]

Plate 10: The late fourteenth-century Gaṇagitti Temple at Kamalapuram is an example demonstrating the continuity of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka, although on a severely diminished scale.

[83] This has been examined by Bhasker Anand Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* [Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938]: 298–321, K.M. Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka [Ground Plans and Elevations]*, 2 vols. [Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003]: 60, and Pius Fidelis Pinto, "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire: The Survival of the Religion in the Capital and in the Coastal Region of Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald [New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011]: 77–92. An inscription of Bukka Rāya I testifies that he mediated in a dispute between the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and the Jainas in 1368 and extended royal protection towards the Jainas. On this particular issue, see Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 302, and Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800": 365.

[84] See Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*: 302.

[85] Irugappa Daṇḍanāyaka served under Bukka Rāya II during the reign of Harihara II, and under Devarāya II (Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800": 366, 368). On the Jaina temples in and around Hampi, see also Suresh, "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi": 177–97.

In addition to Vijayanagara, where the political environment was favourable towards the Jainas, Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa) also continued to develop and expand as one of the major religious centres of the Jainas throughout these difficult times. The small town lies between two major hillocks, bearing the majority of the sacred structures at the site. Most early Jaina remains are found on the sacred hill of Candragiri. During the following centuries, further edifices were raised particularly on the second peak, Viṇdhyagiri, as well as in the town. The Maṅgāyi Basti, close to the centre, dates from 1325 CE.[86] On Viṇdhyagiri, close to the entrance of the Gommaṭeśvara enclosure, is the small Siddha Bhagavāna Temple, raised in 1398. The Cennaṇṇa Basti, located on the same hill, goes back even further and dates from 1673 CE. The later Jaina temples, in general, again have reasonably unadorned exterior walls, often not even incorporating niches any longer. This reflects a situation of austerity and hardship after the great flourishing under the Hoysaḷas.

Besides prominent royal and sacred pilgrimage hubs, such as Vijayanagara and Shravanabelgola, Jainism persisted and continued to prosper in a number of provincial centres. This is especially noticeable from the fifteenth century onwards.[87] Particularly plentiful and distinct are the Jaina temples found on the west coast of Karnataka. Some of the prominent centres of Jainism in this area are Mudabidri (Mūdabidri), Karkal (Karkāla, Kārkaḷa), Venur (Venupura, Vaṁśapura) and Bhatkal. Additionally, almost every village or town in this area maintains valuable Jaina vestiges and temple structures. The local shrines have the characteristic steep sloping and widely projecting roofs, covered with terracotta tiles or stone slabs.[88] Their outer walls are usually plain and the design of the pillars and roof constructions have been derived from earlier wooden construction techniques.[89] Some prominent examples are the Candranātha Basti at Mudabidri, built in 1429 CE, the famous Caturmukha Basti erected between 1586 and 1587 at Karkal and the Candranāteśvara Basti at Bhatkal, dating from 1556 CE.

In the north of Karnataka, there is clearly less continuity, due to an evident Vīraśaiva and Islamic presence. However, in this area, the building of Jaina temples never ceased entirely.[90] One example is the Pārśvanātha Temple at Bagalkot (Bāgalakōṭe), which was inaugurated as late as 1976. There is also a very noticeable migration especially of Śvetāmbara Jaina families from north-western India into this region. Whilst this move

[86] For further information, see Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 to 1800": 369.

[87] Srinivasan points out that Jainism flourished, especially at regional courts, as 'they were more congenial for its growth than the capital of the empire' (Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800": 366).

[88] This visualises a dependency on and an adaptation to the local climate, marked by heavy monsoon rains. Climatic and resource dependencies in this region have been discussed by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 69–96.

[89] On this issue, see Miki Desai, "The Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri: A Comparative View with the Jaina Temples of Gujarat and the Wooden Temple Architecture of Kerala," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 202–8, and Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 69–96.

[90] We noticed this already in the Jaina temples at Hampi, which are also located in the north of the State.

appears to have started at the beginning of the twentieth century, it became particularly manifest from the 1960s onwards. This movement appears to be largely due to commercial reasons and continues to the present day, with large numbers of temples having been raised in and around the economic centre of Bangalore during the twenty-first century. This illustrates an unbroken continuity of Jaina temple-building in the entire state until the present, but on a much lower scale than was seen during the heydays of Jainism in Karnataka.

VIII. Concluding Thoughts

From the early to mid-twelfth century onwards, the Jainas in Karnataka clearly found themselves in a situation of severe asymmetrical dependency. This had not always been the case. From about the fifth century CE, their influence in the region had actually steadily increased, reaching its peak in about the tenth and eleventh centuries. During this time, the Jainas not only dominated local trade and commerce but also the arts in general, and supplied local rulers and state administrators. A number of reasons contributed to the sudden demise of this originally influential religious group. Some of these were home-made, such as the changes the Jainas themselves undertook on their own religion from about the tenth century onwards. This time of transformations was a period of calm and prosperity, which led the leaders of the Jaina community to elaborate on their so far strongly ascetically minded religion. Through the introduction of castes and manifold Jaina sub-groups, expression of loyalty and offer of commitments to a number of different religious leaders and *maṭha*s, they made themselves more susceptible to further fragmentation and dissolution. Additionally, the elaboration of temple rituals and increase in their divine pantheon might have contributed to diluting the clear-cut character of their faith even further and eradicating the characteristics which had made their belief so distinct in the past. One can argue that through these changes, the faith came closer to mainstream Hindu movements in their practice. In this context, it is fascinating that the Vīraśaivas, who predominantly gained in power during this period of Jaina submission, offered a path back to simplicity and a strongly reduced ritual.

The most prominent reason for the Jainas' loss of authority, however, was the advent of newly founded or reformed movements, such as the Vīraśaivas. Together with the Śrīvaiṣṇavas who entered the area from the south, they illustrate the victorious path of *bhakti* movements at this time in history. From the north, Muslim groups also penetrated into the region. This created highly complex religious relations and interactions in a reasonably small area. All the faith groups were competing to increase their following, religious importance and influence over sacred sites. They were all equally aiming for commercial power, such as the control over trade routes in the region. Consequently, this led to open hostility towards the Jaina community, tactical voluntary as well as enforced conversions, the destruction and annexation of their sacred centres and outright physical violence against the members. These confrontations commenced around the early to mid-twelfth century and lasted at least until the fifteenth century. However, in some regions, these sectarian struggles continued well beyond this period. Fortunately, this decline never led to an outright extinction of Jainism in Karnataka. At first, only on a much reduced scale, and later with more vigour, Jainism managed to regain some power, at least in a number of royal, specific pilgrimage and some provincial centres. In these places, a further

development of the religion and its art and architecture can be outlined until the present day, although in a much reduced form, when compared to its former glory.

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Antweiler, Christoph. "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022).

BCDSS (Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies). "Beyond Slavery and Freedom. Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies in Human Societies," unpublished Application for the Cluster of Excellency, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, University of Bonn, 2021.

Bowker, John, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of World Religions* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1997 [reis. 1999]).

Bühnemann, Gudrun. "Patterns of Dependency in the Buddhist Tantric Iconography of Nepal," in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 237–49.

Cousens, Henry. *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series (Government of India, 1926 [reis. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996]).

Del Bontà, Robert J. "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 116–33.

Desai, Miki. "The Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri: A Comparative View with the Jaina Temples of Gujarat and the Wooden Temple Architecture of Kerala," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 134–60.

Desai, P.B., ed. *South-Indian Inscriptions,* vol. 15, *Bombay-Karnataka Inscriptions*, vol. 2 (Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1964).

Dhaky, M.A., ed. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India—Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Later Phase, A.D. 973–1326)*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, 1996).

Dibbad, Shantinath. "The Construction, Destruction and Renovation of Jaina *Basadi*s: A Historical Perspective," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 63–76.

Dundas, Paul. *The Jains* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992).

Harle, James C. *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent,* The Pelican History of Art (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1986).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. "Architectural, Sculptural and Religious Change: A New Interpretation of the Jaina Temples at Khajuraho," in *Studies in Jaina History and Culture: Disputes and Dialogues*, ed. P. Flügel, Routledge Advances in Jaina Studies 1 (London and New York: Routledge, 2006): 401–18.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Jaina Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity,” *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–24 plus plates [special issue on Jainism, guest editor: Prof. Aloka Parasher-Sen].

Hegewald, Julia A.B. *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, G+H-Verlag, 2009).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Introduction: The Jaina Heritage of Southern India and Karnataka,” in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 1–26.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration,” in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Foot Stones and Footprints (*Pādukā*s): Multivariate Symbols in Jaina Religious Practice in India,” in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Studies in Asian Art and Culture (SAAC) 7 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 357–423.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Deccan Heritage Foundation and Jaico Publishing House, 2021).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty,” in *‘Das alles hier’ Festschrift für Konrad Klaus zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Ulrike Niklas, Heinz Werner Wessler, Peter Wyzlic and Stefan Zimmer (Heidelberg: Xasia eBooks, 2021): 151–74.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Vīra-Śaiva and Jaina Rivalries in Medieval South India: Creating and Overcoming Structures of Dependency,” in *Coercion, Control, and Constraint: The Role of Religion in Overcoming and Creating Structures of Dependency*, 2 vols., ed. Wolfram Kinzig and Barbara Loose, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): page range not yet known.

Hegewald, Julia A.B., ed. *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art,” in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 1–32.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms,” in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Dependency and Slavery Studies (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming): 69–96.

Hegewald, Julia A.B., and Subrata K. Mitra. "Jagannatha Compared: The Politics of Appropriation, Re-Use and Regional State Traditions in India," *Heidelberg Papers in South Asian and Comparative Politics (HPSACP)* 36 (2008): 1–37, http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/8015.

Hegewald, Julia A.B., and Subrata K. Mitra, eds. "The Past in the Present: Temple Conversions in Karnataka and Appropriation and Re-Use in Orissa," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 55–85.

Iyengar, Vatsala. "Jaina Goddesses and their Worship in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 244–57.

Jaini, Padmanabh S. *Gender and Salvation: Jaina Debates on the Spiritual Liberation of Women* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1991).

Klostermaier, Klaus K. *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999).

Krishna Murthy, M.S. "The Development of Jaina Temple Architecture in Southern Karnataka: From the Beginning to c. 1300 CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 95–115.

Lorenzetti, Tiziana. "The Cult of Feet and Footwear in the Liṅgāyat Tradition: Symbology and Peculiarities," in *In the Footsteps of the Masters: Footprints, Feet and Shoes as Objects of Veneration in Asian, Islamic and Mediterranean Art*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2020): 339–56.

Meister, Michael, and M.A. Dhaky, eds. *Encyclopaedia of Indian Temple Architecture: South India—Upper Drāviḍadēśa (Early Phase, A.D. 550–1075)*, 2 vols. (New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies and Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986).

Michael, Blake. "Women of the Śūnyasaṃpādane: Housewives and Saints in Vīraśaivism," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103, no. 2 (1983): 361–68.

Michael, Blake. *The Origins of Vīraśaiva Sect: A Typological Analysis of Ritual and Associational Patterns in the Śūnyasaṃpādane* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992).

Narasimha Murthy, P.N. "History of Jainism in Karnataka: Developments from the Tenth to Thirteenth Centuries CE," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 38–62.

Parasher-Sen, Aloka. "Jaina Women, Ritual Death and the Deccan," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 213–43.

Pinto, Pius Fidelis. "Jainism in the Vijayanagara Empire: The Survival of the Religion in the Capital and in the Coastal Region of Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 77–92.

Ramanujan, A.K. *Speaking of Śiva* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973 [reis. 1985]).

Saletore, Bhasker Anand. *Mediaeval Jainism: With Special Reference to the Vijayanagara Empire* (Bombay: Karnataka Publishing House, 1938).

Sharma, K. *Bhakti and the Bhakti Movement*: *A New Perspective* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1987).

Soundara Rajan, K.V. "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1000 to 1300: The Deccan and South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture,* vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 310–23.

Srinivasan, K.R. "Monuments and Sculpture A.D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture,* vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 365–78.

Sundaram, R.V.S. "Elements of Jaina History in Kannada Literature," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 29–37.

Suresh, K.M. *Temples of Karnataka (Ground Plans and Elevations)*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003).

Suresh K.M. "Jaina Monuments in and Around Hampi," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Deline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 177–97.

Titze, Kurt. *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1998).

Walker, Bethany J. "Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?" *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022).

Werner, Karel. *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994).

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021).

Internet Sources

Webpage of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/about-us [accessed 30.05.2022].

Photo Credits

All photographs reproduced in this paper are by the author.

Captions

Plate 1 Amongst the sites connected with the alleged migration of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Maurya is the meditation and enlightenment cave of Bhadrabāhu on Candragiri at Vijayanagara.

Plate 2 As part of the voluntary changes which the Jainas undertook on their own religion, they expanded the number of deities and statues displayed in their temples, as can be seen at Mudabidri.

Plate 3 During the time of struggle, large numbers of venerated icons were removed from their pedestals in the main shrine rooms of Jaina temples, and they remain empty to the present day, as seen here at Aihole.

Plate 4 Other images were taken down from their altars, placed on the ground and tarnished with white ash to vandalise them and signal the Vīraśaiva annexation of the sacred temple space as, for instance, at Hallur.

Plate 5 Mutilated Jinas and other sacred statues were put on display by newly dominant groups—as can be seen at Kambadhalli—and often kept in place later by the Jainas as reminders of the wrongs they had suffered.

Plate 6 Ruined Jaina temples, as at Vijayanagara, can be found throughout the region and are the result of military assaults and neglect due to a loss in influence which the Jainas suffered from the twelfth century onwards.

Plate 7 The Śaṅkha Jinālaya at Lakshmeshvar illustrates the attempt at re-construction of a severely damaged Jaina temple where, due to the violence of the attack, a faithful rebuilding could not be done.

Plate 8 Temples such as the Nāganātha Temple at Lakkundi frequently still bear small Jaina statues in their roof decorations, which continue to indicate the original dedication of converted temples.

Plate 9 Although they are not part of the reduced Vīraśaiva ritual practices, Jaina *kṣetrapāla*s, as can be seen in the converted temple at Kagvad, were re-used by the new temple owners and venerated as forms of Śiva.

Plate 10 The late fourteenth-century Gaṇagitti Temple at Kamalapuram is an example demonstrating the continuity of Jaina temple architecture in Karnataka, although on a severely diminished scale.

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Brazil

Paulo Cruz Terra. “Introduction,” in *Current Trends in Slavery Studies in Brazil*, eds. Stephan Conermann, Roberto Hofmeister Pich, Mariana Paes and Paulo Terra (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 1-8.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111026527-001

Paulo Cruz Terra

Introduction

Through the texts gathered here, the present book aims to offer some of the current trends in Brazilian slavery studies to the international public.[1] Furthermore, in this introduction, we intend to discuss the broader picture of the relevance of slavery studies in the Brazilian academic context. Slavery lasted in Brazil for more than three centuries. Equally, this country received the largest number of enslaved African people in the Americas and was the last state in the Western world to abolish slavery. These elements indicate the importance of slavery in Brazil's history; the question is to try to identify its significance in academic studies in the recent past, more specifically in historical studies. In terms of presenting the relevance of slavery in academic history, several graduate courses in history already had research areas dedicated exclusively to slavery from the very beginning, in the 1970s. This is the case, for example, of Fluminense Federal University, which had a research area called "Slavery and Abolition." The Pontifical Catholic University of Rio Grande do Sul, with the subject "Slavery in Brazil," and the Federal University of Pernambuco, with its course on "Slavery in the Northeast in the Transition to Free Labor," provide similar examples.[2] Another element that points to the theme's relevance in Brazilian academic studies is the vast number of theses and dissertations dedicated to it. From 1996 to 2019, there were around 2,500 theses and dissertations on this subject. The vast majority were in history (49%), followed by law (5%). In history alone, around 1,200 theses and dissertations involved the subject of slavery in this period, 8.81% of total production in the field.[3]

The number of historical studies on slavery has grown over the years: while there were only 13 in 1996, in 2018 they reached a peak of 89. The four universities with the most significant number of studies are the University of São Paulo, the Federal University of Bahia, Fluminense Federal University, and the State University of Campinas. Three of them are represented in this book. It is also crucial to remark that this work on slavery is currently spreading to many other parts of the country, from north to south. We can infer some reasons for this increase. A first possibility is the expansion of history graduate courses in Brazil. From 1971 to 2018, there was an increase of more than 500% in the number of master's courses in history and 1,900% in similar doctoral courses. This growth was mainly concentrated between 2000 and

1 Initial versions of the chapters were discussed at an event organized by the Bonn Center of Dependency and Slavery Studies on current trends in Brazilian slavery studies, which reunited Brazilian researchers on December 10 and 11, 2020.

2 Carlos Fico and Ronald Polito, *A História no Brasil (1980–1989): elementos para uma avaliação historiográfica* (Ouro Preto: Editora Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, 1992).

3 Capes' catalogue on dissertations and theses: http://catalogodeteses.capes.gov.br/catalogo-teses/#!/ [accessed 02.08.2022].

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111026527-001

2018.[4] This increase in graduate courses was directly related to the growth of public investment in research. The two central public research funding agencies at the federal level, CNPq and CAPES, grew significantly between 2000 and 2015. CNPq, for example, had an increase in its budget of around 200% over this period.[5]

Another aspect to consider when understanding the growth of work on slavery is the approval of law 10.639, which makes the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture mandatory in elementary and high schools. The law, approved in 2003, is the result of the struggle of black movements to re-evaluate the role of black people in Brazilian history and the appreciation of black culture. In this sense, we can relate the establishment of the law to the emergence of graduate programs dedicated to the theme, such as the professional master's in the history of Africa, diaspora, and indigenous people at the Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia. A large amount of research on slavery is being internally disseminated. Articles are published in prominent journals, such as Revista Brasileira de História, which, as perhaps the country's most important journal, had two special issues entirely dedicated to the subject between 1997 and 2020.[6] In terms of publications, it is also necessary to mention the journal Afro-Ásia, which first appeared in 1965: published periodically since 1995, it is a national journal entirely dedicated to Afro-Brazilian and African subjects.[7] The same is true of events. The biennial congresses of the National History Association, a meeting that brings together many historians in Brazil, usually have at least one thematic symposium dedicated to slavery.[8] Besides, since 2003 there has also been the conference "Slavery and Freedom in Southern Brazil" (Encontro Escravidão e Liberdade no Brasil Meridional), which has already convened ten times, most recently in 2019. Here, there were 27 sessions with the presentation of around 80 papers.[9]

However, it is important to emphasize that while works on the history of slavery have increased in Brazil, the field currently faces some challenges. The first is a drastic decrease in funding, especially after 2016. The budget for CNPq and CAPES in 2021 is 73.4% lower than it was in 2015.[10] Meanwhile, the government of President Jair Bolsonaro began in 2018: it has cut the research budget and significantly reduced space

4 Carlos Fico, Claudia Wasserman and Marcelo de S. Magalhães, "Expansão e avaliação da área de História – 2010/2016," *História da Historiografia: International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography* 28 (2018): 267–302.

5 Gabriel Zanlorenssi and Caroline Souza, "Orçamentos da Capes e do CNPq caíram 73,4% desde 2015," *Nexo Jornal*, 20/10/2021, https://www.nexojornal.com.br/grafico/2021/10/20/Orçamentos-da-Capes-e-do-CNPq-ca%C3%ADram-734-desde-2015 [accessed 02.08.2022].

6 The *Brazilian History Journal* website: https://www.scielo.br/j/rbh/ [accessed 02.08.2022].

7 The *Afro-Ásia* website: https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/afroasia [accessed 02.08.2022].

8 One source of information is the National History Association (ANPUH) website: https://anpuh.org.br/index.php/quem-somos/simposio-nacional-de-historia [accessed 02.08.2022].

9 See website of the conference: "Slavery and Freedom in Southern Brazil": http://www.escravidaoeliberdade.com.br/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53&Itemid=63 [accessed 02.08.2022].

10 Zanlorenssi and Souza, "Orçamentos da Capes."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 340

for the humanities, which are understood as superfluous. In addition, Bolsonaro's government has brought other symbolic challenges. If studies on slavery were already of political importance in Brazil, they gained even greater weight in the face of statements by government officials that slavery was positive for Africans or the remark by the deputy president on November 20, 2021 (Black Awareness Day), that there is no racism in Brazil.[11] The picture presented so far points to a broad, consolidated, and growing amount of work about slavery in Brazil. In 2010, Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna pointed out that "Brazilian historians and economists are doing more studies on their institution of slavery than" in the United States, "despite the imbalance in the size of the historical profession in the two countries."[12] Brazilian works have outlets within the country and are written in Portuguese. But how well they are known in the international context? In 2013, Jean Hébrard published a review of studies on slavery in Brazil. According to him, among "the countries where colonial slavery existed, present-day Brazil has undoubtedly produced the richest and most abundant research into this terrible part of its history." However, he indicated that "due to linguistic barriers, this decisive contribution to the understanding, and therefore the memory, of the institution of slavery is little known outside Brazil's borders."[13]

The language barrier can indeed be a problem. Portuguese does not wield influence outside Portuguese-speaking countries, and publishing in English can present some obstacles. Studies on academic literacy show that the evaluation of Anglophone journals is not only affected by the mastery of English literacy and rhetorical practices, but also imbalanced power relations between center and periphery with regards to knowledge production.[14] This means that knowledge of the language is not enough: it is also necessary to know Anglo academic literacy practices. When analyzing the journal Slavery & Abolition, perhaps one of the leading international journals on the subject, it is possible to verify that between 2000 and 2020, 17 articles were published

11 Guilherme Mazui, "'No Brasil, não existe racismo', diz Mourão sobre assassinato de homem negro em supermercado," in *G1*, 20/11/2021, https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2020/11/20/mourao-lamenta-assassinato-de-homem-negro-em-mercado-mas-diz-que-no-brasil-nao-existe-racismo.ghtml [accessed 02.08.2022]; "Presidente da Fundação Palmares diz que escravidão foi 'benéfica'," in *R7*, 27/11/2019, https://noticias.r7.com/brasil/presidente-da-fundacao-palmares-diz-que-escravidao-foi-benefica-27112019 [accessed 02.08.2022]; Gabriela Ramos, "'Aqui no Brasil não existe isso de racismo', diz Bolsonaro em Fortaleza," in *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 28/06/2018, https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,aqui-no-brasil-nao-existe-isso-de-racismo-diz-bolsonaro-em-fortaleza,70002375442 [accessed 02.08.2022].

12 Herbert S. Klein and Francisco V. Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010): IX.

13 Jean Hébrard, "L'esclavage au Brésil: le débat historiographique et ses racines," in *Brésil: quatre siècles d'esclavage. Nouvelles questions, nouvelles recherches*, ed. Jean Hébrard (Paris: Karthala, 2012): 7–61.

14 Theresa Lillis and Mary Jane Curry, "Professional Academic Writing by Multilingual Scholars. Interactions with Literacy Brokers in the Production of English-Medium Texts," *Written Communication* 23 (2006): 3–35.

that explored slavery in Brazil in detail.[15] Of these, only six were written by Brazilians, about 35%. Of course, it is important to remark on the interest in the subject shown by researchers from other countries. Equally, it is also necessary to reflect on the possible difficulties encountered by researchers from peripheral countries, such as Brazil, when publishing in English-language journals.

So, while only a tiny part of Brazilian works on slavery are published in other languages, one cannot fully agree with Hébrard that they are so unknown. In any case, it is essential to emphasize the importance of an initiative like this book (financed by the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies) in enabling Brazilian researchers to present current trends in slavery studies to a broader audience. As mentioned previously, Brazil has produced a vast number of theses and dissertations on slavery, around 1,200 in history alone between 1996 and 2019. These theses, dissertations, conference papers, and journal articles offer multiple perspectives and discuss varied subjects, making it hard to represent this diversity in one book. That being said, even though this publication does not show all the current trends of slavery studies in Brazil, it does portray the significant ones. And, since the institution of slavery lasted for more than 300 years in Brazil, we try to offer a wide chronological selection, providing papers that range from the seventeenth century to the post-abolition era at the beginning of the twentieth century. However, most of the chapters discuss the imperial Brazilian period, which covers much of the nineteenth century.

The "negro folk songs" in places affected by the African diaspora, especially Brazil, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are analyzed by Martha Abreu. She mentions that "the music of the slave quarters was really open territory for disputes over meanings and the creation of new hierarchies about the place of African descendants in the post-abolition period." On the one hand, it is possible to verify the reconstruction and existence of racism in the musical and artistic milieu, as the songs "served to belittle the black population and spread stigmas about their bodies and behavior." On the other hand, "these songs were also important in the anti-racist fight carried out by black musicians and artists who invented paths for promotion and empowerment in this same cultural world."

The connections between Brazil and Africa are explored by Crislayne Alfagali, who examines iron and gold mining and smelting in the eighteenth century in Minas Gerais, Brazil, and the region of Ilamba in the "Kingdom of Angola and its conquests." As well as showing that "the knowledge of metallurgy was an essential element of the overseas expansion and the exploration of valuable metals such as iron," Alfagali presents how metallurgy was part of African traditions that were reinvented in the colonial context as a form of resistance.

Maria Helena Pereira Toledo Machado points out that if the more traditional historiography recognizes only the generic figure of the slave, exempt from gender and

15 See the Slavery & Abolition website: https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/fsla20 [accessed 02.08.2022].

sex, even more recent studies, which have gradually particularized the experience of captivity, have also neglected the specificities of gender in slavery: this includes maternity. The author explores this subject as she addresses the case of the murder of two slave children in São Luís, the capital of the northern province of Maranhão, in 1876. Analyzing it, she examines not only the issue of slave maternity, but also manumission and the separation of mothers and children.

The rights of liberated Africans in Brazil are analyzed by Beatriz G. Mamigonian, who discusses "the circumstances, regulations, and juridical proceedings surrounding the implementation of the peculiar statute, the exploitation of mandatory labor, and their definitive emancipation." While the history of liberated Africans in this country is connected to the complex dynamics of nation formation, "marked by the continuation of the illegal trade in enslaved Africans as well as by intense British pressure for its abolition," a comparison with groups of liberated Africans in other parts of the globe allows the author to see the Brazilian case as an illustration of the shifting worlds of labor in the nineteenth century.

Mariana Dias Paes mentions the importance of documents produced by judicial institutions to the historiography of Brazilian slavery, at least over the last thirty years. While other studies have already found that the courts were an "arena of struggle," Paes suggests in her text that we can go further and "consider them to be spaces of normative production as well, with enslaved persons and other actors involved in legal proceedings as agents of that production." In this sense, the law was not only disputed in courts but was also created, as people produced specific meanings for norms: the author shows that this process was permeated by various normative frameworks.

Tâmis Parron analyses a historical process that began between 1790 and 1830 and reached its high point from 1830 to 1860, the three decades preceding the American Civil War: this involved Brazil, Cuba, and the United States. He points out a cluster of relations between these spaces, "a trans-regional framework within which events and processes in one place began to have impact, influence, and significance on events and processes in the others." Although this was originally anchored in commodity exchanges, it "evolved into a fundamental source of political and geopolitical power for each slaveholding country in their relationship with the capitalist world economy as a whole."

Roberto Hofmeister Pich analyzes the context and contents of *In supremo apostolates*, published in 1839 by Pope Gregory XVI, the first papal document to explicitly condemn and prohibit the enslavement and traffic of *both* indigenous and black people and to unambiguously ban the transatlantic slave trade, the suppression of which was being especially pressed by Great Britain. The chapter's second goal is to offer a view of how the document impacted the Catholic Church in nineteenth-century Brazil, connecting Catholic Christians and institutions to emancipatory discourses and abolitionist movement(s). He investigates the thought of Antônio Vicente Ferreira Viçoso, who was consecrated bishop of Mariana in 1844. The analysis of a text by Viçoso characterizes the many ways the Catholic Church in Brazil, despite many ambiguities and

hesitations, was – through several of its authorities – engaged with abolitionist ideas and influenced people's opinions and attitudes towards abolitionism.

The lynchings that occurred in the nineteenth century have only recently been analyzed by historians, as mentioned by Ricardo F. Pirola. His contribution examines lynchings during "the period prior to abolition, especially in the 1880s, when the movement to abolish slavery exacerbated tensions between slaves and masters and intensified the political struggle to expansion of civil rights in Brazil." Among the different questions he answers in the text are: why were enslaved people lynched, who took part in the lynchings, and, in the case of the lynching of free individuals, what led members of the public to take the law into their own hands?

Female street vendors or peddlers (*quitandeiras*) in Brazilian urban centers in in the second half of the nineteenth century are the subject of Fabiane Popinigis' text. She shows that whether "enslaved or free, these women were fundamental for the operation of the production and consumption economy, paying taxes and using credit; they were likewise essential for basic services involving the preparation of food, cleaning, and the provision of care." These laboring women of African descent established relations, economic and emotional, with their peers and people of different social and political statuses. At the same time, they formulated expectations and attributed specific meanings to their freedom, influencing the political debates of the time.

Lilia Schwarcz investigates the presence of slavery in the iconography produced about Brazil by Europeans. The "reiteration of themes and a given visual logic" in "this iconography conforms to a 'politics of visual representation' and the creation of 'otherness'." They "also conform to perceptions capable of producing and rooting racial stereotypes." Comparing paintings and photographs, she shows that, later, artists had less control over the attitudes of their "models." The expressions and body language of black models could reveal another type of slave agency: "their refusal to embody the passive, exotic stereotypes slave-owning society cast for them."

Paulo Cruz Terra shows that while there is a great deal of academic work on abolition in Brazil, the investigation into social labor history is still incipient. His objective is to analyze how vagrancy and labor intertwined in the legislation – and the debates – of the Brazilian abolition process, which culminated with the abolition law in 1888. As the process of constructing vagrancy criminalization in Brazilian abolition cannot be understood only within national borders, he proposes approaching this subject from the perspective of global labor history, seeking connections and comparisons with the Portuguese Empire.

Regarding the vital issue of indigenous slavery, Carlos Zeron points out the notions the Jesuit priest António Vieira shared with other colonization agents in the seventeenth century and those that set him apart. Concerning the acceptance of indigenous enslavement, Zeron argues that the similarity between settlers, royal administrators, and Jesuits in Portuguese America resulted from a long period of cultural sedimentation, which was conceived, justified, and made possible by Roman law, interpreted in the light of Christian theological precepts.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 344

Indigenous slavery; gender; racism; the representation and presence of black people in artistic expression; rights; justice; relations with labor history; slavery and its economic connections and impacts; connections between the Catholic Church and abolitionism; perspectives that try to overcome methodological nationalism: these are some of the trends present in texts gathered in this book. Several of these trends relate to academic work about slavery in places like the USA, France, and Germany.[16] However, Brazilian slavery studies are not only on the receiving end of new trends established in the historiographies of these countries: indeed, the collaboration of Brazilians with international scholars is essential for asking new questions.

Given the broad, consolidated, and growing work on slavery in Brazil, it is evident that not all current trends are represented here. We believe that the book is only a taste of this vibrant historiography, whetting the appetite of the international public for more.

Bibliography

Websites

Capes' catalogue on dissertations and theses, http://catalogodeteses.capes.gov.br/catalogo-teses/#!/ [accessed 02.08.2022].

The *Brazilian History Journal* website, https://www.scielo.br/j/rbh/ [accessed 02.08.2022].

The *Afro-Ásia* website, https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/afroasia [accessed 02.08.2022].

The National History Association (ANPUH) website, https://anpuh.org.br/index.php/quem-somos/simposio-nacional-de-historia [accessed 02.08.2022].

The Website of the conference "Slavery and Freedom in Southern Brazil," http://www.escravidaoeliberdade.com.br/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53&Itemid=63 [accessed 02.08.2022].

The *Slavery & Abolition* website, https://www.tandfonline.com/journals/fsla20 [accessed 02.08.2022].

Secondary Literature

Fico, Carlos, and Ronald Polito. *A História no Brasil (1980–1989): elementos para uma avaliação historiográfica* (Ouro Preto: Editora Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto, 1992).

Fico, Carlos, Claudia Wasserman and Marcelo de S. Magalhães. "Expansão e avaliação da área de História – 2010/2016," *História da Historiografia: International Journal of Theory and History of Historiography* 28 (2018): 267–302.

16 See, for example, Michael Zeuske's discussion on the historiography of slavery. Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111.

Hébrard, Jean. “L’esclavage au Brésil: le débat historiographique et ses racines,” in *Brésil: quatre siècles d’esclavage. Nouvelles questions, nouvelles recherches*, ed. Jean Hébrard (Paris: Karthala, 2012): 7–61.

Klein, Herbert S., and Francisco V. Luna. *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Lillis, Theresa, and Mary Jane Curry. “Professional Academic Writing by Multilingual Scholars. Interactions with Literacy Brokers in the Production of English-Medium Texts,” *Written Communication* 23 (2006): 3–35.

Mazui, Guilherme. “‘No Brasil, não existe racismo’, diz Mourão sobre assassinato de homem negro em supermercado,” *G1*, 20.11.2021, https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2020/11/20/mourao-lamenta-assassinato-de-homem-negro-em-mercado-mas-diz-que-no-brasil-nao-existe-racismo.ghtml [accessed 02.08.2022].

Mazui, Guilherme. “Presidente da Fundação Palmares diz que escravidão foi ‘benéfica’,” *R7*, 27.11.2019, https://noticias.r7.com/brasil/presidente-da-fundacao-palmares-diz-que-escravidao-foi-benefica-27112019 [accessed 02.08.2022].

Ramos, Bagroela. “‘Aqui no Brasil não existe isso de racismo’, diz Bolsonaro em Fortaleza,” *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 28.06.2018, https://politica.estadao.com.br/noticias/eleicoes,aqui-no-brasil-nao-existe-isso-de-racismo-diz-bolsonaro-em-fortaleza,70002375442 [accessed 02.08.2022].

Zanlorenssi, Gabriel, and Caroline Souza. “Orçamentos da Capes e do CNPq caíram 73,4% desde 2015,” *Nexo Jornal*, 20.10.2021, https://www.nexojornal.com.br/grafico/2021/10/20/Orçamentos-da-Capes-e-do-CNPq-ca%C3%ADram-734-desde-2015 [accessed 02.08.2022].

Zeuske, Michael. “Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective,” *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111.

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Mongolia

Dorothea Heuschert-Laage. “Slavery in Eighteenth Century Mongolia: Transactions in People and Notions of Property According to the Qanggin Banner Archives,” *BCDSS Working Paper* October 2022.

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/research/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/wp_10_heuschert-laage.pdf

WORKING PAPER 22 | 10

Dorothea Heuschert-Laage

SLAVERY IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY MONGOLIA: TRANSACTIONS IN PEOPLE AND NOTIONS OF PROPERTY ACCORDING TO THE QANGGIN BANNER ARCHIVES

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Working Paper, ISSN 2747-9331
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Editors: Abdelkader Al Ghouz/Jeannine Bischoff/Stephan Conermann

Working Paper 2022/10
© December 2022, by the author

Dorothea Heuschert-Laage
Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies, Department of Mongolian and Tibetan Studies, University of Bonn

Slavery in Eighteenth Century Mongolia: Transactions in People and Notions of Property According to the Qanggin Banner Archives

Download
https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/working-papers
……

"Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433"

"Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433"

Contact:
Dr. Abdelkader Al Ghouz
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Email: publications@dependency.uni-bonn.de
Web: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Abstract

This paper investigates moments of transition in which people were forced into dependency, or had to change from one relationship of asymmetrical dependency to another. It is argued that these transitions were backed by state law, but were rooted in practices which predated the establishment of the Qing dynasty (1636–1911). In order to understand the social, legal and economic constellations in which people were recruited or transferred to other dependency relationships, the study draws on a micro-historical approach based on records from a local archive in Inner Mongolia (China). On the basis of these findings, it develops categories of transition, and discusses the meaning of property rights in settings of multi-level dependencies.

Table of Contents

I. Aims and Categories 1
I.1. Property and Asymmetrical Dependency 1
I.2. Why the Focus on Transactions in People? 2
II. Mongols as Part of the Qing Empire 4
II.1. Terminology of Slavery 4
II.2. Dependency Relationships in Qing Dynasty Mongolia 6
II.3. Transactions in People and the Law 8
III. Case Studies From Eighteenth Century Qanggin Banner, Ordos, Inner Mongolia 10
III.1. Banner Archives as Sources for the Study of Dependency 10
III.2. Categories of Transaction 11
III.2.1. Debt Slavery 11
III.2.2. Household Extension and Acquisition of Labor 13
III.2.3. Human Dowry 17
III.2.4. Manumission 19
IV. Conclusion 21
Bibliography 23

* Research for this paper was generously supported by the Gerda Henkel Foundation.

I. Aims and Categories

I.1. Property and Asymmetrical Dependency

In the history of slavery, Mongols play an important part. During the time of the Mongolian conquests in the thirteenth century, groups and individuals were uprooted by armed conflicts and forced migrations at an unprecedented scale, and many of them had to fulfil the demand for slaves and other dependents in the expanding empire.[1] After the dissolution of the Mongol empire, slavery flourished in the successor states and connected them with other parts of the Eurasian continent. Likewise, Mongolian rule over China in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries saw the expansion of slavery, and for Wyatt, this "conformed to the general pattern that characterized periods of nomad domination."[2] The present paper deals with a different period of Mongolian history, in which Mongols did not dominate China, but the majority of Mongolian societies had become part of the Qing empire (1636–1911). What became of Mongolian slaving practices in the eighteenth century, when there no longer was a supply of war captives in the Mongolian territories, and the Qing emperor, who resided in Beijing, had laws for the Mongols drafted by Manchu and Chinese officials?

Slavery can be regarded as an extreme form of asymmetrical dependency, which, according to the research agenda of the BCDSS, is marked by the ability of one actor to more or less fully control another actor's actions, resources and physical mobility, and is usually maintained and enforced by an institutional background.[3] This condition cannot be simply reduced to a property relationship, which, among other reasons, may be explained with the vagueness and versatility of this category.[4] Property claims can imply a variety (or "bundle") of rights and duties in different contexts and are constructed and negotiated in the context of power relations.[5] Therefore, in order to relate notions of property to slaving practices and asymmetrical dependency, it is necessary to define what property claims meant at a given time and place.[6]

When David Sneath argues that "Western economic orthodoxy is at odds with indigenous Mongolian concepts of 'property' and 'ownership'," he emphasizes the close links between

[1] Michal Biran, "Forced Migrations and Slavery in the Mongol Empire (1206–1368)," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500-AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 98; Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter, 2019): 324–25.

[2] Don J. Wyatt, "Slavery in Medieval China," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500–AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 127.

[3] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 18.10.2022]: 8.

[4] Orlando Patterson, "Revisiting Slavery, Property, and Social Death," in *On Human Bondage. After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons Inc, 2017): 217; Matthias van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (2021): 589.

[5] Hannes Siegrist and David Sugarman, "Geschichte als historisch-vergleichende Eigentumswissenschaft. Rechts-, kultur- und gesellschaftsgeschichtliche Perspektiven," in *Eigentum im internationalen Vergleich, 18.–20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hannes Siegrist and David Sugarman (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 11.

[6] Peter Hunt, "Slaves or Serfs? Patterson on the Thetes and Helots of Ancient Greece," in *On Human Bondage. After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons Inc, 2017): 58.

economic and political spheres in Mongolian culture, the fact that private property is comprehended as "shares of a whole," and the "custodial understanding" when it comes to rights in land.[7] Going back in history, the incongruity of property concepts becomes even more plain when we consider what a person's or family's property could possibly consist of. In eighteenth-century Mongolia, the term *ömči* (property, possessions) was frequently applied to dependent people, while, on the contrary, land or real estate could not be claimed as *ömči*. Land was considered to belong to the emperor, or, depending on the viewpoint, to local deities, and was managed by ruling noble families or by monasteries.[8] In other words, up to the eighteenth century, Mongolian concepts of property not possibly included land, but, of course, human beings.

When this paper takes up the issue of property, it does so because legal documents related to property relations are among the few sources which allow us to get closer to the lives of people who were forced into forms of asymmetrical dependency. What was the relationship between dependency and property? Who were the people against whom property claims were made, and what was the extend of these claims? Who were the people who referred to others as their property, and in what kind of situations did they do so? In the Mongolian context, by far not all dependent people, who had to perform unfree labor, were referred to as *ömči* (property), as this term seems to have been reserved to those otherwise designated as slaves and "boys of the yurt."[9] The documents investigated for this paper show that these people cannot be considered as a uniform group as some of them managed to keep their own cattle, make their voice heard in court and achieve considerable social standing. For Orlando Patterson, the ability or inability to establish claims on property is crucial for a person's legal status.[10] In the Mongolian context, however, to be regarded as the object of property did not necessarily prevent one from becoming the subject of property. Property could be helpful for disentangling oneself from a relationship of asymmetrical dependency, and lack of property could bring oneself or a family member into that very form of relationship. What was the role of property in settings of multi-level dependencies? Why were some people able to gain property and utilize it in constellations of asymmetrical dependency while others were not?

I.2. Why the Focus on Transactions in People?

The intertwining of actors, practices and institutions becomes most obvious, when the social status of an asymmetrically dependent actor changes, and the dependent person as well as those, who regard themselves to be in a legal relationship with her, re-negotiate terms of

[7] David Sneath, "Mongolia in the 'Age of the Market': Pastoral Land-Use and the Development Discourse," in *Markets and Moralities. Ethnographies of Ethnographies of Postsocialism*, ed. Ruth Mandel and Caroline Humphrey (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002): 192–97, 202.

[8] David Sneath. "Commonwealth, Inalienable Possessions, and the *res publica*: The Anthropology of Aristocratic Order and the Landed Estate," *History and Anthropology* 29, no. 3 (2018): 335, https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2018.1459598.

[9] For the Mongolian terminology see section II.1. Classical Mongolian is rendered according to Nicholas Poppe, *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1954) except that j is used for ǰ. Mongolian in Cyrillic is transliterated according to the transliteration table in Ines Stolpe, Judith Nordby and Ulrike Gonzales, eds., *Mongolian Responses to Globalisation Processes,* Bonner Asienstudien 13 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017): 8. Well-established terms and names like Aimag, Chinggis Khan, Khalkha, Khan, sum and Taiji are exceptions to these rules.

[10] Patterson, "Revisiting Slavery, Property, and Social Death": 271; Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018): 28.

dependency. Transactions are the moments, in which dependent people become visible in the sources, and are presented in their relationships prior to and post of the instance of transaction.[11] A focus on these moments of transition allows us to better understand the constellations through which people were forced into dependency,[12] in that it gives insight into the interconnections of dependency relationships on the local level, as well as the interaction of state law and other legal practices. A closer look at these crucial transitional instances will reveal practices in everyday life, which were protected by state law, but rooted in established procedures, and reinforced by the social web of local society.[13]

In Qing dynasty Mongolia, the law of the Qing state, hereditary rights of the Mongolian aristocracy as well as privileges granted by the Qing court contributed to a complex legal situation, which encompassed different modes of normativity.[14] Changes in dependency relationships had to be registered with the local administration. While human trafficking across the boundaries of the administrative unit of the banner (*qosiγu*)[15] was strictly forbidden, transactions within the confines of the banner were tolerated (see section II.3.). By filing transactions with the banner office (and carefully avoiding any suspicion of inter-banner trafficking), members of the community tried to achieve legal certainty by making use of the given structures of the Qing state.

Due to the different modes of normativity, dependency could be negotiated in different legal realms. In order to better understand practices and strategies of historical agents, this paper adopts a micro-historical perspective, focusing on transactions in people documented between 1747 and 1782 in the office of Qanggin (Hanggin) banner district, an administrative unit in the Ordos region, which today is part of Inner Mongolia, China. The way people were recruited or transferred to other dependency relationships, shows certain patterns, which can be fruitfully studied as categories established by the historical actors themselves.[16] In addition to gender and seniority, which can be regarded as fundamental organizing principles in Mongolian society,[17] class and status were likewise important markers in the production and reproduction of asymmetrical dependency.[18] For example, we find fully ordained monks on both sides, among the people who enslaved others, and among those, on whom others claimed property rights. What was their position in local networks of dependency?

---

[11] Van der Linden defines recruitment and termination ("entry" and "exit") as the two important moments for differentiating between different forms of coerced labor relationships. The Mongolian sources are remarkably silent on the extraction of productive labor or other types of services of dependent people. This does not reduce the significance of the transitory moment for the nature of the relationship (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]: 315).

[12] Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 15–16.

[13] Harriet T. Zurndorfer, "Economic, Social, and Legal Aspects of Slavery and Indentured Labor in Late Ming China (1550–1645): What the Huizhou Documents Tell Us," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022): 146.

[14] Thomas Duve, "What is Global Legal History?," *Comparative Legal History* 8, no. 2 (2020): 105–6.

[15] The banner was the main unit of Mongolian administration during the Qing period.

[16] Christian G. De Vito, "History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective," *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 242, no. S14 (2019): 360–61.

[17] David Sneath, *Mongolia Remade, Post-socialist National Culture, Political Economy, and Cosmopolitics* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018): 37.

[18] Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 18.10.2022]: 14.

Van Rossum points out that more flexible informal slavery regimes should not be discarded as "local" or "special," but should rather be investigated as to their transformative potential and their adaptability to internal and external pressure.[19] Even though this paper has a micro-historical approach, it will be argued that the specific constellations of Qanggin banner had multiple connections to people in the surrounding Mongolian banners and beyond.[20] Moreover, the practices documented in the local office show certain regularities, which are reminiscent of concepts of dependency and property documented for Mongols in the thirteenth century. Under the conditions of the eighteenth century, however, the trajectories of slavery within the Mongolian territories changed.

Transactions here are understood as moments of transition, in which people are forced into dependency, or change from one dependency relationship to another. The commercial character of (some) transactions in people in a given community should not lead us to construe the commercial character as defining moment of a slavery regime.[21] The transactions discussed in this paper could have the character of a commercial transaction, with payments predominantly made in kind, mainly in livestock, but sometimes also with other household items.[22] In addition, people were also presented to others as gifts, or were given away to make up for material loss or to pay off debts. In some cases, if there was a substantial gap in status and power between the parties taking part in the transaction, the terminology of buying and selling was carefully avoided, and dependent people were rather "offered" to a member of the elite by commoners, who in return received a "reward." Frequently, manumissions were likewise framed as transactions, in that they implied the transition from one dependency relationship to another. Instances of manumission are investigated with regard to the motives of people releasing their dependents and possible return services.

People designated as slaves or "boys of the yurt" could be acquired, given away or released individually, but transactions could also be conducted in units of households. What significance does the individual/group aspect have for the relationship between dependents and their alleged owners? As Peter Hunt argues with regard to ancient Greece, people who were sold individually, were rather regarded as property, and had difficulty to maintain social relations.[23] An examination of the way how family ties were maintained (or disregarded) in the transaction in human beings will therefore shed light on notions of property and belonging. Possibly, this will also allow us to differentiate within the group of slaves and "boys of the yurt," and make distinctions with regard to their respective linkage to the household of their owner.

II. Mongols as Part of the Qing Empire

II.1. Terminology of Slavery

The Mongolian terminology of slavery, which had been developed during the time of the Mongol empire, was retained during the Qing period, but, over time, its meaning changed.

[19] Van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research": 574.
[20] De Vito, "History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective": 356.
[21] Joseph Miller, "History as a Problem of Slaving," in *Critical Readings on Global Slavery*, ed. Damian Alan Pargas and Felicia Rosu (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 231.
[22] According to Bawden it was only in the second half of the 19th century that Mongolia became a money economy (Charles Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968]: 149).
[23] Hunt, "Slaves or Serfs? Patterson on the Thetes and Helots of Ancient Greece": 68.

The two most common terms related to slaving were *boγol* ("slave")[24] and *ger-ün köbegün/köbegüd* ("boy/boys of the yurt"). During the time of Chinggis Khan, the term "slave" was used as a political term designating a category of submission.[25] Its legal implications and criminal consequences are not completely clear, but the Secret History, the earliest and most significant source on Mongolian society in the thirteenth century, already relates on the different treatment of murder according to the social position of the culprit.[26] According to Michal Biran, during the time of the Mongol empire, the status of "boys of the yurt" was between free men and slaves. This term often referred to artisans who had been spared during military campaigns and who were regarded as useful in some way or another. They could receive payment for their services, but nevertheless were treated as property, which could be transferred according to the will of their owners.[27]

While during the time of the Mongol empire, the two terms *boγol* (slave) and *ger-ün köbegün/köbegüd* (boy/boys of the yurt) seem to refer to different groups of people, in seventeenth century sources overlaps in terminology are striking. The Mongolian law code circulated by the Qing government in 1695, for example, makes repeated reference to *boγol* (slaves), *ger-ün boγol* (slaves of the yurt), *jaruča* (servants), *ger-ün jarči* (servants of the yurt), *ger-ün boγul jaruča* (slaves of the yurt and servants), *ger-ün köbüd* (boys of the yurt) and *ger-ün kümün* (person of the yurt), but makes no distinctions in the legal treatment of these people. This suggests that in Qing Mongolian law, "slaves," "servants" or "boys" all belonged to the same legal category. While this observation is based on the normative source of the legal code, it is conspicuous that in administrative communication at the local level, the term "slave" (*boγol*) is used much less frequent than terms like "boys of the yurt," "people of the yurt" or simply "boys." It seems that the term "slave" was a derogatory term used condescendingly for people considered to be of low social status. In this sense, it may have been an insult to people who understood themselves as "people of the yurt" or "boys of the yurt."[28] In the present paper, the term "slave" is used as a translation of the Mongolian language term *boγol*, as it eventually occurs in official correspondence. Elsewhere, the literal translation of "boys of the yurt" is retained.

Patterson & Zhuo point out that forced movement is a central feature of trafficking.[29] In the case of Qanggin banner, forced displacement was limited to the confines of the local administrative unit, and in some cases, it is not even clear, in what way people's living conditions changed with the transaction. For this reason, the present paper refers to "transactions" rather than human trafficking. However, this should not conceal the coercive character of practices, by which children, women and men could be forced into a new

[24] On the etymology of this term from the Chinese word *pu* 僕 (slave, servant) see Bass, Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 78–79.

[25] Tat'jana D. Skrynnikova, "Boghol, A Category of Submission at the Mongols," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58, no. 3 (2005) [= *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Mediaeval History of the Eurasian Steppe: Szeged, Hungary May 11—16, 2004*: part 3]; Biran, "Forced Migrations and Slavery in the Mongol Empire (1206–1368)": 79.

[26] Veronika Veit, "Some Remarks on the Offence of Murder in the Mongol Legal Tradition (Thirteenth to Nineteenth Century)," in *Miscellanea Asiatica. mélanges en l'honneur de Françoise Aubin*, ed. Denise Aigle, Isabelle Charleux, Vincent Goossaert and Robert Hamayon (Nettetal: Steyler-Verlag, 2010): 577.

[27] Biran, "Forced Migrations and Slavery in the Mongol Empire (1206–1368)": 81–82.

[28] In different context, to refer to oneself as "slave" was a common self-deprecatory expression.

[29] Orlando Patterson and Xiaolin Zhuo, "Modern Trafficking, Slavery, and Other Forms of Servitude," *Annual Review of Sociology* 44 (2018): 412.

environment and different constellations of dependency, without being given the chance of raising an objection.

II.2. Dependency Relationships in Qing Dynasty Mongolia

In the eighteenth century, Mongolian society under Qing rule was characterized by three major divisions of social class.[30] While slaves and "boys of the yurt," who are in the focus of the present article, ranged at the bottom, the ruling class was made up of high incarnate lamas and of the aristocracy claiming descent from Chinggis Khan and his brothers. In between was a large group of tax- and duty-payers. They were subsumed under terms like *arad*,[31] *albatu* or *sumučin* ("commoners," "duty-payers" or "members of the *sum*"[32]) as well as *qamǰilɣ-a* ("personal serfs of the nobility") and *šabi* ("subjects of monasteries and reincarnated lamas"). "Commoners," "duty-payers" and "members of the *sum*" were expected to perform duties for the administration, such as postroad, guard and militia duty, while "personal serfs of the nobility" and "subjects of monasteries and reincarnated lamas" were obliged to in-kind payments and labor services to their noble lord or monastic estate respectively. In principle, slaves and "boys of the yurt" could be in a dependency relationship with members of the aristocracy, lamas, commoners, "tax- and duty-payers" as well as "personal serfs."[33] There is no indication that Qing legislators tried to restrict property rights over "people of the yurt" to the elite. On the contrary, in 1686, the Qing emperor ruled that people who were spared from capital punishment "should be given to very low and poor commoners as slaves."[34] To belong to people of low social standing was meant as an additional punishment.

It has to be recognized that the divisions outlined above cannot be taken for granted for the early Qing period. The restriction of Mongolian noblemen's authority over their subjects and the establishment of legal categories did not come at once with Mongolian acknowledgement of Qing overlordship, but as a process, with differences according to the time and circumstances of the integration of the respective confederation into the empire. For Northern (Khalkha) Mongolia, the years 1783–89 – about a hundred years after the Khalkha nobility's formal submission –, are considered to have been a turning point, at which

[30] Wei-chieh Tsai, "Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia, 1700–1911" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2017): 4–5; Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts On File, 2004): 507–9; Sneath, *Mongolia Remade, Post-socialist National Culture, Political Economy, and Cosmopolitics*: 85.

[31] On the concept of *arad*, Ines Stolpe, *Schule versus Nomadismus? Interdependenzen von Bildung und Migration in der modernen Mongolei* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008): 173–77.

[32] The *sum* (*sumu*) was the lowest administrative unit in Qing dynasty Mongolia, and was fixed as a unit of 150 households.

[33] Sh. Natsagdorj, "Geriin hüvüüdiin uchir [On Boys of the Yurt]," *Shinjleh uhaany medee* [*Scientific Reports*] 2 (1965): 85.

[34] Dorothea Heuschert, *Die Gesetzgebung der Qing für die Mongolen im 17. Jahrhundert anhand des Mongolischen Gesetzbuches aus der Kangxi-Zeit (1662–1722)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998): 242–43; Mongɣol-un čaɣajan-u bičig [Mongolian Code], undated woodprint preserved at the National Library in Ulaanbaatar under the following note of registration: Ґadaɣadu mongɣol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-un engke amuɣulang-un üy-e-dü 1693 on-du keblegsen, dotor-a 1629 on-ača ekileged udaɣ-a daraɣ-a qaɣad-un üy-e-dü jarlaɣsan čaɣaja-ud-i jasamjilaɣsan mongɣol-un čaɣajan-u bičig [Mongolian Statute-Book, Which has Corrected the Laws Proclaimed in the Time of the Successive Emperors from 1629 Onwards and Which Was Published in 1693 During the Time of Kangxi by the Lifanyuan]: 113a/b.

noblemen were demanded to divide their subjects along the lines of Qing social categories into "state duty-payers" and "personal serfs."[35]

In the office of every banner, registers were kept on male members of the nobility as well as their male dependents. As O. Oyunjargal argues, after the establishment of a legal category of "personal serfs," the ruling nobility attempted to reserve this category for their own dependents and saw to it that dependents of lower and non-ruling noblemen were entered in the registers as "boys of the yurt," just as the dependents of commoners. After protest among members of the lower nobility, this practice changed and all dependents of noblemen claiming descent from Chinggis Khan and his brothers were registered as "personal serfs."[36]

These findings are interesting because they reveal a more nuanced picture with less clearly defined categories and more flexible practices. To have one's dependents registered as "personal serfs" obviously was more prestigious than to have them registered as "boys of the yurt." This indicates a certain degree of arbitrariness. The duty to perform "forced" or "unfree labor" affected many people in Qing dynasty Mongolia, and was not a distinguishing feature of slave or "boy of the yurt" status, an observation, which Reid also made for other parts of Asia.[37] What impact did social categorizations have on labor relations?

In Qing dynasty Mongolia, families were structured along the lines of patriarchy. Towards the end of the dynasty, with accelerating impoverishment and an increasing number of males taking religious vows, formal marriage became less frequent and many households were headed by women.[38] Encampments usually comprised not just one family, but also extended family members or dependents. Sneath, discussing labor relations in Mongolia in historical perspective, makes out two types of arrangement: 1) the procurement of additional labor through the extension of the household or rather the encampment, which could be achieved by adoption or the marrying-in of a son-in-law, but also by the engagement of retainers or "client" households; 2) placing livestock with another household, who in compensation retained a certain amount of the produce.[39] In contrast, Christopher Atwood distinguishes three types of labor relations in Qing dynasty Mongolia: 1) a poorer family living close to the camp of a richer family (who often claimed higher social status) giving labor while benefitting from their resources; 2) the placement of herds with another household, which in return was allowed to keep a certain amount of the surplus for itself; and 3) contract labor provided by people from outside the community.[40] Both models make no reference to slaves or "boys of the yurt," but it's fair to assume that they could be tied into all types of relationship (though I have no example for type three defined by Atwood). In what way labor conditions of "boys of

[35] Ochir Oyunjargal, "Süm hamjlagyg yalgah shaardlaga: Saishaalt Eröөltiin üeiin Tüsheet han aimgiin jisheen deer [The Demand to Divide Commoners into *Sumu* and *Qamjily-a:* The Case of Tüsiyetü Khan Aimag in the Jiaqing Period]," in *Chin uls ba Mongolchuud* [*The Qing dynasty and the Mongols*], ed. Sampildondovyn Chuluun, Hurts, Hiroki Oka (Sendai: Center for Northeast Asian Studies, 2014): 103.

[36] Ochir Oyunjargal, "House Slaves and Legislation: The Case of Qalq-a during the Qing Period," Paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society, 2015: 7; Samuel H. Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia" (PhD. Diss., Indiana University, 2021): 212–26.

[37] Anthony Reid, "Slavery and Forced Labour in Asia: *Status Quaestionis*," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022): 33–35.

[38] Christopher P. Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*: 174.

[39] David Sneath, "Producer Groups and the Decollectivisation of the Mongolian Pastoral Economy," in *The History of Mongolia*, ed. David Sneath and Christopher Kaplonski (Folkestone: Global Oriental Ltd, 2010): 1081–82; Sneath, *Mongolia Remade*: 92.

[40] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*: 508.

the yurt" differed from those of "personal serfs" or subjects of monasteries, is still open to question. There is no indication that they performed labor which differed in principle from the work of other herders.

II.3. Transactions in People and the Law

Mongolian laws, promulgated by the Qing court and, over the course of the dynasty, published in codes,[41] frequently address hierarchies, dependencies and social distinction. For people referred to as "slaves," "servants" or "boys," Qing legislation for Mongols could become relevant in a number of situations, such as when their master committed a crime and they were given over to the offended party as compensation, or by ensuring their protection in case they had testified against their delinquent master. In cases of murder or injury, the personal hierarchical relationship between perpetrator and victim was important:[42] For killing their master, persons with the status of "slave," "servant" or "boy" faced the maximum penalty – execution by slicing – while crimes against them were sanctioned less severely than in the case of commoners or noblemen.[43] However, hate crimes against "slaves of the yurt and servants" (*ger-ün boγol jaruča*) resulting in death, were defined as a special offence with punishments stated for commoners and ruling Mongolian noblemen alike.[44] Interestingly, what is absent from Qing Mongolian legislation are regulations for manumission, which, of course, does not mean that there were no established practices of manumission. As records from Khalkha Mongolia show, manumission was frequent and regularly adjudicated by local representatives of Qing administration.[45]

People from all strata of Qing Mongolian society could be involved in transactions in human beings. Some of these practices became the target of the Qing legislation, but not all of them were illegal. Legislative measures and attitudes of the Qing court towards transactions in human beings in Mongolia have been addressed by the Japanese scholar Mamoru Hagihara in a recent article. Hagihara maintains that, in the eyes of the Qing, human trade networks threatened social stability and for this reason called for severe punishments. This is congruent with the findings of Claude Chevaleyre, who argues that in late imperial China human trafficking was associated with "banditry."[46] Transactions in human beings which were motivated by the need to incorporate new family members, however, were regarded as

---

[41] Dorothea Heuschert, *Die Gesetzgebung der Qing für die Mongolen im 17. Jahrhundert anhand des Mongolischen Gesetzbuches aus der Kangxi-Zeit (1662–1722)*; Dorothea Heuschert, "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols," *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998); Frédéric Constant, "The Legal Administration of Qing Mongolia," *Late Imperial China* 40, no. 1 (2019).

[42] On this legal concept, Geoffrey MacCormack, *The Spirit of Traditional Chinese Law* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996): 69; Claude Chevaleyre, "Acting as Master and Bondservant: Considerations on Status, Identities and the Nature of 'Bond-Servitude' in Late Ming China," in *Labour, Coercion, and Economic Growth in Eurasia, 17th–20th Centuries*, ed. Alessandro Stanziani (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013): 243–44.

[43] On a similar regulation in the Tang Code, Don J. Wyatt, "Slavery in Medieval China," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500–AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 278.

[44] Mongγol-un čaγajan-u bičig, 46 a/b.

[45] Dorothea Heuschert-Laage, "Künstliche und natürliche Verwandtschaft: Zu Adoption und Erbe in der Qalqa-Mongolei im 18. Jahrhundert," *Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens* 38 (2009); Bass, "The Bound Steppe."

[46] Claude Chevaleyre, "Human Trafficking in Late Imperial China," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2022): 169.

tolerable and were conceptualized differently than long distance trafficking networks driven by economic interests.[47]

Within its legislation for Mongols, the Qing government tackled human trafficking as early as 1683.[48] Subsequently, the Mongolian code of 1789 includes several articles outlawing trafficking.[49] Notably, sanctions differed according to the descent or origin of the victim: Trafficking a Chinese person was a graver offence than trafficking a Mongol. Selling a Mongol as slave, maid servant, wife, concubine or heir, was punished with flogging and a severe penalty in cattle. If committing the same crime to someone "from the inner territories" – the core regions of China –, this penalty was established only for accomplices, while the ringleaders had to face capital punishment. Likewise, Mongolian victims of enslavement were punished with flogging, while victims "from the inner territories" were only punished if they had consented to the transaction.[50] The reason why Qing legislators in the context of human trafficking in the Mongolian territories established more severe punishments for Mongols – both offenders and victims – than for their other subjects is not completely clear. According to my assessment, officials of central government agencies, who were the ones who drafted the regulations, considered Mongols to be more prone to transactions in human beings and for this reason saw the need for regulations with a stronger deterrent effect.

The ambiguous attitude of the Qing government towards transactions in people in the Mongolian territories becomes clear in a regulation enacted in 1772, and also included in the Mongolian code, which entails that transactions in humans in the Mongolian territories were not necessarily a punishable offence. Only transactions which involved people from other banners or from the "inner territories" were considered illegal. Buying and selling people, who had not entered population registers, was explicitly permitted if the transaction took place within the confines of the administrative unit of the banner.[51] As Hagihara argues, the 1772 regulation pertained only to people not registered for corvee labor, thus indicating the concern of the Qing government to secure the performance of state duties.[52]

Even though there were strict laws against human trafficking across the boundaries of the local administrative unit in the Mongolian territories as in China, it of course could not be prevented altogether. Case files preserved in the extensive Qanggin archives and other Mongolian archives show, that especially the selling of women was a recurring problem, which – if detected – was taken seriously by judicial authorities and entailed severe punishment.[53] The material investigated below does not concern criminal cases of trafficking, but rather records on lawful transactions. The cases make clear that, even before the law enacted in 1772,

[47] Johanna S. Ransmeier, *Sold People. Traffickers and Family Life in North China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017): 103–4; Chevaleyre, "Human Trafficking in Late Imperial China": 164.

[48] Mamoru Hagihara, "Shindai Mongoru ni okeru jinshin baibai kisei-hō [Legislation on Human Trafficking in Qing dynasty Mongolia]," *Tōhōgaku = Eastern Studies* 139 (2020): 24; Da Qing Huidian [Collected Institutions of the Great Qing Dynasty], 1690, 162 chap. (Woodprint preserved in the Harvard-Yenching Library): 145, 5a/b.

[49] Hagihara, "Shindai Mongoru ni okeru jinshin baibai kisei-hō": 24–29.

[50] Batsühiin Bayarsaihan, *Mongyol čaγajin-u bičig* [*The Mongolian Statute Book*] (Ulaanbaatar, 2004): 220–21. On the overlap of "ethnic" and "territorial" categories in Qing law see Heuschert, "Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols": 317–20.

[51] Bayarsaihan, *Mongyol čaγajin-u bičig*: 84–85; Hagihara, "Shindai Mongoru ni okeru jinshin baibai kisei-hō": 26–27.

[52] Hagihara, "Shindai Mongoru ni okeru jinshin baibai kisei-hō": 30–31.

[53] QQJYD: V, 497–98 and 512–13 (case from 1739); LFYTB: XIX, 34–43 (case from 1789).

transactions in people at the local level were not kept secret, but were regarded as administrative matters for which local officials were responsible.

III. Case Studies From Eighteenth Century Qanggin Banner, Ordos, Inner Mongolia

III.1. Banner Archives as Sources for the Study of Dependency

The Qanggin banner records on transactions in people demonstrate how coercion, poverty and dependency were negotiated at the level of the local community, and for this reason are among the sources, which allow us to get closer the realities of slaving in everyday life.[54] In Qing dynasty Mongolia, while transactions in human beings across administrative boundaries were strictly forbidden, transactions of and between people who belonged to the same administrative unit, were tolerated. They were obviously viewed as internal matters of the banner. The insignificance of these transactional activities in the eyes of central government officials, however, did not change the fact that, in order to be legally secured, they had to be documented with the local authorities. In contrast to other administrative and judicial procedures, transactions in people at the level of the banner were not subject to a review process. For this reason, it is only through the opening of local archives that information on practices of forceful displacement among Mongols on the level of the community and the family becomes available.

Qanggin banner, on whose archives the present paper is based, was (and is) situated on the Ordos plateau, and, in the Qing dynasty, belonged administratively to Yeke Juu league, which in the eighteenth century was one of the six leagues of Inner Mongolia. Within Yeke Juu league, Qanggin banner was rather large in area, and its Mongolian population probably numbered in the region of twenty thousand persons.[55] Qanggin banner was headed by a hereditary nobleman, who was in regular contact with central government offices and was responsible for civilian and military administration. Within the extensive collection of archival material from Qanggin banner published in Inner Mongolia in 2016, the present paper concentrates on records of decisions of the banner administration from two different time spans, from 1747 to 1758 and from 1774 to 1782.[56] In more or less regular meetings, with intervals ranging from several days to several months, the head of the banner recorded issues brought forward by the banner population, which concerned changes in dependency relations. Expressions like *niγur tulju dangsalaba*[57], *niγur tulju dangsan-dur temdeglebe*[58] *bey-e-ber niγur tulju dangsan-dur temdeglebe*[59] ("recorded in the files during a face-to-face meeting") indicate that the issues were taken to the records in the presence of the persons concerned. So far, the records have not received scholarly attention.

The Qanggin banner archives are not the only Mongolian archives from the Qing period which include proceedings on transactions in people filed by local people. A comparable collection

[54] Van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research": 594; Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 21–23.
[55] There are no reliable data for the eighteenth century. According to Atwood 2002: 196, by the end of the dynasty the Mongolian population of the seven banners of Yeke Juu league has been estimated of about one hundred thousand people.
[56] QQJYD: XXV, 119–320.
[57] QQJYD: XXV, 287.
[58] QQJYD: XXV, 246.
[59] QQJYD: XXV, 253.

of documents on adoptions, manumissions and inheritance involving dependent people in Qing dynasty Mongolia are preserved in the archives from the office of the Northern left-wing banner in Khalkha Mongolia's Tüsiyetü Khan Aimag. Published in Ulaanbaatar in 1971 by Sh. Natsagdorj, the documents from Khalkha Mongolia date from 1738 to 1792 and have been investigated as an important source on kinship relations, slave emancipation and changes in dependency structures in Qing dynasty Mongolia.[60] Compared to these documents from Khalkha Mongolia's Tüsiyetü Khan Aimag, which reproduce the reports of individuals in detail, the entries in the Qanggin banner archives are much shorter, giving only basic information on the transaction. In return, the number of entries in the Qanggin banner archives is much greater, allowing it to observe regularities in the categories of transaction.

III.2. Categories of Transaction

III.2.1. Debt Slavery

According to Alain Testart[61], "debt slavery is a form of bondage resulting from a situation of debtor insolvency." As in the practices described by Testart, dependency resulting from debt among Mongols was a concomitant of extreme poverty. From the Qanggin archival records we learn that debt slavery in the Mongolian territories was closely connected to compensation practices. Secondly, the effects of the debt were often transferred to one or more dependents of the debtor, a situation, which Testart relates to intrinsic forms of dependency, which were rooted in family structures.[62]

For children in Qing dynasty Mongolia, to have parents accused of a crime entailed the risk of being given away in debt slavery. This practice was in accordance with Mongolian legal thinking, in which compensation of the victim was mandatory.[63] From the thirteenth century, it is well known that in case of poverty, family members of the debtor were given to the offended party at a certain exchange rate instead of cattle.[64] The Qanggin banner archives prove that this practice was continued under the Qing:

> On the same day, it was taken to the records that because Tuuqai of Baruuqai *sum* does not have livestock to give as compensation for stealing a horse from Taiji[65] Nasu of Sanjab *sum*, he has given his four-year-old son as compensation.[66]

---

[60] Hiroshi Futaki, "Shindai Haruha Mongoru no dorei kaihō bunsho ni tsuite [Qing Dynasty Khalkha Mongolian Manumission Documents]," in *Tōyōhōshi no tankyū: Shimada Masao hakase shōju kinen ronshū* [*Studies in Asian Legal History in Honor of Shimada Masao*], ed. Shimada Masao hakase shōju kinen ronshū kankō iinkai (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1987); Heuschert-Laage, "Künstliche und natürliche Verwandtschaft: Zu Adoption und Erbe in der Qalqa-Mongolei im 18. Jahrhundert"; Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia."

[61] Alain Testart, "The Extent and Significance of Debt Slavery," *Revue française de sociologie* 43, Supplement: An Annual English Selection (2002): 175, https://doi.org/10.2307/3322762.

[62] Testart, "The Extent and Significance of Debt Slavery": 178–79.

[63] Françoise Aubin, "Some Characteristics of Penal Legislation Among the Mongols (13th–21st Centuries)," in *Central Asian Law: An Historical Overview. A Festschrift for the Ninetieth Birthday of Herbert Franke*, ed. Wallace Johnson (Topeka, KS: Society for Asian Legal History, The Hall Center for the Humanities, 2004): 131–32.

[64] Aubin, "Some Characteristics of Penal Legislation Among the Mongols (13th–21st Centuries)": 136–37.

[65] Taiji constituted the aristocracy and claimed descent from Chinggis Khan and his brothers.

[66] QQJYD: XXV, 235. March 6, 1774 (tngri-yin tedkügsen / Qianlong (1736–1795) [referred to hereafter as QL] 39, 24th day of the first month of spring). On the term *yal-a* see Aubin, "Some Characteristics of Penal Legislation Among the Mongols (13th–21st Centuries): 142–43.

> On the same day, it was taken to the records that because Dorjimu of Majur *sum* had been caught stealing sheep of the *Kiy-a* guard[67] Dural and had no livestock for compensation, he gave his thirteen-year-old daughter to Dural and [in return] received one cow.[68]

The last entry gives the impression of a mutual agreement between debtor and the offended party. The debtor, however, was under compulsion to offer compensation, and for this reason agreed to a transaction which he very likely had otherwise rejected. What is presented here as an agreement reached between two actors in order to make up for the damage one side has inflicted on the other, actually conceals the power imbalance between a destitute herder and the banner authorities. The records also show that in cases of debt slavery, a third party, usually a wealthy or influential personality, could be involved in the compensation process:

> On the same day, the matter of Lubsang of Darji *sum* was decided in court, who after he had stolen a horse of Kisigtü of Dalad banner, had killed and eaten it, and was caught red-handed; because Lubsang owned absolutely no livestock, after nine animals were taken in the name of the responsible Janggi[69] of the *sum* [named] Darji, and presented to the owner of the [stolen] cattle Kisigtü, two sons of the thief Lubsang aged thirteen and nine years old were given to the Janggi Darji and were made 'people of the yurt' and this was taken to the records.[70]

While in many other cases the question, in what capacity the debtor's children entered the new household, is left open, for Lubsang's sons to be given away as compensation clearly entailed a change in status. Lubsang belonged to the large group of "tax- und duty-payers" (see section II.2.), and Darji was responsible for him in his capacity as official on the level of the *sum*. Through the transactional agreement, Lubsang's two sons became "people of the yurt" of Darji. Their change in status was not temporary, but permanent. They had to render a debt, which their father had become guilty of and which could not be reimbursed through labor, but bonded them for life. Darji was not a member of the aristocracy (in that case the file had identified him as Taiji), so he could not own "personal serfs." He nevertheless was willing to pay quite a high price, nine animals given to the aggrieved party, in order to have the two boys registered as his "people of the yurt." The case illustrates how local power relations reinforced the formation of dependency relationships. Initially, Darji was not involved in the case, but in the outcome, the number of his personal dependents was increased as a result of the compensation deal. Notably, the case was negotiated between two different banners: The offender Lubsang belonged to Qanggin banner, while Kisigtü, the victim, belonged to Dalad banner. If the compensation had been given directly, this had meant for Lubsang's sons to move to another banner. Another case likewise shows that inter-banner transactions were avoided:

> That same day, Bunikeü of Dorji *sum* made the following report: 'Last year, in the matter that Sirab of Majur *sum* stole a horse from Urad [banner] and his guilt was proved beyond doubt, Taiji Daicing made the decision that because Sirab had no "people of the yurt" nor any livestock to give as compensation, he should sell his fifteen-year-old daughter to me

[67] *Kiy-a* guards were personal guards in the service of a noble family (Bass, Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia: 132).
[68] QQJYD: XXV, 248. August 27, 1775 (QL 40, 2nd day of middle month of autumn).
[69] Official in the banner administration.
[70] QQJYD: XXV, 308–9. March 5, 1782 (QL 47, 22nd day of first month of spring).

> and one horse and objects worth three *lang*[71] [money] should be given as compensation.'
> For this reason, the matter was taken to the records accordingly.[72]

The offended party, which did not belong to Qanggin but to Urad banner, was compensated with livestock and objects. These were provided by someone from the banner community, who in turn raised the claim to have bought the debtor's daughter. The quote above makes clear the order, in which dependent people, livestock and children were seized in order to gather the required amount of compensation. "People of the yurt" were given away first, while children were only claimed if the debtor owned no livestock.

For the sake of completeness, it should be noticed that not only dependent people and biological children could be forced into debt slavery. Younger siblings and in one case even the mother of the offender could likewise be coerced into dependency. The Qanggin banner records consulted for this essay include only three cases, in which the offender himself had to face debt slavery. In one case, a camel thief became a "boy of the yurt" of the victim,[73] while in the other cases, the debtor did not directly enter into a dependency relationship with the offended party, but became a slave (*boγol*)[74] or "boy" (*köbüd*)[75] of other people within the banner, who in turn had to provide compensation for the offended party.

Debt slavery was known among Mongols already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[76] In contrast to that time, the practices observable in Qanggin banner in the eighteenth century frequently involved a third party. Very likely, this development was in context with increasing impoverishment in the Mongolian territories, where stolen livestock often was immediately killed and eaten. A household, which had become victim of livestock theft, was deprived of its means of subsistence. In this situation, compensation in form of another mouth to be fed was of no avail. Well-to-do members of the community, who provided the offended household with cattle to make up for the damage, while forcing family members of the debtor into dependency, stepped in as intermediaries.

III.2.2. Household Extension and Acquisition of Labor

The Qanggin archival records include only scarce information on the capacity, in which people, who were forcefully displaced, entered a new household, and what services they were expected to render. In the discussion on dependency relationships in Mongolia (see section II.2.), it was argued that one way of acquiring labor force was the extension of the encampment, which could be achieved by the forceful displacement of people. However, there is evidence for a rural labor surplus in Qing dynasty Mongolia,[77] and this should caution us to relate all transactions in human beings to the acquisition of labor. In order to better understand the motives and circumstances of displacement, this section investigates who the actors were and in what relationship they were with each other. An important aspect in this context is the social integration of the displaced person: Children, women and men could be

[71] Unit of currency.
[72] QQJYD: XXV, 253–54. April 27, 1776 (QL 41, 10th day of last month of spring).
[73] QQJYD: XXV, 290. July 22, 1779 (QL 44, 10th day of last month of summer).
[74] QQJYD: XXV, 309. March 5, 1782 (QL 47, 22nd day of first month of spring).
[75] QQJYD: XXV, 316. March 5, 1782 (QL 47, 22nd day of first month of spring).
[76] Aubin, "Some Characteristics of Penal Legislation Among the Mongols (13th–21st Centuries)": 131–32; Biran, "Forced Migrations and Slavery in the Mongol Empire (1206–1368)": 87.
[77] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*: 328.

forced into dependency individually, but also within the unit of their household. We may assume that persons who became object of a transaction in association with family members, were in a position of 'client' households.[78] The situation of persons, who were uprooted alone and who usually lived in the same household as their alleged owner, however, is much more difficult to assess. Among those, who entered a now household alone, boys adopted as heirs were probably in the most favorable position.

Qing law explicitly restricted Mongolian women's inheritance rights, and allowed adoption only of (male) agnatic kinsmen.[79] Male persons, who did not belong to the patrilineal kin group, could only claim entitlement to inherit, if there were no male agnatic relatives, and if they had been registered in the banner office during the lifetime of the testator as adoptees.[80] The need to have the names of non-biological (or extramarital) sons recorded in the banner office is reflected in the Qanggin archival records, and, among the changes in dependency relations, quite a number of entries concern the registration of heirs. In most cases, the adoptees are presented to the administration as agnatic kin, but there are also a number of entries in which the adoption of a boy with no family ties is requested with no information on the existence (or non-existence) of agnatic candidates for adoption.

> On the same day, it was taken to the records and approved that Barimad of Bičaqai *sum*, who in the 21st year of Qianlong (1756) had bought a one-year-old boy from Sundui of Majur *sum*, made a report on the first day of the middle month of autumn of the 40th year of Qianlong (1775) with the words: 'I want to adopt (*köbegünčiley-e*) that boy'.[81]
>
> On the twenty-fourth of the middle month of winter, it was taken to the records that Badma of Tegüsküleng *sum* adopted (*köbegünčilen*) the eight-year-old Jamsu, son of the 'boy' (*köbüd*) Bayar of Sabdandorji of Jeb *sum*, and gave a horse and a *deel*[82] to Bayar.[83]

While in other parts of the Qing empire, the law, which forbid adopted children of slave status to change into the group of commoners, was strictly enforced,[84] the last entry indicates that in the Mongolian territories this was not always the case. Badma adopted the son of another man's 'boy'; the gift, which was exchanged on this occasion, was given to the biological father of the child. As several other passages likewise show, Mongolian adopting parents were not anxious to conceal the origin of their adoptees. This is in contrast to the observations of Watson on transactions in people in South China, where it was considered crucial that birth parents would not be able to locate their child.[85] According to the Qanggin records, usually favors were given to the adoptee's biological family, and the boundary between payment and gift is not clear. As the following entry shows, the terminology of buying and selling was sometimes carefully avoided:

---

[78] Sneath, "Producer Groups and the Decollectivisation of the Mongolian Pastoral Economy": 1081–82.
[79] On inheritance in Qing dynasty Mongolia, Heuschert-Laage, "Künstliche und natürliche Verwandtschaft: Zu Adoption und Erbe in der Qalqa-Mongolei im 18. Jahrhundert."
[80] Bayarsaihan, *Mongyol čayajin-u bičig*: 70–75.
[81] QQJYD: XXV, 247–48. August 27, 1775 (QL 40, 2nd day of middle month of autumn).
[82] Mongolian coat.
[83] QQJYD: XXV, 250–51. January 14, 1776 (QL 40, 24th day of middle month of winter).
[84] Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Slavery in Early Modern China," 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): 188.
[85] James Watson, "Transactions in People: The Chinese Market in Slaves, Servants, and Heirs," in *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980): 233.

> When, in times of distress, Šarabdan of Zambu *sum* took his newborn son and abandoned him in the wilderness, Taki of Damčuγ *sum* found him, took care of him and raised him and gave to his father Šarabdan one neutered goat, four buckets of grain, one piece of coarse linen and one brick of tea; the transaction[86] was not taken to the records [at the time], but now his responsible Taiji Jamsan has received one large livestock, which he had demanded from Taki, and the thirteen year old boy Obungkeü is taken to the records as [Taki's] son.[87]

Obviously, in this case the adopting family got in trouble, because they had not registered their adoptive son with the responsible Taiji in time. Considering the items given to the biological family of the adoptee, the handling fee of one large livestock seems to be fairly high and may be due to the procrastination of the case. Moreover, the case stands out for its ambiguity to present the adoption of Obungkeü as both, an act of charity and an economic transaction.

While boys when they entered a new household had a certain change of being acknowledged as son, for girls the situation was different. According to the Qanggin archives, girls were sold more frequently than boys, and in most cases, the sellers were their fathers.

> That same day, it was taken to the records that Mayitai of Čerinčüü *sum* sold his seven-year-old daughter to Cambu Gelüng of Sonom *sum* and took three *lang* [money].[88]

> That same day, it was taken to the records that Baljur Gelüng of Kiraqai *sum* bought the twelve-year-old daughter of Nasun of Lubsang *sum* for two cattle and one piece of coarse linen.[89]

In both cases, the buyers were *gelüng*, i. e. fully-fledged monks. In Mongolia, only a minority of monks lived in monasteries, and it was not uncommon for a *gelüng* to return to the countryside and live with a woman and children. The information on the transaction is extremely sketchy, but it is likely that the girls entered the respective households as servants. They were, of course, vulnerable to sexual exploitation.

In cases of parents selling their children, the documents frequently adopt a language of desperation with set phrases, which refer to "bad times" (*cayγ-un mayγuu-dur*)[90] and situations of desperateness and extreme poverty, such as "having lost livelihood" (*aju törökü aryγ-a-ügei-degen*).[91]

> It was taken to the records that Dalaijab of Quduγ *sum*, because he did not have the means to raise her, sold his three-year-old daughter to Namulai of Kibsüng *sum* for two pieces of cloth.[92]

> It was taken to the records during a face-to-face meeting that Biligtü of Erinčin *sum* said: 'I have nothing to live on', and sold his eleven-year-old son named Sayitu to Janggi Bilig

[86] Literally „the giving and taking" *öggüged abuγsan*.
[87] QQJYD: XXV, 266–67. December 22, 1777 (QL 42, 23rd day of the middle month of winter.
[88] QQJYD: XXV, 183. February 22, 1753 (QL 18, 20th day of first month of spring).
[89] QQJYD: XXV, 235. March 6, 1774 (QL 39, 24th day of the first month of spring).
[90] QQJYD: XXV, 288.
[91] QQJYD: XXV, 286 and 291. For a similar observation on the language in Chinese legal material see Ransmeier, *Sold People. Traffickers and Family Life in North China*: 5.
[92] QQJYD: XXV, 224. March 10, 1757 (QL 22, 21st day of the first month of spring).

> for one cow, grain worth of two *lang* [money], one piece of coarse linen and one [brick of] tea.[93]
>
> It was taken to the records that Qoura of Čoγtai *sum* sold his younger sister to Taiji Sunjin for items worth of three *lang* [money].[94]

Notably, the eleven-year-old boy Sayitu was sold at the highest price, and, among the children coerced into dependency, he is also the only one who is referred to by name. This may be seen as further indication that male children were valued higher than female. Women, however, were not only victims of transactions in people, but could also claim property rights over others.[95] As the Qanggin archival records confirm, they did so especially as widows acting on behalf of their deceased husbands:

> That same day, it was taken to the records, that the lady of the deceased Taiji Dondoγ gave four people, Saranjab, Toγar, Somonai, and Bayar, to her grandson, Taiji Darmasiri as his property (*ömči*).[96]

We do not know, what reasons the lady had to transfer dependent people to her grandson, who at some point would have been among the rightful heirs anyway. It is likely that she wanted to make sure a safe transfer or that other parts of her wealth were passed on to other family members not mentioned in the record.[97] The entry makes plain, that the claim on property rights over people was not confined to the alleged owner's lifetime, but – within the confines of Qing law – could be inherited on discretionary basis. As the following entry shows, women not only arranged for the inheritance of dependent people, but sometimes closed their own deals.

> On the same day, it was taken to the records that Gočiqu's lady of Jortai *sum* sold 'people of the yurt', [namely] the household of Nurmu with four people, to Čorji Lama of Sangqu *sum* (*Sangqu sumuni Čorji blam-a-du*) for one camel.[98]

In the records from Qanggin banner, quite a number of people who acquired human beings, are referred to by their Buddhist ranks and titles. In all cases, their affiliation is specified with an administrative unit like the *sum*, not with a monastery. By the end of the Qing period, a large percentage of Mongolian men had finished a monastic education and had taken monastic vows,[99] but for the mid-eighteenth century, there are no numbers on the percentage of the male population with monastic ranks. For this reason, the involvement of monks in transactions in people is not necessarily disproportionate.

---

[93] QQJYD: XXV, 275. July 3, 1778 (QL 43, 10th day of last month of summer).
[94] QQJYD: XXV, 252. January 14, 1776 (QL 40, 24th day of middle month of winter).
[95] Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 390–95.
[96] QQJYD: XXV, 276. January 2, 1779 (QL 43, 15th day of middle month of winter).
[97] For an example of inheritance of a family's dependents in the patrilineal line, and material wealth in the matrilineal line see Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 395.
[98] QQJYD: XXV, 192. March 25, 1754 (QL 19, 2nd day of last month of spring).
[99] For estimated numbers in the various parts of Mongolia see Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*: 508.

III.2.3. Human Dowry

The Qanggin banner archives give little evidence for the reselling of human beings for profit. However, not all people, who were forced to enter another household with the status of slave or "boy of the yurt," actually stayed there for life. People given away as compensation of debt were among those, who were further uprooted. Moreover, persons who were required to serve others as "human dowry" (*inje*) were forced to transfer from one dependency relationship to another. According to Mongolian custom, a bride of noble origin and rich background would be given maidservants, and in some cases also menservants, to accompany her to her new home and be at her command.[100] We know of this Mongolian practice already from thirteenth century, when the number of people forced to join a bride could number in the hundreds.[101] According to the Qanggin records, fathers or brothers, who granted a female family member a "human dowry," usually assigned one or two of their "people of the yurt" to accompany her. In this source, the largest number of people allocated as "human dowry," is six. Not always were these people chosen from the existing group of "people of the yurt," and the purchase of a person could be in direct connection with the desire to equip a family member with "human dowry." The following two transactions were concluded on the same day:

> That same day it was taken to the records that Ayusi of Siratoloγai *sum*, because he did not have enough to live on, sold his twenty-one-year-old daughter to Čuuqai of Kibsüng *sum* for three *lang* [money].[102]
>
> That same day, it was taken to the records, that Čuuqai of Kibsüng *sum* equipped his daughter with a dowry and gave one 'person of the yurt', a twenty-one-year-old girl, to Jibalu of Majur *sum*.[103]

Because in both entries the name of the young woman is not mentioned, it cannot be proved beyond doubt that the twenty-one-year-old female Čuuqai bought, was the person he registered as "human dowry" that same day. If this was indeed the case, however, it shows again that the condition of being bought and sold went along with loss of status. Ayusi, the father of the girl, belonged to the group of "tax- and duty-payers," while the girl forced into the role of "human dowry" was referred to as "person of the yurt." The fact that she had been the object of a transaction transformed the girl from commoner to slave status.

The Qanggin archives include further evidence that persons, who had to accompany the bride as part of the dowry, beforehand had become victim of forced displacement.

> Because that same day Erinčen's 'boy' with the name Obootu said: 'I am suffering greatly, because I was forcefully enslaved[104] by the Janggi [E]rinčen', we examined the old records and [found] that in the 28th year of Qianlong (1763) Taiji Dorji of Sanjab *sum* bought the eleven-year-old boy Obootu from the woman Qarakeü of Nasun *sum* for five buckets of

[100] The role of dowry in Mongolian history has recently been discussed by Chuluunbaatar Udaanjargal and Leland Liu Rogers, "Property Relations of Mongolian Women during the Qing Period," *Inner Asia* 22 (2020): 320–38.
[101] Atwood, *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*: 461.
[102] QQJYD: XXV, 249. August 27, 1775 (QL 40, 2nd day of middle month of autumn).
[103] QQJYD: XXV, 249, August 27, 1775 (QL 40, 2nd day of middle month of autumn).
[104] Literally: "made Chinese" *kitadčilan.* Beginning in the sixteenth century, the term *kitad* became a Mongolian term of enslavement, while retaining its original meaning "Chinese" (Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 90–100).

> grain, a pair of a sheep and a goat, one piece of coarse linen and tea, and gave it [all] to the mother; because there can be no doubt that Taiji Dorji made [the boy] follow his daughter[105] as dowry and handed him over to Janggi Erinčen, Obootu was rebuked and given instructions and Janggi Erinčen's competence was entered in the records.[106]

Notably, it was possible for Obootu, a "boy of the yurt," who once had been purchased and given away as "human dowry," to file a complaint against the man, who claimed property rights over him. His case was taken seriously and underwent judicial review. This is important for understanding the agency, which "people of the yurt" could develop within the structures of Qing administration. Even though Obootu's attempt to free himself from Erinčen's claims on him was not successful, his advance shows that agency in this relationship of asymmetrical dependency was not unidirectional.[107] The Qing state, which protected alleged property rights of human beings over others (see section I.2.), likewise opened up opportunities for questioning these rights.

The practice of human dowry was common not only among Mongol, but also among the Manchu elites of the Qing empire. Wei-chieh Tsai investigated the role of Han and Manchu bondservants, who accompanied Manchu princesses to their Mongolian in-laws as part of the dowry. He points out that, after the death of a princess, her "human dowry" would be reallocated by the court, and, not unfrequently, dependent people were sent back to Beijing.[108] This shows that people regarded as dowry would not inevitably pass over into the possession of the Mongolian husband and the princess's children. The Qanggin records suggest that, likewise, in Mongolian society property rights of a surviving husband over "human dowry" of his deceased wife were not very strong.

> Even though before, in the 37th year of Qianlong (1772), it was taken to the records that Taiji Čoyijung of Majur *sum* made a 'boy' named Yasai to the dowry of his daughter and gave him to the bridegroom Jalan[109] Sanji of Kibzüng *sum*, now, because Yasai says: 'Sanji is treating me badly' and the bride has passed away, Yasai is handed over to the originally competent Taiji Rabdan and it was taken to the records that same day that he is released into Majur *sum*.[110]

Yasai, after the death of the woman he had accompanied to her in-laws, obtained manumission, and was registered as a "tax- and duty-payer" under the responsibility of the family, who once had given him away as "human dowry." Even though Yasai had been registered as property of the *bridegroom,* the death of the former bride was an argument for his manumission. This suggests that people, who were made "human dowry," had a special status with several parties being entitled to bring forward property claims against them. This, however, may also have enabled people forced into the role of "human dowry" to negotiate for their own interests. For them, the death of the former bride represented an opportunity

[105] Literally: "lady" *abaγai.*
[106] QQJYD: XXV, 250. October 9, 1775 (QL 40, 15th day of last month of autumn).
[107] Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 11.
[108] Tsai, "Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia, 1700–1911": 164–65.
[109] Official in the banner administration with the rank of Jalan-u Janggi.
[110] QQJYD: XXV, 311. March 5, 1782 (QL 47, 22nd day of first month of spring). The spelling of Kibsüng/Kibzüng/ Keyibsüng *sum* varies in the Qanggin archival records.

for manumission and a raise in status. As will be discussed below, manumission could also be obtained in other constellations.

III.2.4. Manumission

As the Mongolian scholar Natsagdorj pointed out, over the course of the Qing dynasty, especially in the time between 1770 and 1870, the number of "people of the yurt" in Mongolia decreased. By the late 19th century, there is almost no reference to people with this status in the sources.[111] The reasons for this development are not entirely clear, but are probably related to increasing poverty.[112] The inheritance records from Khalkha Mongolia's Tüsiyetü Khan Aimag (see section III.1.) show that it was common practice among "tax- and duty-payers," to make arrangements in the banner office, so that – after their death – their slaves or "boys of the yurt" were likewise acknowledged to have this status. These dependents were frequently presented as children bought in infancy, or as sons who men had with women with the status of "people of the yurt."[113] The terminology used for manumission suggests that it was not just regarded as an administrative act but a physical transformation: In the sources, to become a member of the *sum* as "tax- and duty-payer" is eventually referred to as "whitening one's bones" (*yasu-i anu čayilγaju*).[114] According to Samuel Bass, "whitening of bones symbolized a transition from a non-color, degraded status of slave or illegitimacy to one of banner or parish membership."[115] What needed to be "whitened," was not conceived as the result of polluting labor, but was the situation of being outside of the banner community.[116] In addition, the records from the Qanggin banner archive indicate that manumission was frequently framed as adoption:

> On the first day of the last autumn month, it was taken to the records that Sarab Bandi of Majur *sum*, because he had no offspring, adopted his own 'boy of the yurt' Banjiraša as his son and released him to become an armed soldier of the *sum*.[117]
>
> The same day, it was taken to the records that Ayusi, the son of Jodba of Namujab *sum*, releases [his] 'people of the yurt', Gelüng Dongrub and Sunrab, into the *sum*, and they become 'duty-payers' of the Taiji.[118]

With regard to the last entry, it seems likely that Gelüng Dongrub and Sunrab had been "people of the yurt" of Ayusi's father, and were released upon the father's death. The two entries also show that, strictly speaking, the release was framed as a transfer, which entailed the transition from one form of dependency to another. After their release, Banjiraša, Gelüng Dongrub and Sunrab belonged to the large group of "tax- und duty-payers."

In contrast to the records from Khalkha Mongolia's Tüsiyetü Khan Aimag, the Qanggin records provide little insight into merit generation as motivation for manumission. In accordance with

[111] Natsagdorj, "Geriin hüvüüdiin uchir": 83–84.
[112] Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 220.
[113] Heuschert-Laage, "Künstliche und natürliche Verwandtschaft: Zu Adoption und Erbe in der Qalqa-Mongolei im 18. Jahrhundert": 188–94.
[114] Heuschert-Laage, "Künstliche und natürliche Verwandtschaft: Zu Adoption und Erbe in der Qalqa-Mongolei im 18. Jahrhundert": 194.
[115] Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 140.
[116] Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 126.
[117] QQJYD: XXV, 264. October 1, 1777 (QL 42, 1st day of last month of autumn).
[118] QQJYD: XXV, 216. January 13, 1757 (QL 21, 24th day of middle month of winter).

the Buddhist concept of merit accumulated as a result of good deeds and thoughts, to release a person into a different (and better) status category, was conceived as a highly meritorious act.[119] Especially offerings of slaves to monasterial estates have to be understood in this context. The decision of Ayusi to release the dependents of his father, Gelüng Dongrub and Sunrab, may also have been motivated accordingly.

According to the Qanggin archival records, manumission frequently required a ransom. As the case of a certain Čaγangelüng makes plain, it was not impossible for people with the status of "boy of the yurt" to accumulate extensive wealth and utilize it in order to obtain a change in status:

> In the court dispute between Sundui and Čaγan Gelüng, Čaγan Gelüng, who [according to the records] was a 'person of the yurt' of Taiji Sundui of Keyibsüng *sum*, said: 'I was a "person of the yurt" of Čubai, I was not a "person of the yurt" of Taiji Sundui'; that same day Čaγan Gelüng and his two younger brothers, these three people, were made 'people of the yurt' of Čubai of Noyad *sum* and this was taken to the records.[120]

While it is striking that – apparently – Čaγan Gelüng's statement alone was sufficient evidence to alter his and his brothers' administrative affiliation, an entry made one year later indicates that Čaγan Gelüng owned a considerable quantity of livestock. He used his wealth to exit his status of "person of the yurt":[121]

> The same day it was taken to the records that, because Čubui of Noyad *sum* could not make a living, he released [his] 'people of the yurt', Čaγangelüng and his two disciples and the two people of Lubsang's household, altogether five people, and offered them to the responsible Taiji Sabdan; [Čubui] took fifty sheep and five large livestock from Čaγangelüng.[122]

The impression is that Čaγan Gelüng in 1755 initiated legal proceedings, so that he became the property of someone else, Čubui, who, in 1756, was willing to release him and his followers for the payment of a substantial amount in livestock. Again, there is no indication that the monastery where Čaγan Gelüng took his vows made any claims on him or his property. In other cases, manumission was granted in return for loyalty:

> Because Sanjab, a 'person of the yurt' of Jalan Yerentei, made a report when the Qaraču Noyan complotted against Jalan Yerentei, now, after he gave two horses to Jalan Yerentei, Sanjab, Sundui and Gendün, father and sons, altogether four people, are made 'duty-payers' of the responsible Taiji Altangerel and become armored soldiers of Dalantai *sum*.[123]

---

[119] Bass, "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia": 227–61.

[120] QQJYD: XXV, 206–7. December 22, 1755 (QL 20, 20th day of middle month of winter).

[121] On payment of ransom in case of manumission see Tsai, "Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia, 1700–1911": 111.

[122] QQJYD: XXV, 214. November 1, 1756 (QL 21, 9th day of leap autumn month). The variants in the spelling of names can be explained with different scribes in the banner office. Regarding the companions of the *gelüng*, the inconsistency of "younger brothers" (*degüü*) versus "disciples" (*šabi*) may indicate the growing respect towards Čaγan Gelüng.

[123] QQJYD: XXV, 257. August 14, 1776 (QL 41, 1st day of 1st month of autumn). The household apparently also included a person, whose name is not mentioned in the records.

Because of Sanjab's trustworthiness when Yerentei was attacked by a third party, he was granted the chance to free himself from the status of "person of the yurt." In addition to Yerentei's acceptance to release him and his family, however, this required a ransom. From this we may conclude that, despite of his dependent status, Sanjab disposed over property to which Yerentei had no access.

IV. Conclusion

The present paper deals with *transactions* in people, but the people in Qanggin banner, who were forced into dependency relationships (or managed to get out of it), did not leave the confines of the local administrative unit of the banner. An important aspect of slaving practices in Qing dynasty Mongolia was their restriction to the level of the banner. When van Rossum distinguishes between mobilizing and immobilizing regimes of asymmetrical dependency and enslavement,[124] the constellations in Qanggin banner rather point to the latter. A diachronic investigation of slavery regimes in Mongolian history will particularly focus on this aspect, when contrasting slaving practices of the Qing period with those of the Mongol empire. While thirteenth century Mongols are credited with the establishment of long-distance slave trade routes and networks of trafficking,[125] slaving in the eighteenth century was negotiated between local actors and tied people down to their community.

Qing law with its establishment of categories of legal status had considerable impact on inter-Mongol relations in terms of asymmetrical dependency. Legal provisions of the state, however, were not the only factors shaping slaving practices in Qanggin banner. Debt slavery and human dowry were practiced in Mongolian societies long before the Qing period, but with the integration into the Qing empire they were administered by authorities confirmed by the Qing court. As section III.2.1. makes plain, debt slavery in the eighteenth century frequently involved a third party, who offered to provide livestock for the payment of compensation while in return enslaving a member of the debtor's family. As there are no guidelines for this practice in relevant legal codes, it can be regarded as an adaption of existing practices to the increasing impoverishment of wide sections of the population. This leads to the conclusion that the demand for compensation of the offended party was an important component in the reproduction and transformation of relationships of asymmetrical dependency. In effect, the involvement of a third party led to a concentration of property claims over dependent people in the hands of fewer people. This can be seen as an example for the adaptability of informal regimes of slavery to internal and external pressures.[126] In Qanggin banner, many of those, who purchased other human beings or benefitted from debt slavery, had ranks in the banner administration. Holders of offices like *Kiy-a* and *Janggi* seem to have been wealthy enough to enlarge their encampment with individuals and client families. While members of the aristocracy maintained different types of dependency relationships to "tax- und duty-payers," "personal serfs" and "people of the yurt," office-holders, who did not belong to the upper aristocracy, possibly saw the acquisition of "people of the yurt" as a means to consolidate their local power base.

[124] Van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations": 591–92.
[125] Zeuske, *Handbuch der Geschichte der Sklaverei*: 324.
[126] Van Rossum, "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research": 574.

As in other parts of the world, in Qing dynasty Mongolia the majority of enslaved people were women and children,[127] and an impoverished family was never safe from being torn apart. The ones most prone to be given away were younger family members, children and young women. Apart from debt slavery, they could be sold by fathers (sometimes also mothers) and elder brothers, in order to improve the economic situation of the family. There is not much information on the services these people were supposed to render. They lived dispersed in encampments, and some of them were forcefully transferred into other dependency relationships as "human dowry." In what way property claims on people declared to be "human dowry" differed from claims on other enslaved people calls for further research. With regard to notions of property, the study confirms the close relationship between property and inheritance inherent in the Mongolian term *ömči*.[128] Dependents, just like other property, could be passed on to the next generation, but in the case of inheritance their dependence could stand up for discussion. There is evidence that this went especially for people, who were forced into a life as "human dowry."

Manumission was not framed in the terminology of freedom, but was referred to as "release into the local administrative unit," and thus meant a change into a different kind of dependency. Even though in Qing dynasty Mongolia, commoners as "tax- and duty-payers" often suffered from the burdens imposed on them from the local administration, for historical actors it was obviously desirable to abandon the status of slave or "people/boy of the yurt" and rather have this status. This change, however, required the consent of the person (or family) who regarded a dependent person as their property, and who often expected compensatory measures. The paper shows that some slaves and "people of the yurt" were able to accumulate considerable wealth, which was out of the reach of their alleged owner. Even though these cases seem to have been exceptions, there is evidence that the status of slave or "boy of the yurt" was not the only deciding factor for a person's place in the community. Further research on local archives will show how relationships of asymmetrical dependency were shaped by the interaction of legal norms, practices and local power relations.

[127] Miller, "History as a Problem of Slaving": 219.
[128] Sneath, ""Mongolia in the 'Age of the Market': Pastoral Land-Use and the Development Discourse": 202.

Bibliography

Antweiler, Christoph. "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 18.10.2022].

Atwood, Christopher P. *Young Mongols and Vigilantes in Inner Mongolia's Interregnum Decades, 1911–1931* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

Atwood, Christopher P. *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire* (New York: Facts On File, 2004).

Aubin, Françoise. "Some Characteristics of Penal Legislation Among the Mongols (13th–21st Centuries)," in *Central Asian Law: An Historical Overview. A Festschrift for the Ninetieth Birthday of Herbert Franke*, ed. Wallace Johnson (Topeka, KS: Society for Asian Legal History, The Hall Center for the Humanities, 2004): 119–51.

Bass, Samuel H. "The Bound Steppe: Slavery, State, and Family in Qing Mongolia" (PhD. Diss., Indiana University, 2021).

Bawden, Charles. *The Modern History of Mongolia* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1968).

Bayarsaihan, Batsühiin. *Mongyol čaγajin-u bičig* [*The Mongolian Statute Book*] (Ulaanbaatar, 2004).

Biran, Michal. "Forced Migrations and Slavery in the Mongol Empire (1206–1368)," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500-AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 76–99.

Chevaleyre, Claude. "Acting as Master and Bondservant: Considerations on Status, Identities and the Nature of 'Bond-Servitude' in Late Ming China," in *Labour, Coercion, and Economic Growth in Eurasia, 17th–20th Centuries*, ed. Alessandro Stanziani (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013): 238–72.

Chevaleyre, Claude. "Human Trafficking in Late Imperial China," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2022): 150–77.

Chuluunbaatar, Udaanjargal, and Leland Liu Rogers. "Property Relations of Mongolian Women during the Qing Period," *Inner Asia* 22 (2020): 320–38.

Constant, Frédéric. "The Legal Administration of Qing Mongolia," *Late Imperial China* 40, no. 1 (2019): 133–73.

Crossley, Pamela Kyle. "Slavery in Early Modern China," 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): 186–213.

Da Qing Huidian [Collected Institutions of the Great Qing Dynasty], 1690, 162 chap. (Woodprint preserved in the Harvard-Yenching Library).

De Vito, Christian G. "History Without Scale: The Micro-Spatial Perspective," *Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies* 242, no. S14 (2019): 348–72.

Duve, Thomas. "What is Global Legal History?," *Comparative Legal History* 8, no. 2 (2020): 73–115.

Futaki, Hiroshi. "Shindai Haruha Mongoru no dorei kaihō bunsho ni tsuite [Qing Dynasty Khalkha Mongolian Manumission Documents]," in *Tōyōhōshi no tankyū: Shimada Masao hakase shōju kinen ronshū* [*Studies in Asian Legal History in Honor of Shimada Masao*], ed. Shimada Masao hakase shōju kinen ronshū kankō iinkai (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 1987): 21–43.

Hagihara, Mamoru. “Shindai Mongoru ni okeru jinshin baibai kisei-hō [Legislation on Human Trafficking in Qing dynasty Mongolia],” *Tōhōgaku = Eastern Studies* 139 (2020): 22–38.

Heuschert, Dorothea. *Die Gesetzgebung der Qing für die Mongolen im 17. Jahrhundert anhand des Mongolischen Gesetzbuches aus der Kangxi-Zeit (1662–1722)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998).

Heuschert, Dorothea. “Legal Pluralism in the Qing Empire: Manchu Legislation for the Mongols,” *The International History Review* 20, no. 2 (1998): 310–24.

Heuschert-Laage, Dorothea. “Künstliche und natürliche Verwandtschaft: Zu Adoption und Erbe in der Qalqa-Mongolei im 18. Jahrhundert,” *Zentralasiatische Studien des Seminars für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens* 38 (2009): 185–98.

Hunt, Peter. “Slaves or Serfs? Patterson on the Thetes and Helots of Ancient Greece,” in *On Human Bondage. After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons Inc, 2017): 55–80.

LFYTB = *Qingchao qianqi lifanyuan man meng wen tiben / Dayičing gürün-ü ekin üy-e-yin yadayadu Mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-u manju mongyol ayiladqal-un debter-üd* [*Manchu and Mongolian Routine Memorials of the Lifanyuan From the Early Qing Period*], ed. Borjigidai Oyunbilig, Wu Yuanfeng and Jiyačidai Buyandelger, 23 vols. (Hohhot: Nei Menggu renmin chubanshe, 2010).

MacCormack, Geoffrey. *The Spirit of Traditional Chinese Law* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996).

Miller, Joseph. “History as a Problem of Slaving,” in *Critical Readings on Global Slavery*, ed. Damian Alan Pargas and Felicia Rosu (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 201–48.

Mongyol-un čayajan-u bičig [Mongolian Code], undated woodprint preserved at the National Library in Ulaanbaatar under the following note of registration: Ґadayadu mongyol-un törö-yi jasaqu yabudal-un yamun-un engke amuyulang-un üy-e-dü 1693 on-du keblegsen, dotor-a 1629 on-ača ekileged udayа-a darayа-a qayad-un üy-e-dü jarlaysan čayaja-ud-i jasamjilaysan mongyol-un čayajan-u bičig [Mongolian Statute-Book, Which has Corrected the Laws Proclaimed in the Time of the Successive Emperors from 1629 Onwards and Which Was Published in 1693 During the Time of Kangxi by the Lifanyuan].

Natsagdorj, Sh. “Geriin hüvüüdiin uchir [On Boys of the Yurt],” *Shinjleh uhaany medee* [*Scientific Reports*] 2 (1965): 83–88.

Natsagdorj, Sh. *Mongolchuudyn öv övlöh erh* [*Inheritance Rights of the Mongols*] (Ulan Bator: n.p., 1971).

Oyunjargal, Ochir. “Süm hamjlagyg yalgah shaardlaga: Saishaalt Eröөltiin üeiin Tüsheet han aimgiin jisheen deer [The Demand to Divide Commoners into *Sumu* and *Qamjily-a:* The Case of Tüsiyetü Khan Aimag in the Jiaqing Period],” in *Chin uls ba Mongolchuud* [*The Qing dynasty and the Mongols*], ed. Sampildondovyn Chuluun, Hurts, Hiroki Oka (Sendai: Center for Northeast Asian Studies, 2014): 103-27.

Oyunjargal, Ochir. “House Slaves and Legislation: The Case of Qalq-a during the Qing Period,” Paper presented at the 16th Annual Conference of the Central Eurasian Studies Society, 2015: 1–9.

Patterson, Orlando. “Revisiting Slavery, Property, and Social Death,” in *On Human Bondage. After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons Inc, 2017): 265–96.

Patterson, Orlando. *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

Patterson, Orlando, and Xiaolin Zhuo. “Modern Trafficking, Slavery, and Other Forms of Servitude,” *Annual Review of Sociology* 44 (2018): 407–39.

Poppe, Nicholas. *Grammar of Written Mongolian* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1954).

QQJYD = *Qanggin qosiγun-u jasaγ yamun-u dangsa* [*Files of the Administrative Office of Qanggin Banner*], ed. Bayan, Soyoltu, 65 vols. (Kölön buir: Öbör mongγol-un keblel-ün bülüglel, öbör mongγol-un soyol-un keblel-ün qoriy-a, 2016).

Ransmeier, Johanna S. *Sold People. Traffickers and Family Life in North China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

Reid, Anthony. "Slavery and Forced Labour in Asia: *Status Quaestionis*," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022): 33–48.

Siegrist, Hannes, and David Sugarman. "Geschichte als historisch-vergleichende Eigentumswissenschaft. Rechts-, kultur- und gesellschaftsgeschichtliche Perspektiven," in *Eigentum im internationalen Vergleich, 18.–20. Jahrhundert*, ed. Hannes Siegrist and David Sugarman (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 9–30.

Skrynnikova, Tat'jana D. "Boghol, A Category of Submission at the Mongols," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58, no. 3 (2005): 313–19 [= *Proceedings of the First International Conference on the Mediaeval History of the Eurasian Steppe: Szeged, Hungary May 11—16, 2004*: part 3].

Sneath, David. "Mongolia in the 'Age of the Market': Pastoral Land-Use and the Development Discourse," in *Markets and Moralities. Ethnographies of Ethnographies of Postsocialism*, ed. Ruth Mandel and Caroline Humphrey (Milton: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002): 191–210.

Sneath, David. "Producer Groups and the Decollectivisation of the Mongolian Pastoral Economy," in *The History of Mongolia*, ed. David Sneath and Christopher Kaplonski (Folkestone: Global Oriental Ltd, 2010): 1067–88 [first published in: *Group Behaviour and Development. Is the Market Destroying Cooperation?*, ed. Judith Heyer, Frances Stewart and Rosemary Thorp (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002): 161–84].

Sneath, David. "Commonwealth, Inalienable Possessions, and the *res publica*: The Anthropology of Aristocratic Order and the Landed Estate," *History and Anthropology* 29, no. 3 (2018): 324–41, https://doi.org/10.1080/02757206.2018.1459598.

Sneath, David. *Mongolia Remade, Post-socialist National Culture, Political Economy, and Cosmopolitics* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

Stolpe, Ines. *Schule versus Nomadismus? Interdependenzen von Bildung und Migration in der modernen Mongolei* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008).

Stolpe, Ines, Judith Nordby and Ulrike Gonzales, eds. *Mongolian Responses to Globalisation Processes*, Bonner Asienstudien 13 (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017).

Testart, Alain. "The Extent and Significance of Debt Slavery," *Revue française de sociologie* 43, Supplement: An Annual English Selection (2002): 173–204, https://doi.org/10.2307/3322762.

Tsai, Wei-chieh. "Mongolization of Han Chinese and Manchu Settlers in Qing Mongolia, 1700–1911" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2017).

Van der Linden, Marcel. "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): 293–322.

Van Rossum, Matthias. "Slavery and Its Transformations: Prolegomena for a Global and Comparative Research," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 63, no. 3 (2021): 566–98.

Veit, Veronika. "Some Remarks on the Offence of Murder in the Mongol Legal Tradition (Thirteenth to Nineteenth Century)," in *Miscellanea Asiatica. mélanges en l'honneur de*

Françoise Aubin, ed. Denise Aigle, Isabelle Charleux, Vincent Goossaert and Robert Hamayon (Nettetal: Steyler-Verlag, 2010): 573–90.

Watson, James. "Transactions in People: The Chinese Market in Slaves, Servants, and Heirs," in *Asian and African Systems of Slavery*, ed. James Watson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980): 223–50.

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 18.10.2022].

Wyatt, Don J. "Slavery in Medieval China," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 2, *AD 500–AD 1420*, ed. Craig Perry, David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021): 271–94.

Wyatt, Don J. "Slavery and the Mongol Empire," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022): 111–30.

Zeuske, Michael. *Handbuch der Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Berlin/Boston: DeGruyter, 2019).

Zurndorfer, Harriet T. "Economic, Social, and Legal Aspects of Slavery and Indentured Labor in Late Ming China (1550–1645): What the Huizhou Documents Tell Us," in *Slavery and Bonded Labor in Asia, 1250–1900*, ed. Richard B. Allen (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2022): 131–49.

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Germany

Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer, and Sarah Lentz. “Beyond Exceptionalism. Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany,” in *Beyond Exceptionalism. Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany,1650-1850*, eds. Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer and Sarah Lentz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 1-25.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110748833-001

Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Sarah Lentz, and Josef Köstlbauer

Beyond Exceptionalism – Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany, 1650–1850

It is too early to speak of a shared history – this was the conclusion offered by Kenyan writer Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor on October 9, 2020 at a conference on research into the history of German colonialism. The various experiences were so different, the wounds so deep, and the colonizers' behavior so brutal, she said, that one could not yet speak of "our" shared past. Instead, Owuor urged both sides to investigate their own "shadows" in order to lay a foundation for better mutual understanding.[1] This collaborative volume is intended as a step in that direction. It investigates not the colonial period of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but rather the long eighteenth century; not the colonial possessions themselves, but the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and its successor states.

For a long time, it has been assumed that German-speaking inhabitants of the Empire played only a marginal role in the history of slavery in the Atlantic world. The Prussian colonies were short-lived, and the importance of the Brandenburg African Company (1682–1717) was relatively minor compared to the other slave-trading companies. Consequently, slavery played almost no role in the national histories of the German-speaking peoples. Indeed, the Holy Roman Empire has seemed like the one European power that had no "slave problem" – the one major realm in Europe where Africans could live as free people.[2]

1 Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor, "Derelict Shards: The Roamings of Colonial Phantoms," keynote lecture at the conference on "Colonialism as Shared History: Past, Present, Future," organized by Bettina Brockmeyer, Rebekka Habermas, and Ulrike Lindner, October 9–11, 2020, https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/sharedhistory_keynote_owuor, accessed October 13, 2020. Owuor intermittingly also spoke in more conciliatory terms: "Come, let us search our shadows together" (minute 59 of her filmed speech), but the tenor of her talk emphasized fundamentally divergent experiences.

2 Jürgen Osterhammel, "Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei. Oder: Was ist ein weltgeschichtliches Problem?" in *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich*, ed. Jürgen Osterhammel, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 342–369, at 363.

Notes: This project was financed by the European Research Council (ERC) within the framework of the EU Research Support Program entitled "Horizon 2020" (ERC Consolidator Grant Agreement No. 641110: "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and Its Slaves," 2015–2022). The contributions published here represent only the views of the authors; the ERC is not responsible for their contents or for any subsequent use made of them.

Translation: H. C. Erik Midelfort, Charlottesville, Virginia

Open Access. © 2021 Rebekka von Mallinckrodt et al., published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110748833-001

Over the last few years, however, this self-image has increasingly been called into question, not least as a result of debates on the persistence of systemic racism. For a long time, Peter Martin's pioneering study *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewußtsein der Deutschen* (*Black Devils, Noble Moors: Africans in German History and Consciousness*), originally published in 1993, stood alone among a scattered handful of articles with a primarily local and regional focus. In recent years, however, research in this field has become more and more dynamic. One important stimulus has come from Black[3] communities within Germany,[4] with another stemming from economic history. Since the early 2000s in particular, Klaus Weber has been investigating the ways in which Germans continuously – though indirectly – participated in slavery and the slave trade: Not only did they consume products produced by slaves in the colonies, they were heavily invested in the production of trade goods to be exchanged for slaves as well. They provided ships, capital, clothing, and plantation supplies, along with manufactories that used the raw products from the colonies.[5] The many new publications in recent years make it clear

3 We have decided to spell 'Black' with capital letters since it has recently developed into a widely accepted spelling underlining that Blackness "is not a natural category but a social one – a collective identity – with a particular history" (see Kwame Antony Appiah, "The Case for Capitalizing the *B* in Black," *The Atlantic*, June 18, 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/time-to-capitalize-blackand-white/613159/). Excepted from this spelling are citations from historical sources whose wording – and consequently meaning – we did not want to change. Although we agree on the constructed nature of whiteness as well, we refrained from capitalizing 'white' in order to avoid any confusion with white supremacist usage. Moreover, to enable the authors of this volume to adequately describe highly complex historical situations – especially since many terms had a very specific and sometimes different meaning in the early modern period – we have refrained from imposing guidelines with regard to terminology and spelling in the individual papers.

4 See, for example, the controversies surrounding the names of specific streets, such as *Mohrenstraße* (Moor Street) in Berlin, which was renamed *Anton Wilhelm Amo-Straße* in August 2020 after many years of protests (Amo was a famous Afro-German professor of philosophy at Halle, Wittenberg, and Jena, d. after 1753); or the *Gröbenufer* in Berlin (Gröben River Bank, named for Otto Friedrich von der Gröben, a slave trader in the Brandenburg African Company, d. 1728), which was renamed *May-Ayim-Ufer* in 2010 (in honor of Afro-German poet, activist, and teacher May Ayim, d. 1996). There have also been protests surrounding the erection of monuments, such as the bust of Heinrich Carl von Schimmelmann (a Danish-German slave trader, d. 1782) in Hamburg-Wandsbek, unveiled as late as 2006 and subsequently removed in 2008.

5 Klaus Weber, *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel 1680–1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadiz und Bordeaux* (Munich: Beck, 2004); Klaus Weber, "Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt," *Journal of Modern European History* 7 (2009): 37–67; Klaus Weber, "Mitteleuropa und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: Eine lange Geschichte," *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 7–30; Klaus Weber and Anka Steffen, "Spinning and Weaving for the Slave Trade: Proto-Industry in Eighteenth-Century Silesia," in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, ed. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016), 87–107; Anne Sophie Overkamp, "A Hinterland to the Slave Trade? Atlantic Connections of the Wupper Valley in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Slavery Hinterland*, ed. Brahm and Rosenhaft, 161–185; Margrit Schulte Beerbühl, *Deutsche Kaufleute in*

that German scholars are catching up with a development that other countries, especially in Western Europe, have been working on for much longer.[6]

Among the earliest and most prolific authors on the African diaspora in Württemberg and the Habsburg territories of the Holy Roman Empire were Monika Firla and Walter Sauer.[7] The extent and impact of the Holy Roman Empire's involvement in the Atlantic slave trade were more recently discussed in Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov's doctoral thesis *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich* (*Black Europeans in the Holy Roman Empire*) (2013) as well as in collaborative volumes such as *Germany and the Black Diaspora* (2013), *Europas Sklaven* (2014), *Slavery Hinterland* (2016), and *German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery* (2017).[8] The journal of Johann Peter Oettinger, newly discovered by Craig Koslofsky and Roberto Zaugg (2020), even provided fresh insights regarding the relatively well-researched direct involvement of Brandenburg ships in the Atlantic slave trade.[9] However, an overwhelmingly extra-European and modern emphasis is recognizable in the geographic and temporal range covered by these publications: Among the many essays on activities of Germans

London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung, 1660–1818 (Munich: Oldenburg, 2007); Magnus Ressel, "Hamburg und die Niederelbe im atlantischen Sklavenhandel der Frühen Neuzeit," *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 75–96; Jutta Wimmler and Klaus Weber, eds., *Globalized Peripheries: Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

6 For a European and comparative perspective, see Annika Bärwald, Josef Köstlbauer, and Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "People of African Descent in Early Modern Europe," in *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Atlantic History*, ed. Trevor Burnard, DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199730414-0326, last modified January 15, 2020.

7 See for instance Monika Firla and Herrmann Forkl, "Afrikaner und Africana am württembergischen Herzogshof im 17. Jahrhundert," *Tribus* 44 (1995): 149–193; Monika Firla, *Exotisch – höfisch – bürgerlich: Afrikaner in Württemberg vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Hauptstaatsarchivs Stuttgart* (Stuttgart: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, 2001); Monika Firla, "AfrikanerInnen und ihre Nachkommen im deutschsprachigen Raum," in *AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland und schwarze Deutsche: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt (Münster: Lit, 2004), 9–24; Walter Sauer, ed., *Von Soliman bis Omofuma: Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert* (Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2007) with contributions by Sauer on "Angelo Soliman: Mythos und Wirklichkeit," 59–96 as well as "Sklaven, Freie, Fremde: Wiener 'Mohren' des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts" (together with Andrea Wiesböck), 23–56.

8 Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich: Handel, Migration, Hof* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, eds., *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact 1250–1914* (New York: Berghahn, 2013); Doris Bulach and Juliane Schiel, eds., *Europas Sklaven,* Special Issue *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014); Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, eds., *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016); Heike Raphael-Hernandez and Pia Wiegmink, eds., *German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery, Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017).

9 Johann Peter Oettinger, *A German Barber-Surgeon in the Atlantic Slave Trade: The Seventeenth-Century Journal of Johann Peter Oettinger,* ed. and translated by Craig Koslofsky and Roberto Zaugg (Chapel Hill, NC: University of Virginia Press, 2020).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 381

outside of Europe, as well as on later epochs and other European countries, treatments of slavery and the slave trade *within* the Holy Roman Empire are few and far between. Earlier studies mostly doubted that slave status existed in the Old Empire, and even Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov's dissertation is limited to the better-documented and therefore more frequently studied world of the courts. Her focus on the prestigious role of so-called "Court Moors" mainly reconstructs the perspective of the men and women who profited from the transport of human beings into Europe. Therefore, as Heike Raphael-Hernandez and Pia Wiegmink concluded as late as 2017, "an encompassing and systematic study of the multiple forms of German entanglements with slavery remains to be published."[10]

In this context, what can a collaborative volume on *Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany* aim to achieve? For one thing, the essays collected here focus on the hitherto largely neglected early modern German towns and territories (rather than the non-European world or the activities of Germans in neighboring lands or colonies). Secondly, they concentrate on the entanglement of these towns and territories in slavery and the slave trade. This calls attention in particular to questions regarding the legal and social status of persons abducted into the Holy Roman Empire, their room for maneuver, and the origins and significance of racist ideas, all of which have become controversial in recent years.[11] Thirdly, we have attempted to reconstruct the perspectives of *all* the participants by considering the experiences and viewpoints of people who were trafficked into the German Empire or

10 Heike Raphael-Hernandez and Pia Wiegmink, "German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery: An Introduction," *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 419–435, at 421. Even in studies dealing with the European side of the story, the Holy Roman Empire is usually missing, indicating that international research has not yet integrated Germany into the Atlantic world.

11 Monika Firla and Andreas Becker thus assumed that slave status was nullified in the Empire (Firla, "AfrikanerInnen und ihre Nachkommen im deutschsprachigen Raum," 15; Andreas Becker, "Preußens schwarze Untertanen: Afrikanerinnen und Afrikaner zwischen Kleve und Königsberg vom 17. Jahrhundert bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert," *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 22 (2012): 1–32, at 15–16, 28). Similarly, Vera Lind and Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov tend to stress possibilities within the estate-based early modern German society, while Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Arne Spohr, and Renate Dürr have taken more skeptical stances; see Kuhlmann-Smirnov, *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich*; Vera Lind, "Privileged Dependency on the Edge of the Atlantic World: Africans and Germans in the Eighteenth Century," in *Interpreting Colonialism*, ed. Byron R. Wells and Philip Stewart (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004), 369–391; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?" in *Slavery Hinterland*, ed. Brahm and Rosenhaft, 109–131; Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissenstransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (2017): 347–380; Arne Spohr, "Zunftmitgliedschaft als Weg zur Freiheit? Zur rechtlichen und sozialen Position schwarzer Hoftrompeter und -pauker im Alten Reich," in *Wege: Festschrift für Susanne Rode-Breymann*, ed. Annette Kreutziger-Herr et al. (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2018), 357–366; Renate Dürr, "Inventing a Lutheran Ritual: Baptisms of Muslims and Africans in Early Modern Germany," in *Protestant Empires: Globalizing the Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 196–227, at 206–208.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 382

who immigrated, even if the sources often provide only fragmentary and scattered evidence for their views.[12] Finally, in this introduction in particular, we intend to interweave and consolidate the growing number of individual studies so as to go beyond the level of case studies and consider – to the extent current research allows – macrohistorical perspectives as well as the similarities and differences between the Holy Roman Empire and its European neighbors.

We are well aware that with regard to the analysis of global life trajectories, the exchange of goods, and the circulation of ideas, confining ourselves to the territories of the Empire does not adequately mirror this aspect of mobility. At the same time, however, the geographic limitation permits us to promote research on the comparatively less well-understood German territories. Historians have to search hard for clues in this context, since there is no defined body of sources like the registers of trafficked persons existing in some other European countries. Instead, seeking out the fragmentary and scattered sources relating to persons transported to Europe is made even more difficult because they were highly mobile and mostly of low social standing. The microhistorical approaches used in many of the contributions in this volume therefore represent not just a conscious methodological decision allowing us to illuminate the life circumstances of such individuals in their full complexity; they are often a forced choice owing to the nature of our sources.

From the German "Sonderweg" to Slavery Hinterland

The fragmentary and scattered character of our sources is probably one of the reasons why the hitherto accumulated knowledge about German connections to and integration in the Atlantic system of slavery has not yet received adequate recognition even by professional historians.[13] As late as 2020, Renate Dürr wrote that "the idea that the Holy Roman Empire languished in the backwaters of history and scarcely participated in European expansion, global trade, and slavery is hard to eradicate."[14] As a matter of fact,

12 The following are positive examples of recent consideration of the agency of Black and subordinate persons: Ottmar Ette, *Anton Wilhelm Amo: Philosophieren ohne festen Wohnsitz. Eine Philosophie der Aufklärung zwischen Europa und Afrika* (Berlin: Kadmos, 2014); Heather Morrison, "Dressing Angelo Soliman," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 3 (2011): 361–382; Honeck, Klimke, Kuhlmann, *Germany and the Black Diaspora*.

13 See e.g. Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, and Michael Zeuske, "Introduction," in *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas: A Comparative Approach*, ed. Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, and Michael Zeuske (Berlin: Lit, 2011), 7–14, at 9–10.

14 Dürr, "Inventing a Lutheran Ritual," 196. Together with Ronnie Hsia, Carina Johnson, Ulrike Strasser, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks, Dürr advocates the notion of "Globalizing Early Modern German History," Forum *German History* 31, no. 3 (2013): 366–382.

the only truly comprehensive and macrohistorical treatment of the importance of Atlantic slavery for the development of German history was published more than twenty years ago by Jürgen Osterhammel. He began his essay on *Slavery and the Civilization of the West* with these pointed sentences: "Slavery existed elsewhere; not in Germany. The Germans observed it from afar."[15] In the second revised edition of his book in 2009 he repeated this idea and stated even more generally:

> Nowhere else in the sphere of Latin Christendom did slavery and servile forms of unfreedom as a historical experience play a lesser role than in Germany, the one large country in Europe without an early modern colonial past.[16]

In this context, Osterhammel described people transported into the Holy Roman Empire as "exotic guests" and stray "aberrations,"[17] thus emphasizing the putatively unusual and completely "irregular" character of the phenomenon.

Just one year later, Osterhammel proposed an even more far-ranging thesis in his essay entitled *Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei* (*The Rise and Fall of Modern Slavery*), which considered the consequences of this previously postulated German exceptionalism. Now the supposed abstention of inhabitants of the Holy Roman Empire, and later of the German Confederation, from the Atlantic slave economy and the fight against it became an explanation for the so-called German *Sonderweg*, the special path that led to the Holocaust.[18] While the abolition of slavery in the Western European countries was embedded in "great public convulsions and battles, protests, and intellectual debates,"[19] the antislavery movement supposedly attracted little attention in the German territories – where the question of slavery allegedly prompted nothing more than "academic frivolities" – during the first half of the nineteenth century: "It did not move people's hearts or minds." As a result, the Germans never lived through the "formative and cathartic collective process found in the Western democracies – the experience of self-liberation from a slave-holding past." It was for this reason that the Germans supposedly lacked this "moral immunization" as they entered the twentieth century, a deficit Osterhammel propounded as an explanation for Germany's course to National Socialism.

---

15 Jürgen Osterhammel, *Sklaverei und die Zivilisation des Westens* (original edition: 2000; 2nd rev. ed. Munich: Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung, 2009), 7.

16 Osterhammel, *Sklaverei und die Zivilisation des Westens*, 12.

17 Osterhammel, *Sklaverei und die Zivilisation des Westens*, 9–10.

18 Osterhammel, "Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei," 342–369. Even though it has been widely critized, the German *Sonderweg* paradigm is still debated. It no longer forms the central rationale of current research, however. See James Sheehan, "Paradigm Lost? The 'Sonderweg' Revisited," in *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, ed. Oliver Janz, Sebastian Conrad, and Gunilla Budde (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), 150–160; Jürgen Kocka, "Looking Back on the Sonderweg," *Central European History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 137–142.

19 For this and the following quotation, see Osterhammel, "Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei," 367–368.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 384

These theses by Osterhammel have been refuted not only by the research of the past two decades on the integration of the German territories into the system of slavery and the slave trade. It has also been shown that the antislavery movement did indeed resonate in the Holy Roman Empire and its successor states.[20] And although the abolition movement in Germany was undoubtedly small compared to its counterpart in Great Britain, comparisons with various neighboring countries in central Europe such as the Netherlands and Denmark reveal significant similarities in both the dimension and the course of its activities.[21] Consequently, comparing the German anti-slavery movement to the formation of abolitionism in these two neighboring countries is sufficient to refute Osterhammel's *Sonderweg* thesis, or at least to cast serious doubt on it.[22]

Osterhammel's "hypothetical considerations"[23] nevertheless prompt the question why the image of German abstention from slavery and the slave trade has persisted so long among scholars, and why the last twenty years have seen no reaction to his interpretation of the supposed special status for the German lands, i.e. the German *Sonderweg*. The fact that Osterhammel's work has prompted no scholarly discussion could suggest tacit acceptance – and may also have been a consequence of the relatively minor importance attributed to the connections between the Atlantic slave system and the German context in international and German-language research.

The historical foundation of Osterhammel's theory (few colonial possessions and the short life of the Brandenburg African Company) is but one reason why it has hitherto remained unchallenged. Much more significant – and still influential in current scholarship – is the fact that early modern German authors were already compensatively reinventing the Germans "in their imaginations" as morally superior colonizers.[24] Sarah Lentz shows in her chapter how the legend of German eschewal of

20 On this, see Sarah Lentz, *"Wer helfen kann, der helfe!" Deutsche SklavereigegnerInnen und die atlantische Abolitionsbewegung, 1780–1860* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020); Katharina Stornig, "Catholic Missionary Associations and the Saving of African Child Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Germany," *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 519–549; Karin Schüller, "Deutsche Abolitionisten in Göttingen und Halle: Die ersten Darstellungen des Sklavenhandels und der Antisklavereibewegung in der deutschen Historiographie des ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Pasajes – Passages – Passagen: Festschrift für Christian Wentzlaff-Eggebert*, ed. Susanne Grunwald et al. (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publ., 2004), 611–622.

21 On the Dutch and Danish movements, see e.g. Maartje Janse, "'Holland as a Little England'? British Anti-Slavery Missionaries and Continental Abolitionist Movements in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Past and Present* 229 (November 2015): 123–160; Erik Gøbel, *The Danish Slave Trade and Its Abolition* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 65–69.

22 In view of the vehement public debates and street fights concerning colonialism, racism, and the lingering effects of slavery in Great Britain, the Netherlands, and the USA during the years 2019 and 2020, one might also ask to what extent the British, Dutch, Americans, Brazilians, and Spanish have actually freed themselves from their history as slave owners.

23 Osterhammel, "Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei," 366.

24 Susanne M. Zantop, *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 385

the slave trade was utilized more widely in the nineteenth century to play an important role as a "source of moral capital" in the development of a German national consciousness during the *Vormärz*, the period in German history and culture between 1815 and 1848.[25] In fact, we can observe an uncritical acceptance of this narrative all the way into the twentieth century: For example, Sander L. Gilman tellingly entitled his 1982 essay collection *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany*.[26] The assumption that there had been no German involvement in slavery and the slave trade – and therefore no Black presence in the German-speaking lands – has long shaped the majority of research on the German discourse on slavery. As a result, this discussion has been interpreted as a surrogate discourse in which the topic of slavery was instrumentalized, for example in polemics against feudal and absolutist conditions.[27] In this vein, Rainer Koch explained in 1976 that the German debates about slavery were merely a "forerunner to criticisms of social, economic, and political conditions in Germany."[28] Somewhat later, Uta Sadji proposed that the historical actors writing about slavery in the late eighteenth century were "in fact, either consciously or unconsciously, only arguing about German conditions."[29] One specific issue in this context was the institution of serfdom, which generated lively controversy; but another concerned the political rights of burgher citizens – the very group from which most contemporary writers originated. It is only since the 2000s, and especially since the 2010s, that the number of scholarly works in which criticism of slavery is not primarily treated in a figurative sense but instead connected to contemporary practices of enslavement has been increasing.[30]

---

25 See also Lentz, *"Wer helfen kann, der helfe!"* and Magnus Ressel, "Hamburg und die Niederelbe im atlantischen Sklavenhandel der Frühen Neuzeit," *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 75–96, at 94.

26 Sander L. Gilman, *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of the Black in Germany* (Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1982).

27 Uta Sadji, *Der Negermythos am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland: Eine Analyse der Rezeption von Reiseliteratur über Schwarzafrika* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979), 283. Cf. also Anna-Christie Cronholm, "Die Nordamerikanische Sklavenfrage im deutschen Schrifttum des 19. Jahrhunderts" (PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1959).

28 Rainer Koch, "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negersklaverei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Historische Zeitschrift* 222, no. 3 (June 1976): 529–577, at 533.

29 Sadji, *Der Negermythos am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 107.

30 See e.g. Schüller, "Deutsche Abolitionisten in Göttingen und Halle"; Andreas Gestrich, "The Abolition Act and the Development of Abolitionist Movements in 19th-Century Europe," 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), 245–261; Jeanette Eileen Jones, "'On the Brain of the Negro': Race, Abolitionism, and Friedrich Tiedemann's Scientific Discourse on the African Diaspora," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, ed. Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, 134–152; Barbara Riesche, *Schöne Mohrinnen, edle Sklaven, schwarze Rächer: Schwarzendarstellung und Sklavereithematik im deutschen Unterhaltungstheater, 1770–1814* (Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2010). To be certain, considerable research interest continues to be focused on the specific appropriation and reinterpretation of the

Even in these studies, however, scholars still show little interest in the actual *German* involvement in the slave trade and slavery. It is thus not surprising that the supposed German abstention from the slave trade has continued to have such a lasting impact that Monika Firla, for example, assumed in 2004 that the Germans – in contrast to all other Europeans – had not purchased Africans on the West Coast of Africa as slaves but rather *paid to redeem* (i.e., liberate) them.[31]

If we examine the lives of these Germans and the African people who accompanied them (usually involuntarily) within the larger global context in which they operated, however, it becomes clear that the difference between the colonial powers and the countries that did not have colonies was much smaller than has long been assumed. For example, Pomeranian slave trader Joachim Nettelbeck wrote in his memoirs that the Dutch colony Suriname might be called "a German colony rather than a Dutch one, because on plantations such as Paramaribo, one discovers out of one hundred whites perhaps as many as ninety-nine who had assembled here from all the regions of Germany."[32] Even if we assume Nettelbeck to have been exaggerating, historian Carl Haarnack has estimated that around 1800, roughly one third of the European inhabitants of Suriname (men and women) – about one thousand in all – came from the German lands.[33] The German presence in the largest Dutch colony was no exception; rather, it was a structural characteristic caused by the chronic shortage of manpower in the Netherlands. Similarly, Germans could be found as owners of slaves in the Danish islands of the Caribbean[34] or the British

discourse on slavery as applied to internal German affairs. Excellent research on this topic has been done, for example, by Heike Paul, "The German Reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'," in *Amerikanische Populärkultur in Deutschland. Case Studies in Cultural Transfer Past and Present*, ed. Katja Kanzler and Heike Paul (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002), 21–40.

31 Firla, "AfrikanerInnen und ihre Nachkommen im deutschsprachigen Raum," 15.

32 Joachim Nettelbeck, *Eine Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst aufgezeichnet*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1821), 36. On Germans in Suriname, see 25–37 and 102–109. For more details, see Sarah Lentz, "Deutsche Profiteure des atlantischen Sklavereisystems und der deutschsprachige Sklavereidiskurs der Spätaufklärung," in *Das Meer: Maritime Welten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Peter Burschel and Sünne Juterczenka (Cologne: Böhlau, forthcoming).

33 See Carl Haarnack, "'Nachrichten von Surinam': Representations of a Former Dutch Colony in German Travel Literature, 1790–1900," in *Travel Writing in Dutch and German, 1790–1930*, ed. Alison E. Martin, Lut Missinne, and Beatrix van Dam (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2017), 114–138, at 114–116.

34 Registers from the Danish West Indies provide a ready source for identifying German (and other) land- and slaveholders on the Danish islands. See e.g. Danish National Archives 446, The West India and Guinea Company, Bookkeeper's Accounts for St. Thomas and St. John, Land Lists for St. Thomas (1688–1754); or Danish National Archives 571, Audited Accounts, West Indian Accounts, Land Register of St. Thomas and St. John (1755–1915).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 387

colonies in America.[35] And from these colonies, they brought people of African origin into the Holy Roman Empire and its successor states.[36]

Considering the South Asian region as a source of slaves, Roelof van Gelder has estimated that between 1602 and 1795, approximately half the employees of the *Vereenigte Oostindische Compagie* (VOC) were foreigners, i.e. non-Netherlanders.[37] Most of them came from German territories, and not only from regions that bordered on the Netherlands; they also came from the electorates of Saxony and Prussia, the Duchies of Württemberg, Saxony-Weimar, Saxony-Anhalt, Saxony-Gotha, and Silesia, as well as from imperial cities such as Nuremberg, Frankfurt, and Ulm.[38] Of the estimated 973,000 persons who journeyed to Asia in the service of the VOC, only around 360,000, or roughly one third, returned home.[39] If we accept these numbers, then approximately 180,000 "foreign" – that is, mostly German – VOC employees came back with experiences of slavery and the slave trade, and some of them also brought their "servants," both male and female, with them.[40] Others started families with enslaved women in India, which also influenced their lives back in the Old Empire.[41]

---

35 On German slaveholders in British colonies, see e.g. James Van Horn Melton, *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Aaron Fogleman, *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America*, 1717–1775 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

36 See e.g. Mark Häberlein, "'Mohren', ständische Gesellschaft und atlantische Welt: Minderheiten und Kulturkontakte in der Frühen Neuzeit," in *Atlantic Understandings: Essays on European and American History in Honor of Hermann Wellenreuther*, ed. Claudia Schnurmann and Hartmut Lehmann (Hamburg: Lit, 2006), 77–102, at 89, 96–97. On German Moravian missionaries and their role in bringing enslaved persons from the West Indies to Germany, see Josef Köstlbauer, "Ambiguous Passages: Non-Europeans Brought to Europe by the Moravian Brethren During the Eighteenth Century," in *Globalized Peripheries*, ed. Wimmler and Weber, 169–186.

37 Roelof van Gelder, *Das ostindische Abenteuer: Deutsche in Diensten der Vereinigten Ostindischen Kompanie der Niederlande (VOC), 1600–1800* (Hamburg: Convent, 2004), 14. The personal data of employees, sailors, and soldiers employed by the VOC can now be retrieved from the publicly accessible database of the Dutch National Archive: http://hdl.handle.net/10648/9b54fab1-6340-474a-93d8-04bf78294de8 (accessed October 16, 2020).

38 Van Gelder, *Das ostindische Abenteuer*, 51.

39 Van Gelder, *Das ostindische Abenteuer*, 33, 50.

40 Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, "Verschleppte Kinder im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation und die Grenzen transkultureller Mehrfachzugehörigkeit," in *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als kulturhistorisches Phänomen: Räume – Materialitäten – Erinnerungen*, ed. Dagmar Freist, Sabine Kyora, and Melanie Unseld (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2019), 15–37. See also the essay by Josef Köstlbauer in this volume.

41 Francisca Hoyer, *Relations of Absence: Germans in the East Indies and Their Families c. 1750–1820* (Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2020).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 388

The same applies to German soldiers in North America.[42] Roughly 30,000 German soldiers were recruited by the British to serve in the American War of Independence, some of them sold into service by their own territorial rulers. The largest group (between 17,000 and 19,000) came from Hesse-Kassel. Of these men, around half returned home to Hesse-Kassel seven years later, bringing with them over one hundred free, liberated, or escaped Afro-American men, women, and children – as well as persons they had bought as slaves.[43] These examples clearly challenge the categorical distinction drawn between the colonial powers and countries without colonies. Indeed, the very composition of the various colonial societies, trading companies, and international armies requires us to reconsider such supposed contrasts.[44]

Economic history has provided important insights into the structural nature of German integration in the Atlantic world. The abovementioned research into the broad and continuous indirect involvement of Germans in slavery and the slave trade has demonstrated that the production of exchange goods, the provision of ships, capital, plantation equipment, and clothing, as well as the further processing and consumption of colonial wares were carried out not at the state level but by individual actors and groups.[45] These connections were partially invisible even to contemporaries, since such commerce was conducted under the flag of the respective host country. But they were nevertheless important and consequential. In his essay for this volume, Klaus Weber concludes that

> German involvement in the slave trade and the plantation economies built on slave labor was neither occasional nor limited to a few well-connected investors and maritime traders. Producing barter commodities for the slave trade was a key element contributing to the growth of

42 On this and the following, see Inge Auerbach, *Die Hessen in Amerika 1776–1783* (Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1996); Rolf Böttcher, *Auf dem Weg nach Amerika: Auswanderung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, 1997), 17, 22.

43 Maria I. Diedrich, "From American Slaves to Hessian Subjects: Silenced Black Narratives of the American Revolution," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora*, ed. Honeck, Klimke, and Kuhlmann, 92–111.

44 In a similar vein, Felicia Gottmann questions the notion of "national" trading companies: "Prussia all at Sea? The Emden-based East India Companies and the Challenges of Transnational Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of World History* 31, no. 3 (2020): 539–566; together with Philip Stern, "Introduction: Crossing Companies," ibid., 477–488; Felicia Gottmann, "Mixed Company in the Contact Zone: The 'Glocal' Diplomatic Efforts of a Prussian East Indiaman in 1750s Cape Verde," *Journal of Early Modern History* 23, no. 5 (2019): 423–441. For military history, see also Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, "German Auxiliary Troops in the British and Dutch East India Companies," in *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era*, ed. Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 32–49; Chen Tzoref-Ashkenazi, *German Soldiers in Colonial India* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014).

45 See footnote 5.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 389

> economies of proto-industrial regions throughout the Holy Roman Empire, and the additional income generated by hundreds of thousands of rural workers allowed the population in these specific regions to grow.[46]

In some regions, this growth led to a doubling of the population over the course of just fifty years.

Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft's definition of continental Europe as a *Slavery Hinterland* in their collaborative volume published in 2016 therefore seems justifiable. The essays collected in their book established Central Europe as an economic periphery of the Atlantic core, a region that simply cannot be explained without its links to Atlantic markets, including slavery. The unfolding material connections between Atlantic and Central European zones also extended to the level of discourse – especially regarding the question of slavery as a challenge to moral consciousness, a challenge that resulted from both direct and indirect confrontation with slavery systems.[47] One can thus no longer speak of a "surrogate" discourse, for it was also a debate rooted in concrete historical experience. Similarly, it is high time to stop thinking of the persons kidnapped and transported to the German lands as "exceptions." Even if current research mostly treats individual cases, the transportation of human beings into the Holy Roman Empire was a *collective* experience connected to global systems of slavery. And while slavery in the German lands did not resemble the massive subjection of people in the plantation economies but rather the Mediterranean or Atlantic form of household slavery, it was no "irregular" or "special" occurrence. Defining it as such means to fall prey to a conceptual exoticism that confines slavery to the colonial periphery as though it was not part of life in Europe as well. As the contributions in this volume show, the opposite was true.

The Individual Articles

Since the persistent notion of a German *Sonderweg* shows the impact of historiography on perceptions of the topic, our collection of essays begins with a contribution by Klaus Weber, who demonstrates the close connection between modern political developments and historiography. Historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth century had already begun to examine the long-term engagement of German cities and territories with the Atlantic world, an engagement that dated back to the

46 This and the following Klaus Weber, "Germany and the Early Modern Atlantic World: Economic Involvement and Historiography," in this volume, 46–47 (quotation) and 38.

47 See Sarah Lentz, "Abolitionists in the German Hinterland? Therese Huber and the Spread of Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the German Territories in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *Slavery Hinterland*, ed. Brahm and Rosenhaft, 187–211; Sarah Lentz, "Deutsche Profiteure des atlantischen Sklavereisystems."

beginning of the European expansion in the sixteenth century and encompassed direct as well as indirect involvement in the slave trade. But the proximity of earlier historians to the colonialist politics of Imperial Germany and the ideology of National Socialism "contaminated" the entire field of study, causing it to be avoided by younger historians or treated in a decidedly positivist manner after 1945. It was thus only after a new generation of historians emerged and global history approaches gained momentum that research integrating these findings into the bigger picture resumed. However, the effects of the Cold War and the consequent divisions between East and West in historiography are still being felt today.

The following essays concentrate mainly on direct involvement in the slave trade and slavery, with a focus on the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. The contribution by Arne Spohr subjects the life of Christian Real, one of the first documented Black trumpeters at a German court, to an insightful close reading. While Real was largely treated by earlier scholars as an example of how Blacks could successfully integrate into early modern society, Spohr shows that when Real fell victim to a serious violent crime in Stuttgart in the year 1669, the reasons for the attack included aspects of honor, social status, and Blackness. The assault was thus a consequence of the tension between Real's initial status as a slave and his later privileged position as a member of the court. Accordingly, Spohr reveals that associations between Blackness and servitude or slavery appeared not only in countries that were directly involved in the transatlantic slave trade; they were also significant for the lives of Black individuals in the "slavery hinterland" of the Empire.

Using the example of two Native Americans appearing at the court in Dresden in the 1720s, Craig Koslofsky shows in his article that it was not only people of African origin who were abducted to the Holy Roman Empire; other population groups could serve the demand for exotic personnel as well. In the case of the two men in question, their darker skin was less important than their extensive tattoos, which attracted the curiosity of contemporaries. After being displayed by their owner for several years throughout Europe, the two Native Americans were purchased by August the Strong in 1723. Instead of seeing their tattoos as signs of honor and status as was the case in their native communities, however, European observers dismissed them as ornamental signs without meaning, thereby devaluing them along with their wearers. Similarly, the invasive and inappropriate examinations of the men's bodies are reminiscent of the manner in which "human merchandise" was scrutinized at slave markets. In this way, the tattoos of these honorable warriors were treated not as individual signs but as ethnic markers, and the two men were robbed of their individuality and degraded to mere objects – as was generally the case with African slaves.

Enslaved persons brought from colonial mission fields to Europe also "served" in the symbolic communication of the Moravian Church. In his study, Josef Köstlbauer shows just how important the gaps and omissions in the preserved records are. Typically, Moravian archives remain silent on the status of Africans or West Indian Creoles living as slaves in Germany. These converts and captives provided edifying images of

he Brethren's missionary achievements and their eschatological visions, and the rhetoric of spirituality and communal equality pervading Moravian discourse served to obscure slavery. The result was an ambiguous position: On the one hand, such individuals were accorded a highly visible role of considerable symbolic value; on the other hand, close reading of the sources and semantic analysis of the terminology employed shows that although slavery may have been concealed by church discipline or servitude, it was by no means revoked. Indeed, scattered evidence shows that depending on circumstance, Moravians were ready to claim authority over individuals based on their slave status.

The status of trafficked persons in the Holy Roman Empire did not necessarily remain ambiguous, as Rebekka von Mallinckrodt demonstrates. Examining the reception of Roman Law, which remained an authoritative (though subsidiary) source for German lawyers until the end of the eighteenth century whenever positive German law did not provide an explicit or contrary regulation, she reconstructs an entire legal tradition applied to persons of African or Ottoman origin who had been abducted, purchased, or captured in war. According to this legal tradition, their status as slaves was explicitly affirmed. Court cases confirm that Roman law was not merely a theoretical affair but was in fact applied in practice as well. Parties to these judicial cases took other legal sources such as legislation in and for the colonies or the older tradition of natural law into account as well; furthermore, they referred to property rights in general and to the institution of serfdom that survived in many German territories in particular. The argumentation in favor of recognizing personal servitude could thus still rely on a multitude of sources even as opposition against such practices and discourses was increasingly taking shape.

By contrast, Walter Sauer's contribution demonstrates the limited value of normative legal texts as well as the limitations of their application in practice. In a compact comparison, he describes how the function and recruitment of "exotic" servants in the lands of the Habsburg Monarchy changed over the course of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. While the practices of display among the baroque aristocracy and among the wealthy bourgeoisie differed only in minor aspects, the abolition of the transatlantic and Mediterranean slave trade along with explicit prohibitions like those found in the Austrian Civil Code of 1811 brought significant changes. Human trafficking did not cease, but its practices changed – as did the legal status of the abducted individuals. The locations of the actual trading shifted to places outside of Europe, and the trafficked men, women, and children were no longer officially slaves in Europe, but they nevertheless lived in conditions of unequivocal dependence.

Annika Bärwald's essay complements these examples of how the (former) status of slaves could survive covertly, explicitly, or ambiguously by focusing on the agency of legally free people of African or Asian descent in Germany. Her analysis of help-wanted ads in Hamburg newspapers between the end of the eighteenth and the

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 392

beginning of the nineteenth century also disproves the still common assumption that the *Black presence* in the German territories was confined to princely courts. While Bärwald's evaluation of these ads clearly proves the precarious status of non-Europeans as house servants, her study also delivers impressive evidence of the opportunities available to such subaltern actors (both male and female), who skillfully navigated the Hamburg job market mostly as free persons. Bärwald persuasively argues that the strategies employed by these people of Asian and African descent should be perceived as cosmopolitan practices and evidence of intercultural competence.

The following articles turn the reader's attention to the contemporary *discussion* of slavery, which appears in a different light as the German involvement in both slavery and the slave trade increasingly becomes clear. Jutta Wimmler's essay pursues the question why many of the products provided by enslaved labor – she uses the example of American dyestuffs and medicinals – remained "invisible" in the German context while other products like sugar became key symbols of slavery. According to Wimmler, this difference in reception is owed to two interwoven factors. Firstly, certain products were marginalized within the "narrative of modernity." Secondly and perhaps even more importantly, the materiality and further processing of certain products led to them being less visible. In the context of this long-term history of reception, Wimmler examines the extent to which the slave labor involved in the processing of various products was perceived or under stood by German contemporaries. Using two popular encyclopedias, she demonstrates that the discourse on the connection between slavery and various products at the time was much more multi-layered and nuanced than current research based on the "narrative of modernity" would lead us to expect.

Mark Häberlein approaches the perception of the slave trade and slavery in Germany through the work of Protestant pastor Gottlieb Tobias Wilhelm, who presented the anthropological knowledge and intellectual debates of his time in the three volumes of his *Unterhaltungen über den Menschen* (*Conversations Concerning Mankind*) (1804–1806). Thanks to its encyclopedic character and the pastor's method of compiling his materials, this extremely popular work manifestly displays the intensive reception and discussion of both the transatlantic slave trade and the efforts to abolish it. An analysis of the sources used by Wilhelm also reveals the media channels through which information about colonies, slavery, and the slave trade circulated. Häberlein highlights the ambivalence of Wilhelm's clearly critical attitude toward slavery: While he emphatically condemned the cruelties of the slave trade and repudiated the supposed inferiority of Africans, his work was nevertheless permeated by the notion that humanity was divided into races with certain characteristics, a view partially influenced by theories of climatic determinism. As a result, Wilhelm assumed that Africans could reach their full potential only by living in Europe or America.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 393

A fascinating body of sources forms the center of Jessica Cronshagen's chapter. She bases her study on a collection of letters sent by children in Moravian communities to enslaved children in Suriname, and her analysis merges questions about the German discourse on slaves and slavery with issues pertaining to literacy, communicative practices, and childhood. The youthful authors of these letters did not know their correspondents by name; their letters were essentially directed at stereotypical "poor slave children," and their content and diction is steeped in missionary rhetoric. The Moravians' conviction that they were part of a worldwide religious community did not alter these differences in perception. West Indian slavery was simply a *fait accompli* that prompted no deeper questions. The analyzed letters represent a unique source for the perception of slavery in Central European societies that were distant from colonial slaving zones.[48] The unreflected acceptance of slavery expressed and implied in them is valuable in helping to explain why the institution could survive unopposed for so long among the Moravian communities in Suriname as well as in Europe.

Proceeding from the legal investigation carried out against three Hanseatic ships seized on suspicion of slave trading, Sarah Lentz discusses contemporary responses to traces of the slave trade in the German Confederation. Although awareness of German entanglement in slavery and the slave trade increased in Britain as a result of these legal cases, the German press rejected any suggestion of participation. With its coverage mainly presenting the arguments laid out by the defense, German readers were offered an account of the situation that was much clearer and simpler than what the totality of relevant facts implied. When some of the initial British accusations turned out to be baseless, German public opinion became even more firmly convinced that foreign opposition to slave trading was a pretext for eliminating unwanted German competition. The arguments of German moral superiority based on Germany's supposed abstention from the slave trade were thus perpetuated from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century – for example in works published for a broader audience – despite evidence to the contrary. With few exceptions, even German abolitionists accepted this myth.

Beyond Exceptionalism

This final section completes the arc of our general narrative, bringing it back around to historiography where we began. In contrast to the basically apologetic discourse that was first formulated in the early modern period but has continued to influence modern historiography, almost all of the essays collected here make it clear that the Holy Roman Empire (respectively its successor states) was much more similar to the

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

other Western European colonial powers than has long been assumed. Leaving behind national or imperial histories, we can find numerous commonalities and connections at the level of individual actors and transnationally active groups. These shared aspects include the experience of slavery, which had repercussions back in the homelands; the abduction of people as well as the mobility of freedmen and freedwomen between colonies and the European mainland; the fight against slavery in the form of an abolitionist movement; but also the financial and economic entanglements with plantation economies, the tacit acceptance or even explicit defense of buying and selling human beings, and the rise of racist stereotypes. Furthermore, the slave trade and ownership of slaves within the Holy Roman Empire were not confined to royal or noble courts: We find simple artisans, burghers, and lesser nobles involved as traders, go-betweens, and slave-owners as well.[49] Enslaved persons also explored their options, orienting themselves in a world that was initially completely foreign but led some of them to resist their fate. In addition, we find free and emancipated persons of Asian and African origin who navigated between continents and did not always aim to become integrated in the local (German) society.

Along with the similarities to the Western European colonial powers, which call into question the long-assumed special status of the Holy Roman Empire, Central European experiences like the Ottoman Wars shaped the situation in the German lands as well. Focusing exclusively on the Atlantic realm may therefore also lead to distorted images of reality.[50] Even during the late eighteenth century, when captives from the Ottoman Wars had *de facto* long since ceased to play a role, these conflicts were still being used as a reference point for the legal treatment of enslaved persons (see the chapter by Rebekka von Mallinckrodt). This referentiality can also be found in the clothing of so-called "Court Moors," which adopted elements of Ottoman uniforms along with fictive elements of costume, thereby recalling the look of Ottoman prisoners of war even though the persons now wearing such garb mostly came from entirely different regions of the world.[51] Finally, not all persons with dark skin arrived in the Holy Roman Empire by way of the transatlantic slave trade. Some came from the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire, India, or other Asiatic lands; and while some were abducted, others had traveled to Europe voluntarily.

49 See the articles by Josef Köstlbauer, Craig Koslofsky, and Rebekka von Mallinckrodt in this volume.

50 See e.g. Manja Quakatz, "' . . . denen Sclaven gleich gehalten werden.' Muslimisch-osmanische Kriegsgefangene im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1683–1699)," *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 97–118; Stephan Theilig, *Türken, Mohren und Tataren: Muslimische (Lebens-)Welten in Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013).

51 Mallinckrodt, "Verschleppte Kinder."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 395

Early modern German society did not remain untouched by all of this – rather, it was itself changed by these "entangled histories."[52] Aside from the surge of proto-industries that led to significant population growth in certain regions, racist ideas developed along with religious and civilizing notions of redemption, and these would come to play an important role in the colonization of Africa during the nineteenth century. Ancient ideas of slavery were revived and transformed. At the same time, we already find in the eighteenth century a multicultural society with highly mobile persons from extremely diverse backgrounds who moved freely between the colonies and various European lands. It was thus not only major trading and port cities such as Hamburg, but also relatively remote regions such as Lusatia that had links to these worldwide trade and communication networks, to the movement of goods, people, and services, and hence to a world in which the possession and trading of slaves, both male and female, was simply taken for granted and sometimes imposed upon Germans themselves.[53]

Consequently, the juxtaposition of "completely slave-free metropolitan centers and the completely slave-saturated [colonial] peripheral regions"[54] is neither an adequate notion for the Empire nor for other European countries. The Holy Roman Empire (as well as its successor states) was not a slave society, but it was definitively a society *with slaves* – and as recent research on Mediterranean slavery has shown, this does not necessarily imply a small number of slaves. Scholars have gathered extensive evidence for enslavement practices in the late medieval and early modern states bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, even though they cannot be called slave societies in the strict sense.[55] If we shift our attention to enslavement practices and

52 On entangled histories and the concept's significance for postcolonial perspectives, see Sebastian Conrad, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Römhild, eds., *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (2nd ed., Frankfurt: Campus, 2013); Angelika Epple, Olaf Kaltmeier, and Ulrike Lindner, eds., *Entangled Histories: Reflecting on Concepts of Coloniality and Postcoloniality*, Special Issue *Comparativ – Zeitschrift für Globalgeschichte und vergleichende Gesellschaftsforschung* 21, no. 1 (2011). The concept has also gained popularity in fields like Atlantic history, see Eliga H. Gould, "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 764–786.

53 See e.g. Mario Klarer, ed., *Verschleppt, verkauft, versklavt: Deutschsprachige Sklavenberichte aus Nordafrika, 1550–1800* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2019).

54 Osterhammel, "Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei," 354.

55 Giulia Bonazza, *Abolitionism and the Persistence of Slavery in Italian States, 1750–1850* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019); Arturo Morgado García, "El ciclo vital de los esclavos en el Cádiz de la modernidad," *Revista de Historia Moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 34 (2016): 297–315; Stefan Hanss and Juliane Schiel, eds., *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited, 500–1800 / Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei, 500–1800* (Zurich: Chronos, 2014); Aurelia Martín Casares and Rocío Periáñez Gómez, eds., *Mujeres esclavas y abolicionistas en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX* (Madrid: Iberomaricana, 2014); William D. Phillips, *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Rocío Periáñez Gómez, *Negros, mulatos y blancos: Los esclavos en Extremadura durante la edad moderna* (Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz,

focus on agents (slaves, owners, traders, and intermediaries) rather than on the institution of slavery itself – and on individual slaving activities rather than on slaveholding societies or systems of slavery, as Michael Zeuske and Joseph C. Miller have urged for a long time[56] – we can hope to escape such artificially antithetical contrasts and overly simplified opposites. And in doing so, we can gain the ability to see just how deeply and variedly Europe was affected by slavery despite the fact that it imagined and idealized itself as a slave-free society.

With the publication of these essays in the form of a collaborative volume, we hope that international research into slavery will be as much enriched by the integration of the German territories as research in Germany may benefit from inclusion in this larger context. The former might learn how far-reaching and widely ramified early modern trading currents in goods and people were: They certainly did not involve only the countries bordering on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. The latter might cease to perceive persons trafficked into the Holy Roman Empire and its successor states as exotic, isolated, and exceptional phenomena, but rather as a part of the global systems of slavery. Last but not least, we hope to contribute to a comprehensive and differentiated picture of the interwovenness of German history with global slavery systems; a picture that appropriately portrays the heterogeneous realities of life of all the historical actors, male and female – from those who were abducted and enslaved to those who benefited from the slave economy, as well as the German opponents of slavery. Only in this way can a heightened and critical awareness of the relevance of slavery and the slave trade to German history be achieved – both within the world of German historical scholarship and among the broader public – and perhaps the foundation for a truly "shared history" be laid.

2010); Debra Blumenthal, *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009); Sally McKee, "Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy," *Slavery & Abolition* 29, no. 3 (September 2008): 305–326; Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en Granada en el siglo XVI: Género, raza y religión* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2000); Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: Galeotti, vu' cumpra,' domestici* (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999).

56 Michael Zeuske, "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective," *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111, at 87, 105, 110; see also Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013); 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: Yale University Press, 2012).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 397

References

Archival Sources

Danish National Archives
446, The West India and Guinea Company, Bookkeeper's Accounts for St. Thomas and St. John, Land Lists for St. Thomas (1688–1754).
571, Audited Accounts, West Indian Accounts, Land Register of St. Thomas and St. John (1755–1915).

National Archives The Hague
Inventaris van het archief van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), 1602–1795 (1811). Accessed October 16, 2020. http://hdl.handle.net/10648/9b54fab1-6340-474a-93d8-04bf78294de8.

Printed Sources

Klarer, Mario, ed. *Verschleppt, verkauft, versklavt: Deutschsprachige Sklavenberichte aus Nordafrika, 1550–1800*. Vienna: Böhlau, 2019.
Nettelbeck, Joachim. *Eine Lebensbeschreibung von ihm selbst aufgezeichnet*. Vol. 1. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1821.
Oettinger, Johann Peter. *A German Barber-Surgeon in the Atlantic Slave Trade: The Seventeenth-Century Journal of Johann Peter* Oettinger, edited and translated by Craig Koslofsky and Roberto Zaugg. Chapel Hill, NC: University of Virginia Press, 2020.

Literature

Appiah, Kwame Antony. "The Case for Capitalizing the *B* in Black." *The Atlantic*, June 18, 2020, https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/time-to-capitalize-blackand-white/613159/.
Auerbach, Inge. *Die Hessen in Amerika 1776–1783*. Darmstadt: Hessische Historische Kommission, 1996.
Bärwald, Annika, Josef Köstlbauer, and Rebekka von Mallinckrodt. "People of African Descent in Early Modern Europe." In *Oxford Bibliographies Online: Atlantic History*, edited by Trevor Burnard. Last modified January 15, 2020. DOI: 10.1093/OBO/9780199730414-0326.
Becker, Andreas. "Preußens schwarze Untertanen: Afrikanerinnen und Afrikaner zwischen Kleve und Königsberg vom 17. Jahrhundert bis ins frühe 19. Jahrhundert." *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte* 22 (2012): 1–32.
Blumenthal, Debra. *Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth-Century Valencia*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2009.
Bonazza, Giulia. *Abolitionism and the Persistence of Slavery in Italian States, 1750–1850*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.
Bono, Salvatore. *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna: Galeotti, vu' cumpra,' domestici*. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999.
Böttcher, Rolf. *Auf dem Weg nach Amerika: Auswanderung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*. Bremerhaven: Wirtschaftsverlag NW, 1997.

Brahm, Felix, and Eve Rosenhaft, eds. *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.

Bulach, Doris, and Juliane Schiel, eds. *Europas Sklaven*. Special Issue *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014).

Conrad, Sebastian, Shalini Randeria, and Regina Römhild, eds. *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus: Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. 2nd edition. Frankfurt: Campus, 2013.

Cronholm, Anna-Christie. "Die Nordamerikanische Sklavenfrage im deutschen Schrifttum des 19. Jahrhunderts." PhD diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1959.

Diedrich, Maria I. "From American Slaves to Hessian Subjects: Silenced Black Narratives of the American Revolution." In *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact 1250–1914*, edited by Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, 92–111. New York: Berghahn, 2013.

Dürr, Renate. "Inventing a Lutheran Ritual: Baptisms of Muslims and Africans in Early Modern Germany." In *Protestant Empires: Globalizing the Reformations*, edited by Ulinka Rublack, 196–227. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Dürr, Renate, Ronnie Hsia, Carina Johnson, Ulrike Strasser, and Merry Wiesner-Hanks. "Globalizing Early Modern German History." Forum *German History* 31, no. 3 (2013): 366–382.

Epple, Angelika, Olaf Kaltmeier, and Ulrike Lindner, eds. *Entangled Histories: Reflecting on Concepts of Coloniality and Postcoloniality*. Special Issue *Comparativ* 21, no. 1 (2011).

Ette, Ottmar. *Anton Wilhelm Amo: Philosophieren ohne festen Wohnsitz. Eine Philosophie der Aufklärung zwischen Europa und Afrika*. Berlin: Kadmos, 2014.

Firla, Monika, and Hermann Forkl. "Afrikaner und Africana am württembergischen Herzogshof im 17. Jahrhundert." *Tribus* 44 (1995): 149–193.

Firla, Monika. *Exotisch – höfisch – bürgerlich: Afrikaner in Württemberg vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Hauptstaatsarchivs Stuttgart*. Stuttgart: Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, 2001.

Firla, Monika. "AfrikanerInnen und ihre Nachkommen im deutschsprachigen Raum." In *AfrikanerInnen in Deutschland und schwarze Deutsche: Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Marianne Bechhaus-Gerst and Reinhard Klein-Arendt, 9–24. Münster: Lit, 2004.

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

Fogleman, Aaron. *Hopeful Journeys: German Immigration, Settlement, and Political Culture in Colonial America*, 1717–1775. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.

Van Gelder, Roelof. *Das ostindische Abenteuer: Deutsche in Diensten der Vereinigten Ostindischen Kompanie* der Niederlande *(VOC), 1600–1800*. Hamburg: Convent, 2004.

Gestrich, Andreas. "The Abolition Act and the Development of Abolitionist Movements in 19th-Century Europe." In *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations: The Long-Term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, edited by Marcel van der Linden, 245–261. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

Gilman, Sander L. *On Blackness without Blacks: Essays on the Image of Black in Germany*. Boston, MA: G. K. Hall, 1982.

Gøbel, Erik. *The Danish Slave Trade and Its Abolition*. Leiden: Brill, 2016.

Gottmann, Felicia. "Prussia all at Sea? The Emden-based East India Companies and the Challenges of Transnational Enterprise in the Eighteenth Century." *Journal of World History* 31, no. 3 (2020): 539–566.

Gottmann, Felicia and Philip Stern. "Introduction: Crossing Companies." *Journal of World History* 31, no. 3 (2020): 477–488.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 399

Gottmann, Felicia. "Mixed Company in the Contact Zone: The 'Glocal' Diplomatic Efforts of a Prussian East Indiaman in 1750s Cape Verde." *Journal of Early Modern History* 23, no. 5 (2019): 423–441.

Gould, Eliga H. "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery. *" American Historical Review* 112, no. 3 (2007): 764–786.

Haarnack, Carl. "'Nachrichten von Surinam': Representations of a Former Dutch Colony in German Travel Literature, 1790–1900." In *Travel Writing in Dutch and German, 1790–1930*, edited by Alison E. Martin, Lut Missinne, and Beatrix van Dam, 114–138. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis, 2017.

Häberlein, Mark. "'Mohren', ständische Gesellschaft und atlantische Welt: Minderheiten und Kulturkontakte in der Frühen Neuzeit." In *Atlantic Understandings: Essays on European and American History in Honor of Hermann Wellenreuther*, edited by Claudia Schnurmann and Hartmut Lehmann, 77–102. Hamburg: Lit, 2006.

Hanss, Stefan, and Juliane Schiel, eds. *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited, 500–1800 / Neue Perspektiven auf mediterrane Sklaverei, 500–1800*. Zurich: Chronos, 2014.

Honeck, Mischa, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, eds. *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact 1250–1914*. New York: Berghahn, 2013.

Hoyer, Francisca. *Relations of Absence: Germans in the East Indies and Their Families c. 1750–1820*. Uppsala: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, 2020.

Janse, Maartje. "'Holland as a Little England'? British Anti-Slavery Missionaries and Continental Abolitionist Movements in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Past and Present* 229 (November 2015): 123–160.

Jones, Jeanette Eileen. "'On the Brain of the Negro'. Race, Abolitionism, and Friedrich Tiedemann's Scientific Discourse on the African Diaspora." In *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact 1250–1914*, edited by Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann, 134–152. New York: Berghahn, 2013.

Koch, Rainer. "Liberalismus, Konservatismus und das Problem der Negersklaverei: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des politischen Denkens in Deutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts." *Historische Zeitschrift* 222, no. 3 (June 1976): 529–577.

Kocka, Jürgen. "Looking Back on the Sonderweg." *Central European History* 51, no. 1 (2018): 137–142.

Köstlbauer, Josef. "Ambiguous Passages: Non-Europeans Brought to Europe by the Moravian Brethren During the Eighteenth Century." In *Globalized Peripheries: Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860*, edited by Jutta Wimmler and Klaus Weber, 169–186. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020.

Kuhlmann-Smirnov, Anne. *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich: Handel, Migration, Hof*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

Lentz, Sarah. "Abolitionists in the German Hinterland? Therese Huber and the Spread of Anti-Slavery Sentiment in the German Territories in the Early Nineteenth Century." In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 187–211. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.

Lentz, Sarah. "Deutsche Profiteure des atlantischen Sklavereisystems und der deutschsprachige Sklavereidiskurs der Spätaufklärung." In *Das Meer: Maritime Welten in der Frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Peter Burschel and Sünne Juterczenka. Cologne: Böhlau, forthcoming.

Lentz, Sarah. *"Wer helfen kann, der helfe!" Deutsche SklavereigegnerInnen und die atlantische Abolitionsbewegung, 1780–1860*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020.

Lind, Vera. "Privileged Dependency on the Edge of the Atlantic World: Africans and Germans in the Eighteenth Century." In *Interpreting Colonialism*, edited by Byron R. Wells and Philip Stewart, 369–391. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2004.

Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von. "There Are No Slaves in Prussia?" In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 109–131. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.

Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von. "Verhandelte (Un-)Freiheit: Sklaverei, Leibeigenschaft und innereuropäischer Wissenstransfer am Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (2017): 347–380.

Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von. "Verschleppte Kinder im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation und die Grenzen transkultureller Mehrfachzugehörigkeit." In *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als kulturhistorisches Phänomen: Räume – Materialitäten – Erinnerungen*, edited by Dagmar Freist, Sabine Kyora, and Melanie Unseld, 15–37. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2019.

Martin, Peter. *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren: Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewußtsein der Deutschen*. 2nd edition. Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2001.

Martín Casares, Aurelia. *La esclavitud en Granada en el siglo XVI: Género, raza y religión*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2000.

Martín Casares, Aurelia, and Rocío Periáñez Gómez, eds. *Mujeres esclavas y abolicionistas en la España de los siglos XVI al XIX*. Madrid: Iberomaricana, 2014.

McKee, Sally. "Domestic Slavery in Renaissance Italy." *Slavery & Abolition* 29, no. 3 (September 2008): 305–326.

Melton, James Van Horn. *Religion, Community, and Slavery on the Colonial Southern Frontier*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Miller, Joseph C. "Slaving as Historical Process: Examples from the Ancient Mediterranean and the Modern Atlantic." In *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern*, edited by Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari, 70–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Miller, Joseph C. *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012.

Morgado García, Arturo. "El ciclo vital de los esclavos en el Cádiz de la modernidad." *Revista de Historia Moderna: Anales de la Universidad de Alicante* 34 (2016): 297–315.

Morrison, Heather. "Dressing Angelo Soliman." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 3 (2011): 361–382.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. "Aufstieg und Fall der neuzeitlichen Sklaverei. Oder: Was ist ein weltgeschichtliches Problem?" In *Geschichtswissenschaft jenseits des Nationalstaats: Studien zu Beziehungsgeschichte und Zivilisationsvergleich*, edited by Jürgen Osterhammel, 342–369. 2nd edition. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003.

Osterhammel, Jürgen. *Sklaverei und die Zivilisation des Westens*. Original edition 2000, 2nd and rev. ed. Munich: Carl Friedrich von Siemens Stiftung, 2009.

Overkamp, Anne Sophie. "A Hinterland to the Slave Trade? Atlantic Connections of the Wupper Valley in the Early Nineteenth Century." In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 161–185. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.

Owuor, Yvonne Adhiambo. "Derelict Shards: The Roamings of Colonial Phantoms." Keynote lecture at the conference on "Colonialism as Shared History. Past, Present, Future," organized by Bettina Brockmeyer, Rebekka Habermas, and Ulrike Lindner, October 9–11, 2020. Accessed October 13, 2020. https://lisa.gerda-henkel-stiftung.de/sharedhistory_keynote_owuor.

Paul, Heike. "The German Reception of Harriet Beecher-Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'." In *Amerikanische Populärkultur in Deutschland. Case Studies in Cultural Transfer Past and Present*, edited by Katja Kanzler and Heike Paul, 21–40. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2002.

Periáñez Gómez, Rocío. *Negros, mulatos y blancos: Los esclavos en Extremadura durante la edad moderna*. Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2010.

Phillips, William D. *Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 401

Quakatz, Manja. "'. . . denen Sclaven gleich gehalten werden.' Muslimisch-osmanische Kriegsgefangene im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation (1683–1699)." *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 97–118.

Raphael-Hernandez, Heike, and Pia Wiegmink. "German Entanglements in Transatlantic Slavery: An Introduction." *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 419–435.

Raphael-Hernandez, Heike, and Pia Wiegmink, eds. *German Entanglements in Transatlantic* Slavery, *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017).

Ressel, Magnus. "Hamburg und die Niederelbe im atlantischen Sklavenhandel der Frühen Neuzeit." *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 75–96.

Riesche, Barbara. *Schöne Mohrinnen, edle Sklaven, schwarze Rächer: Schwarzendarstellung und Sklavereithematik im deutschen Unterhaltungstheater, 1770–1814*. Hannover: Wehrhahn, 2010.

Sadji, Uta. *Der Negermythos am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland: Eine Analyse der Rezeption von Reiseliteratur über Schwarzafrika*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1979.

Sauer, Walter, ed. *Von Soliman zu Omofuma: Afrikanische Diaspora in Österreich 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert*. Innsbruck: Studienverlag, 2007.

Schmieder, Ulrike, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, and Michael Zeuske. "Introduction." In *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas: A Comparative Approach*, edited by Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, and Michael Zeuske, 7–14. Berlin: Lit, 2011.

Schüller, Karin. "Deutsche Abolitionisten in Göttingen und Halle: Die ersten Darstellungen des Sklavenhandels und der Antisklavereibewegung in der deutschen Historiographie des ausgehenden 18. und beginnenden 19. Jahrhunderts." In *Pasajes – Passages – Passagen: Festschrift für Christian Wentzlaff-Eggebert*, edited by Susanne Grunwald et al., 611–622. Sevilla: Secretariado de Publ., 2004.

Schulte Beerbühl, Margrit. *Deutsche Kaufleute in London: Welthandel und Einbürgerung, 1660–1818*. Munich: Oldenburg, 2007.

Sheehan, James. "Paradigm Lost? The 'Sonderweg' Revisited." In *Transnationale Geschichte: Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, edited by Oliver Janz, Sebastian Conrad, and Gunilla Budde, 150–160. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010.

Spohr, Arne. "Zunftmitgliedschaft als Weg zur Freiheit? Zur rechtlichen und sozialen Position schwarzer Hoftrompeter und -pauker im Alten Reich." In *Wege: Festschrift für Susanne Rode-Breymann*, edited by Annette Kreutziger-Herr et al., 357–366. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2018.

Stornig, Katharina. "Catholic Missionary Associations and the Saving of African Child Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Germany." *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 519–549.

Theilig, Stephan. *Türken, Mohren und Tataren: Muslimische (Lebens-)Welten in Brandenburg-Preußen im 18. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2013.

Tzoref-Ashkenazi, Chen. "German Auxiliary Troops in the British and Dutch East India Companies." In *Transnational Soldiers: Foreign Military Enlistment in the Modern Era*, edited by Nir Arielli and Bruce Collins, 32–49. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Tzoref-Ashkenazi, Chen. *German Soldiers in Colonial India*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014.

Weber, Klaus. *Deutsche Kaufleute im Atlantikhandel 1680–1830: Unternehmen und Familien in Hamburg, Cadiz und Bordeaux*. Munich: Beck, 2004.

Weber, Klaus. "Deutschland, der atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt." *Journal of Modern European History* 7 (2009): 37–67.

Weber, Klaus. "Mitteleuropa und der transatlantische Sklavenhandel: Eine lange Geschichte." *Werkstatt Geschichte* nos. 66–67 (2014): 7–30.

Weber, Klaus, and Anka Steffen. "Spinning and Weaving for the Slave Trade: Proto-Industry in Eighteenth-Century Silesia." In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 87–107. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2016.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 402

Wimmler, Jutta, and Klaus Weber, eds. *Globalized Peripheries: Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020.

Zantop, Susanne M. *Colonial Fantasies: Conquest, Family, and Nation in Precolonial Germany, 1770–1870*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Zeuske, Michael. *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013.

Zeuske, Michael. "Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective." *International Review of Social History* 57 (2012): 87–111.

Klaus Weber

1 Germany and the Early Modern Atlantic World: Economic Involvement and Historiography

Two world wars, a slump in international trade lasting from 1914 until well into the 1950s, and Germany's cultural and political alienation from its western neighbors contributed to the idea that the integration of Germany into a global economy only began in the 1950s. Not only the lay audience needs to be reminded that the nineteenth century already saw a spectacular growth in maritime trade and that from around the middle of the century, German industrial products (in particular in the electrical and chemical sectors) were in fierce competition with British manufactures on markets around the world. Even more overlooked is the early modern involvement of German cities and territories with the Atlantic World, which date back to the very beginnings of European expansion. The following contribution will remind us of these connections: participation in the Iberian expansion across the Atlantic, participation in the slave trade operated under the Spanish, Portuguese, Danish, French, and British flags, massive investments in plantations established in those countries' colonies, and the production of barter commodities for the purchase of enslaved Africans on a very large scale.

The second part of this text will offer a brief overview of the historiography on the topic, as the mentioned German entanglements are inseparable from the writing of their history for several reasons. Some of the early historians writing and publishing on these issues in the late nineteenth century were themselves involved in colonialist politics of the Wilhelmine Empire, aiming anew at the African markets that had been purchasing German-made goods since the sixteenth century. The relevant historians of the subsequent generation were in turn deeply enmeshed in National Socialism. These two expansionist ideologies contaminated the entire field of study to some degree, which explains why it was avoided altogether by younger historians trained during the 1960s. Only since the 2000s has yet another generation of researchers begun to revisit the topic with new questions and methods.

Notes: The research for this article was funded by the German Research Foundation (WE 3613/2-1, "The Globalized Periphery: Transatlantic Commerce and Social and Economic Change in Central Europe, ca. 1680–1850"). I am indebted to Anka Steffen for valuable hints concerning scholarly literature, and to Chris Smith and Stephan Stockinger for ironing my English.

Open Access. © 2021 Klaus Weber, published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110748833-002

2. Slaveries and Similar Dependencies

2.2. Regions and Epochs

Contemporary Societies

Sinah Kloß. “Tattooed Dependencies: Sensory Memory, Structural Violence and Narratives of Suffering among Caribbean Hindu Women,” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 347-365.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-016

Sinah Theres Kloß

Tattooed Dependencies: Sensory Memory, Structural Violence and Narratives of Suffering among Caribbean Hindu Women

1 Introduction

Godnas are tattooed marks representing, embodying, symbolizing, and actively (re-) constructing experiences of gender-based suffering in Suriname and Guyana. They are linked to male domination and female subordination and, therefore, to structural violence, representing asymmetrical dependencies. As sensory and embodied memories, godnas initiate and become framing principles of 'narratives of suffering,' which (re-)create gender roles and are used to contest and negotiate power relations in Caribbean Hindu communities.

Godna, a word for tattoos in Hindi and *Sarnami* (Surinamese Hindi), can be found among senior Caribbean Hindus, especially 'Indian' women born before or during the 1960s.[1] Although godnas have multiple meanings, contemporary interpretations and public discourse in Guyana and Suriname exhibit little variation. According to my interlocutors, godnas referred to a girl's wedding and transformation into a (married) woman. Commonly, a husband's initials were a substantial component of godnas. However, the tattooed words रामनाम or श्रीरामनाम (*Rāmnām* or *Śrīrāmnām*, the name of [Lord] Ram), the symbol and mantra ॐ (Aum), and symbols of fertility or good fortune were equally important. Godnas were placed near the crook of the right arm and sometimes extended, with a black dot on the forehead and a circular symbol on the left hand. From a contemporary perspective, godnas evoke ownership and slave markings, especially tattooing one person's initials on the body of another. Today, young women consider godnas as 'old-fashioned' or even 'backward' signs of female subordination and dependence on men.[2] My informants often described godnas as signs or symbols that subjugated them to their in-laws, marking a woman as her husband's possession. During my ethnographic fieldwork, conducted between 2017 and 2019 in Suriname and Guyana's border region, I met with six elderly Hindu women over seventy years of age marked with godnas. I conducted between one and four formal interviews with each.

1 People who define themselves as 'Indian' in Guyana and Suriname consider themselves descendants of South Asian indentured laborers, who were shipped to the Caribbean to work on plantations during British and Dutch colonial rule between 1838 and the 1920s. In Guyana, the term 'East Indian' is sometimes used, while in Suriname the term 'Hindoestani' (or 'Hindustani') is common.

2 Sinah T. Kloß, "Embodying Dependency: Caribbean *Godna* (Tattoos) as Female Subordination and Resistance," *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 27, no. 4 (2022): 601–612, https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12644.

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-016

In these interviews, the women elaborated on their godna and their lives in general. Due to the interviews' sequentiality and our additional informal conversations, I soon realized that the women's life narratives and explanations of godna varied. They often shifted emphases depending on varying influences, such as the interviewee's mood and health condition, interlocutors' interactional dynamics, and overall structure. As I discuss in detail below, godnas' meaning proved to be much more complex and heterogeneous than portrayed by the discourses that dominate popular culture and conversation today.

In this article, I do not focus on the narrative characteristics of the accounts produced on godna. They varied significantly according to linear, multilinear, and retrograde narrating techniques.[3] Instead, I analyze the contestations of social hierarchy and negotiations of power relations in the interactional production of tattoo narratives. I discuss how the corporeality of bodies and the sensory memory of tattoos influence the construction of life narratives and how social relations and asymmetrical dependencies are inscribed, (re-)created, and contested via bodily marks and related narratives. In the first part of this article, I suggest that godna narratives may be considered a particular life stage narrative. While discussing the concepts of tattoos and life narratives, I illustrate that when explaining a godna's meaning, senior Hindu women linked their tattoos to marriage and the particular life stage of wifehood, describing their gendered experiences of suffering and structural violence. In the second part, I propose that godna narratives are linked to womanhood and suffering because of godnas' relatedness to marriage. Moreover, godnas result from sensory and painful tattooing experiences; thus, they are embodied marks and sensory memories of physical and emotional pain endured in the past. Finally, I argue that by framing their narratives of suffering retrospectively and from the position of a widow who has endured this suffering, they may claim high(er) status positions in this and/or their next life. They may narrate their painful experiences to demonstrate their high morals and socio-religious obedience, actively claiming the roles of 'good woman' and 'good wife.'

3 Linear narration is characterized by the chronological order of narrated events. If a narrative comprises several lines of action, each of which follows a pattern of causality, the narration is multilinear. In retrograde narration, the temporal progression of events is reversed. See, for example, Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf, *Handbook of Autobiography / Autofiction* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110279818; Mona Körte, ed., "Rückwärtsvorgänge: Retrogrades Erzählen in Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 138 (2019).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 408

2 Tattoo Narratives as Life Stage Narratives: Narrating Wifehood

Recent scholarly publications describe tattoo narratives as specific kinds of life narratives, particularly in studies that focus on Euro-American tattooing practices and 'Western' tattooees' explanations of the meanings of their tattoos.[4] For example, Atte Oksanen and Jussi Turtiainen define tattoo narratives as life stories told concerning tattoos, explaining that the narrating subject "tells his or her life story in relation to them, situates pain and charts life experiences" and construes these narratives as "powerful existential experiences, where life events are integrated into a narrative form via the body."[5] The tattooees' bodies, they argue, influence the narrative form, as tattoos "function as points of reference or maps that enable life history, as well as an opportunity for subjective security."[6] Similarly, Mary Kosut refers to tattoos as "historical reference points or *aides-mémoire*" in her discussion of tattoo narratives, suggesting that they "permanently illustrate biographical stories."[7] Tattoos are often framed as lasting visual images and marks "inscribed onto the body for life,"[8] which act as "visual memory aids"[9] that anchor memory "to tangible pictures."[10] In this sense, tattoos are commonly contrasted with supposedly less permanent types of adornment. Most scholars acknowledge that the narrator's memory and their acts of remembering (and forgetting) always influence these narratives. The social, temporal, and spatial context in which these narratives are constructed, and the narrator's sensory experience of being tattooed, necessarily influence them. Therefore, a tattoo cannot be considered to have only one, but rather various contextual meanings, which may change when narrators reflexively negotiate their identities and selves over time.[11]

Indeed, a tattoo narrative can be understood as a specific framing or structuring principle and as a kind of life narrative. I prefer the term life narrative to the some-

4 See, for example, Mary Kosut, "Tattoo Narratives: The Intersection of the Body, Self-Identity and Society," *Visual Sociology* 15, no. 1 (2000), https://doi.org/10.1080/14725860008583817; Atte Oksanen, and Jussi Turtiainen, "A Life Told in Ink: Tattoo Narratives and the Problem of the Self in Late Modern Society," *Auto/Biography* 13, no. 2 (2005); and Beverly Yuen Thompson, *Covered in Ink*: *Tattoos, Women, and the Politics of the Body*, Alternative Criminology Series (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

5 Oksanen and Turtiainen, "A Life Told in Ink": 127.

6 Oksanen and Turtiainen, "A Life Told in Ink": 112.

7 Kosut, "Tattoo Narratives": 96.

8 Kosut, "Tattoo Narratives": 82.

9 Hannah M.Y. Ho, "Negotiating a Personal Experience: Identity Affirmation of the Horimono Artist," in *Tattoo Histories: Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*, ed. Sinah T. Kloß, Routledge Studies in Cultural History 81 (New York: Routledge, 2020): 306.

10 Oksanen and Turtiainen, "A Life Told in Ink": 126.

11 Kosut, "Tattoo Narratives": 90.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 409

times interchangeably used life history, as its inherent reference to narration emphasizes the interactional construction of 'a life,' memories thereof, and the narrator's (re-)construction of identity, personhood, or subjective self in this process.[12] I also differentiate a life narrative from autobiography, which usually refers to a literary genre that "denotes a non-fictional, retrospective narration" seeking to "reconstruct an individual's life course in terms of a formation of one's unique personal self within a given historical, social and cultural framework."[13] Definitions of autobiography place a strong emphasis on writing, a process carried out by the narrating person. Furthermore, Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson define autobiography as a "particular practice of life narrative that emerged in the Enlightenment,"[14] referring to various kinds of (historical) documentation to reconstruct and narrate a life. Conversely, life narratives usually rely predominantly on personal memories as "the primary archival source."[15] The godna narratives of my interviews relied only on my informants' memories. They were supported by their sensory engagement with the tattooed marks themselves (such as looking at the tattoos and touching them).

There are various kinds of tattoo narratives; to define a single category would be to reproduce a too narrow and universalist approach to tattoo/ing. Asking about a tattoo or a tattooing experience may serve as a starting point of what may indeed be very different kinds of narratives that may rely on various narratological techniques. When using tattoos as a starting point or as a point of access to memory and narration, what follow may be narratives of specific or generalized events and routines, social relations, life stages, sensory experiences, and so on. The ways people talk about tattoos and tattooing may vary as much as how they narrate other events or, more generally, their lives.

Not all tattoo narratives are necessarily life narratives; they may focus only on a particular period in time or a phase in one's life. To complicate this even further, we cannot assume that people from different socio-cultural and religious backgrounds necessarily share an understanding of what 'a life' is. 'A life' does not necessarily begin with birth and end with death. It does not have to be conceptualized as following a linear progression of events between the conditions of being born and dying. Life may be considered a mere snapshot or a phase in a longer transition of a being or soul traveling across and moving between different (human and nonhuman) bodies. For example,

---

12 This is certainly not to say that historiography does not make use of narratives. Indeed, historical narratives and the ways history is told are as much a part of history as the socio-cultural processes of the past that are talked about. See Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*: *Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015).

13 Helga Schwalm, "3.9 Autobiography," in *Handbook of Autobiography/Autofiction*, ed. Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 503.

14 Sidonie Smith and Julia Watson, *Reading Autobiography*: *A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001): 3.

15 Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography*: 6.

in the context of Caribbean Hinduism, subtle bodies—sometimes referred to as 'souls'—are transmigratory entities that reincarnate in different gross bodies over time due to the cycle of reincarnation. The phase in which a subtle body dwells in a gross body may be considered 'a life,' yet, at the same time, this life is only one stage in the wider context of many different 'lives' that an individual 'soul' is forced to experience until liberation. Furthermore, every individual human life is divided into several phases or stages. Humans transition from one 'life stage' to another by performing a *sanskara*, a Hindu rite of passage. Sanskaras contribute to a person's gradual purification, perfection, and capacity to acquire knowledge, achieving salvation from the cycle of reincarnation. Although the number of sanskaras varies in the diverse Hindu traditions, most Caribbean Hindus consider the wedding sanskara (*vivaha*) to have the greatest significance for girls and women. The wedding sanskara is the rite of passage that transforms a girl into a woman and a wife. Womanhood and wifehood are thus intricately entwined social statuses in the Caribbean Hindu context; without being married, a girl is not considered a woman. Regardless of gender and age, all my informants related godnas to a girl's wedding and transformation into a (married) woman. For example, during one of our first conversations in December 2011, then 74-year-old Dhanmattie,[16] who lives in the Guyanese region of Berbice with part of her family, commented on her tattoo by stating that godnas were "like a tradition" in the past, "when you had been married." My informants usually framed godnas as "stamp[s] of marriage"[17] that highlight the irrevocability of Hindu marriages, emphasized by the tattoos' aura of permanence.

When interviewing senior Hindu women and initiating our conversation via their godnas, they often began to narrate memories of their lives, particularly the life stage of wifehood, emphasizing the relevance of marriage and what is considered to 'count' as/in a woman's life. By suggesting that senior Hindu women's life narratives were often life stage narratives, I am not implying that Guyanese and Surinamese women considered their lives to have started only after marriage. However, this certainly is the way their lives are often discursively framed in local popular discourse. In linking godna narratives to this particular life stage, their way of narration has to be considered a specific narrative strategy. When making general inquiries about their lives, not addressing godna, the women often initiated their narratives with a reference and/or story linked to their parents, elder siblings, or the house and village where they were born. When eventually asked about their tattoos over the course of the interview, they often framed godnas as motherly gifts, as symbols of female bonding, and as signifiers of having acquired a specific ritualistic status.[18] These general inquiries were not used as a prompt to frame the conversation about abusive marriages or

16 All names have been changed to ensure my informants' anonymity.

17 Usharbudh Arya, *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam*, Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1968): 27.

18 Kloß, "Embodying Dependency."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 411

experiences of suffering. However, whenever I initiated a conversation or interview by asking about a godna's meaning, the women framed the evolving narrative as an introduction to and regarding the specific life stage of a wife. As such, they used it as a bodily proof or trace and as a sensory access point to their memories of structural violence.

3 Tattoos as Sensory Memories

Tattoo narratives are often a specific kind of life narrative, frequently produced in conversations, interviews, and other interactions. As part of oral histories, they may differ from written narratives based on their performative-interactional character. Any representation may have a performative dimension, and written texts certainly have been influenced by people other than the author (such as editors, transcribers, and interviewers) and an intended audience.[19] Yet I still consider contemporary tattoo narratives to be distinct due to their link to oral history practices and their modes of production. Tattoo narratives, often coproduced by direct social relations and through the interlocutors' interactions, are part of oral storytelling. An interviewer usually frames an interview topic, asks specific questions, responds to the interlocutor, gestures, interferes, and uses different kinds of methodological probing. As was the case in my research, tattoo narratives are co-constructed in these situations and do not necessarily exist apart from the interviews themselves. Where oral history is actively coproduced, these moments have to be understood as interactional junctures and processes that rely on nonverbal communication as they depend on the spatial, temporal, social, and sensory contexts in which oral history interviews occur. Oral histories have an active part in their construction, providing the possibility of analyzing inherent negotiations of power and status.

The various social roles of interviewer(s) and interviewee(s), and the intersectional identities with which the interlocutors identify and ascribe significantly impact the narration and, in general, the production of historical narratives.[20] Power relations and negotiations of socio-political status always influence them.[21] Consequently, I consider the life stage narratives produced in my ethnographic interviews to be situational and contextual snapshots of extended conversations during longer stretches of fieldwork, which are necessarily influenced by the different social actors involved. The interactional dimension of tattoo narratives is seldom addressed in contemporary tattoo re-

19 Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography*: 178.

20 Sinah T. Kloß, "Talking History: Ethnographic Interviews, Intersectional Identities, and Power Negotiations in Research Encounters," in *Un-Mapping the Global South*, ed. Gero Bauer, Nicole Hirschfelder and Fernando Resende (Routledge, forthcoming).

21 Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 412

search and public discourse, for example, in many Euro-American popular magazines. Here, narrators' explanations of their motivation for a tattoo are sometimes even assumed to be authentic. That a tattoo's 'original' meaning is constantly (re-)constructed in the narrative process often remains obscured. However, formulating and asking questions to investigate the 'meaning' of one or more tattoos are already part of constructing specific life narratives and identities. Seeking to understand 'the meaning' of a tattoo presupposes not only that a tattoo necessarily has to have (one or more) meaning(s) but may also label a specific body modification as potentially different from other practices of body and/or identity construction. Asking about tattoos may (re-)construct tattooed bodies as other and contrast them to non-tattooed bodies, producing, for example, specific (legitimizing) narratives. Contemporary discourse and a society's stance on tattooing, which may be appreciative, indifferent, or stigmatizing, also affect the answers provided in an interview. Therefore, questions of intentionality and the interview's power dynamics have to be addressed in tattoo research, especially when the researcher frames it as an investigation of life narratives.[22] Additionally, questions regarding the process and practice of being and becoming tattooed and remembering the tattooing experience may provide different insights into and facilitate alternative productions of life narratives.

The transformational character and shifting interpretations of memories have long been reflected in methodological discussions of oral history and shall not be the focus of this discussion. Various socio-cultural influences and personal factors alter or adjust memories over time; memories' content is not only shaped by "the way people remember" but, similarly, also by "what is revealed to others, and how it is revealed."[23] Gender may be performed in narrations of 'life,' and expectations relating to gender roles usually influence how and what aspects of a life are narrated. Reflecting on the methodology of oral history as a feminist practice, Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack remind us:

> A woman's discussion of her life may combine two separate, often conflicting perspectives: one framed in concepts and values that reflect men's dominant position in the culture, and one informed by the more immediate realities of a woman's personal experience. Where experience does not 'fit' dominant meanings, alternative concepts may not readily be available. Hence, inadvertently, women often mute their own thoughts and feelings when they try to describe their lives in the familiar and publicly acceptable terms of prevailing concepts and conventions.[24]

---

22 Silke Schmidt, *(Re-)Framing the Arab/Muslim*: *Mediating Orientalism in Contemporary Arab American Life Writing* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014): 64.

23 Mary Chamberlain, "Gender and Memory: Oral History and Women's History," in *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton and Barbara Bailey (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995): 106.

24 Kathryn Anderson and Dana C. Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, ed. Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991): 11.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 413

The authors rightfully caution oral historians to "listen in stereo, receiving both the dominant and muted channels"[25] during interviews to understand women's perspectives more accurately. Expectations of gender, the construction of femininity, and more specifically, the notion of the 'good wife' as a marker of Hindu womanhood were of central concern in godna narratives, an aspect I address in the following section.

In this context, it is relevant to point out that my research and presence coproduced the life stage narratives interpreted in this article. These narratives were also influenced by the fact that my informants rightfully labeled me—their audience—as female, white, European, and, more specifically, as an 'unmarried' and 'childless' woman to whom they needed to serve as role models and to whom they could entrust their gendered stories of female suffering.[26] Often, they seemed pleased to be asked about their past, even though they did not narrate pleasant memories and sometimes cried during the interviews. Family members who were present were generally indifferent to listening to the stories (again). I got the sense that my elder interviewees seemed to appreciate me as an attentive, new, and potentially powerful audience, in the presence of whom they might be able to legitimate higher statuses and make specific claims to family members, especially if they overheard and witnessed the interview. Taking into account that "[s]torytellers benefit in terms of prestige and perhaps resources by earning the attention of audiences,"[27] I reflect on the agency of women in constructing their narratives and claiming high(er) status positions in the final section of this article.

When reflecting on the creative (co-)construction of tattoo narratives, and taking into account that tattoos have to be understood as experiences performatively reconstructed in narration, I argue that tattoos cannot be understood as mere mementos—as "reminder[s] of a past event or condition, of an absent person, or of something that once existed," or as "an object kept in memory of some person or event, a souvenir."[28] Indeed, we have to approach them as sites of sensory memories and experiences; tattoos interpreted this way actively construct and transform these experiences in the present and the narratives thereof. Narrators necessarily create, engage in, and perform embodied practices of remembering instead of simply repeating or conjuring up memories of a stored experience.[29] Tattoos become modes of "embodied knowing and

25 Anderson and Jack, "Learning to Listen": 11.

26 I self-identify as a white, European, heterosexual, able-bodied woman with a working-class background, who was in her early 30s at the time the interviews were conducted.

27 Brian Boyd, "Narrative and Storytelling," in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (2018), https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1900: 4 [accessed 07.09.2023].

28 "Oxford English Dictionary Online", www.oed.com [accessed 07.09.2023].

29 Constantina Nadia Seremetakis, "The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory," in *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, ed. Constantina Nadia Seremetakis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 7.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 414

remembering,"[30] especially in sensory engagements with and conversations about them. Consequently, tattoos and their related narratives may be considered modes of embodied memory-making and as "emplaced memory processes"[31] that are constituted and continuously reconstituted through practice.

Godna narratives are linked to wifehood and suffering because of godnas' relatedness to marriage and because godnas result from painful tattooing processes and experiences. They are embodied marks and sensory memories of physical and emotional pain and suffering experienced in the past, which had to be endured. They are one example that highlights how "material culture functions as an apparatus for the production of social and historical reflexivity,"[32] provided by sensory self-reflexivity. They link embodied experiences of pain and suffering during wifehood to the notion of endurance. Before I elaborate on the aspect of endurance, I shall analyze how my informants performed gender and (re-)created the notion of the 'good woman' in these processes of narration and embodied remembering.

4 Performing 'Good Wifehood': Narratives of Suffering

When I initiated interviews on the topic of godna, the vast majority of senior Hindu women recounted their life stage of wifehood, linking it to oppressive patriarchs, husbands, and mothers-in-law, and to gender-based violence and other experiences of 'physical' and 'spiritual' suffering. For example, a Guyanese informant—Aunty Betty—dismissed my interest in her godna when I inquired about its meaning in our first informal conversation. She rolled up her sleeves, lifted her skirt, and pointed to the numerous scars on her arms and legs, explaining: "This [godna] is only one of the marks he gave me." With this statement, she recounted her husband's abusive behavior and went on to list and narrate in detail some of her memories of gender-based violence. At the time of our meetings, Aunty Betty was in her early 80s. She lived as a widow with her unmarried, unemployed son, who was addicted to alcohol, in a decaying house in the Berbice region of Guyana. During our informal conversations and formal interview in September 2017, she related that she received no financial support from her family and that her only source of income was a small state pension she received monthly, which provided her with, at most, a two-week supply of the most basic groceries. Rather than elaborating on her godna, Aunty Betty preferred to tell me about some of her scars and her continuing 'punishment.' She remembered

30 Sarah Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009): 44.

31 Pink, *Doing Sensory Ethnography*: 44.

32 Seremetakis, "The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory": 7.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 415

and recounted the details of an incident of her married life: one evening, while fleeing from her drunk and violent husband, she had to jump off her balcony with her baby in her arms, and was forced to sleep under the mango tree in the yard.

Aunty Betty and others used godnas as starting points and framing,' principles to elaborate on how they were 'prapa punish' ('being severely punished,' 'have suffered a lot'; Guyana) or how their lives were 'pinares' ('full of suffering'; Suriname). Senior Surinamese women addressed the condition and experiences caused by structural violence using the noun and verb *pinaren* ('suffering,' 'to suffer'), a term I adopt in the remainder of this article to address this type of suffering. *Pinaren* denotes suffering related to (female) experiences of subordination, poverty, and asymmetrical dependencies between men and women, deities and humans. The term is commonly known among Surinamese Dutch speakers, while to most other Dutch speakers, it seems to be unknown and is not listed in contemporary dictionaries. Its link to the former Dutch colony of Suriname has been documented in the 1914 publication of the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië* (*Encyclopedia of the Dutch West Indies*). The authors translate *pinaren* as 'poverty, suffering, and struggling,' further suggesting that the Surinamese term is "[p]robably related to the customary *penarie* in the Netherlands, to be in trouble ('in de penarie zitten')" or may be derived "from the Spanish *penar*."[33] One of the few publications that prominently make use of the term is Daniel Koning's photobook *Pinaren in Het Paradijs: Suriname Na De Onafhankelijkheid* (*Suffering in Paradise: Suriname after Independence*), published in 1991.[34] Here, Koning applies *pinaren* once, in addition to its prominent use on the book's cover, directly relating it to poverty and (female) begging practices.[35]

I argue that from my informants' perspective, *pinaren* is caused by structural and symbolic violence.[36] In everyday conversations, most senior Guyanese and Surinamese Hindu women did not discuss suffering as an exception but rather as a rule in the present world. Often, they commented that living in *kali yuga* is the reason why everybody has to suffer today. *Yuga* refers to the Hindu concept of world stages, marked by the continuous decay of morals and living conditions. According to this cyclical concept, everyone lives in the fourth and last of all world stages, kali yuga. Suffering is the normal condition in this stage due to cosmological principles. At the end of this yuga, the world will eventually be destroyed, dissipated, and will then be renewed

33 Herman Daniël Benjamins and Johannes François Snelleman, eds., *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1914): 563 (author's translation from Dutch).

34 Daniel Koning, *Pinaren in Het Paradijs*: *Suriname Na De Onafhankelijkheid* (Amsterdam: Fragment Uitgeverij, 1991): 8.

35 The sentence states: "On Graven Street, I am accosted by a woman with a child on her arm; she asks for money: 'We suffer [pinaren], sir.'" Koning, *Pinaren in Het Paradijs*: 8 (author's translation from Dutch).

36 Philippe Bourgois, "The Power of Violence in War and Peace: Post-Cold War Lessons from El Salvador," *Ethnography* 2, no. 1 (2001), https://doi.org/10.1177/14661380122230803.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 416

again, starting anew with a "golden age."[37] Despite this naturalization of suffering in kali yuga, Surinamese and Guyanese women usually stressed in their life narratives that they personally have suffered *a lot* and disproportionately so, particularly in comparison to their husbands. The topic of suffering was discussed so extensively in these interviews that, in the remainder of this article, I shall refer to them as 'narratives of suffering.' In these narratives, my informants commonly explained how they had been expected to work, serve, and contribute in a multiplicity of contexts and concerning a seemingly endless number of social actors. They listed the tasks they were charged with, including different kinds of paid and unpaid labor: they worked on sugar plantations, in rice fields, or as market vendors; they worked in their in-laws' households; they were responsible for acquiring religious merit for their extended families by organizing religious ceremonies and attending rituals; and they were occupied with caretaking and reproductive labor. Most of the women I talked to who were more than 70 years old reported having had between 7 and 14 living children, not counting those lost due to miscarriages or the high infant mortality in the past. Simultaneously, they implied or directly stated that they had to serve and suffer without expecting much in return, at least not in this life.

The upbringing of their children was often the central theme of their narratives of suffering. They had to carry out this duty unconditionally, which was often made more difficult, if not nearly impossible, by the lack of support from their husbands, aggravated by frequent psychological and physical abuse. For example, Sadvati, an 82-year-old retired widow living in Nickerie, Suriname, referred to *pinaren* as suffering in the following interview excerpt, directly relating her experiences of suffering to her husband's violent behavior and alcoholism as well as to her struggle to feed and raise her children:

> My husband, my husband was . . . . My mother-in-law had four children, but three died, the one was left. Who married me. And he [pause], his head was not so good. Light. Later, when we were married, he started drinking so much. [. . .] Then, I had, still I had four children with 'em. [. . .] My husband did not want me to have to work! He did not want me to. When I said, 'I am going to look for work. There's no food in the house.' The pinaren. He said, 'No, I don't want you to.' He did not trust me to go to work. Outside work. [. . .] I was so . . ., all my children . . ., so pinares, so pinares, to raise the children. (Sadvati, 82, September 2018, Nieuw Nickerie/Suriname; author's translation from Dutch)

Sadvati referred to *pinaren* as a noun and *pinares* as the condition of experiencing suffering and feeling "punished." Most of my female informants expressed in similar ways that their husbands had been "useless." They characterized them, for example, as addicted to "rum and drinking," as reckless, lazy, not wanting to work, not earning but instead only wasting money, being abusive, immoral, and unfaithful. Frequently,

37 William John Johnson, *A Dictionary of Hinduism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010): 365.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 417

they commented that their husbands had contributed neither to the family nor society, at least not to the extent the women themselves claimed to have.

The majority of these accounts reported various degrees and instances of gender-based violence, framed as a central feature of one's married life or mentioned as a side note. It remains a key aspect in almost all the life narratives told to me by Guyanese and Surinamese Hindu women in rural areas older than 40, exemplifying the structural and everyday violence directed at women.[38] In the past, gender-based violence seldom led to divorce or a permanent separation of husband and wife in the Hindu communities of Suriname and Guyana. Due to religious norms, a wife was always expected to endure the abuse and fulfill her life-long marital vows, as divorce was a religious and social impossibility. In this regard, godnas served as sensory and quasi-permanent reminders of wifehood inscribed on women's bodies. Women occasionally escaped the gender-based violence and their abusive husbands on a short-term basis, often with the help of their mothers. Sherry-Ann Singh refers to this "phenomenon of separation" concerning Hindu Trinidad, explaining that the "wife would leave the conjugal home, either with or without the children, to stay with immediate or distant relatives for an indefinite period of time" and that until "the 1970s, separation almost always occurred because of either excessive physical abuse or adultery."[39] Emphasizing the extent to which she had been *pinares*, Sadvati also included memories of separation in her narrative of suffering. In response to my question why her husband did not want her to find "outside work," she explained:

> Sadvati: He does not want [me] to. Because he does not, does not . . . drinks sopi [alcohol], that is why he does not want [me] to. I have all the children . . . When he drinks sopi he comes, starts to . . . starts hitting me, starts throwing everything [around/away]. When he leaves, I take all my kids; I walk with those kids to my mother's. Do you know where my mother lived? Where Shell . . ., that road across the street [far away]. I will look to the back, see if he comes. I run with the kids, I run run run. Until mother's. Go to my mother. [Pause] My mother knows exactly that the man hit me. I stay there. When he comes home, he sees the house and so on, this. He knows exactly that [I] went to my mother's. Not today, *tomorrow* he is going to come. When the sopi is done, *then* he is gonna come. My mother says, 'Look, he's coming by bike.' He is coming. He is sitting down. He's gonna tell my mother, 'I'm coming to get my wife, and my children.' My mother says, 'No, I am not going to send my daughter. You hit my daughter. You have pinaren my daughter.' He says, 'What do you say, she is my wife. I have the right.' He says it like that, 'I have the right. [*quiet*] I'll come [back and] get my brother.' [Pause]

38 Johan Galtung, *Peace*: *Research, Education, Action*, Prio Monographs 4 (Copenhagen: Ejlers, 1975): 24. Nancy Scheper-Hughes, "Small Wars and Invisible Genocides," *Social Science & Medicine* 43, no. 5 (1996), https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(96)00152–9.

39 Sherry-Ann Singh, *The Ramayana Tradition and Socio-Religious Change in Trinidad, 1917–1990* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2012): 177.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 418

Sinah: And then you had to go back?

Sadvati: My mother says, my mother starts telling me, 'Go back. If you're gonna take another man, if that man is going to hit your kid[s], you're not going to like it.'

Sinah: Hmm. [Silent probe]

Sadvati: 'You married that man, and that man does what he does. We don't want to hear.' When he comes back home, two days he is going to be alright.

Sinah: Two days?

Sadvati: Two, three days, he is going to drink sopi again. [Pause] [. . .] I was, [with] all my children, so *pinares*, and so *pinares* to raise the children. Yeah.
(Sadvati, 82, September 2018, Nieuw Nickerie/Suriname; author's translation from Dutch)

Sadvati described how she had run away from her abusive husband, seeking refuge at her mother's. When her husband came to take her and the children home, her mother first scolded him for his abuse, but when he threatened to return with his brother to enforce his rights, her mother started insisting that Sadvati should return to him. It could be worse, she indicated, stating that although he might be mistreating *her* now, another man would surely also extend these abuses to her children. As this narrative implies, a mother's self-sacrifice for her children is expected. This is a common theme emphasized in the women's life narratives and descriptions of 'good womanhood.' Sadvati later emphasized the irreversibility of a Hindu marriage; while acknowledging that today, "modern" women sometimes leave abusive husbands, she repeated that "old-time people" used to tell their ill-treated daughters that they had the moral and religious obligation to stay and endure the abuse. Similarly, Radica, an 81-year-old widow living with one of her daughters and some grandchildren in Guyana, in tears narrated how she ran away from her husband, emphasizing that she had to "mind me chirren" (mind my children):

[I lived at my father-in-law's.] There were 21 of us in the house. I had to cook. You had to *cook*, you had to *wash*, you had to *scrub* [clean the house]. There was *no* money, well . . . *I* worked; I bought a few things for my children. [. . .] My man drank rum, beat me. I went away, left, and went away. Go back, come back, the kids were small. [. . .] I left for a *looooong* time. [. . .] No money. Seven children.

Later in the interview, she added:

Sometimes I did not earn the money to buy my ration [basic food items]. I minded my children. The children. Before that, before I left my husband, [. . .] my mother said I would get scared to leave my husband, but I did not get scared. I worked [at the market] in New Amsterdam. [. . .] I walked there; sometimes I took the donkey cart. [. . .] And, I worked; I got my 15 hundred [Guyana] dollars. But what could 15 hundred dollars buy you with seven children? The family did not take care of you in those times. And they could have. When I took out eight plates for food, for my children [starts to cry] . . . I did not get anything to eat. [cries] (Radica, 81, Berbice, Guyana, September 2017; author's translation from Guyanese)

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 419

It is not my intention to capitalize on my interviewees' narratives of suffering by reproducing every detail. Instead, my objective is not to silence their accounts, which I find emotionally challenging, even when only transcribing and analyzing them. Indeed, our conversations and interviews were seldom cheerful; they required energy and strength, particularly on the part of the narrators. For this reason and other ethical implications, the number of godna narratives produced in my research remains limited yet representative. I am indebted to my informants, who told me about and trusted me with their intimate experiences. To not further accentuate the power asymmetries already inherent in this (and most) research, I think it necessary to include several illustrative parts of their narratives in this article, especially when analyzing them regarding their subversive potential in the following section. However, the subversive aspect of narration has to remain but one way to think through my informants' traumatizing experiences, pain, and memories.

5 Retrospective Narratives of Endurance

My female informants unequivocally commented that suffering—being *pinares* or *prapa punish*—is a general and unavoidable condition of human existence in kali yuga, as mentioned above. They referred to *pinaren* as cosmologically justified structural suffering, which varied in intensity among humans according to gender. They focused their narratives not on the reasons for suffering or on possible ways to avoid hardship but rather on the methods and strategies to bear it. In religious contexts, the endurance of pain and suffering is often framed as an issue of morality and righteousness.[40] Accordingly, my informants' narratives of suffering did not so much highlight the different causes of their suffering (e.g., the lack of food and/or money and abusive husbands) as stressing how they dealt with this adversity practically (e.g., working, earning money, and temporarily leaving husbands). Central to these explanations was the principal reason why they tolerated the abuse: their children. All the women I interviewed confirmed that raising and taking good care of one's children was necessary to be and be considered a 'good woman.' Only a wife who fulfills her 'motherly duties' met the social norms and religious obligations expected of women. By this means, they contributed to society and would, they explained, ultimately be rewarded with religious merit and, hence, better their *karma.*[41] They would experience the benefits of their contributions and moral endurance in future rebirths and lives.

40 Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ed. Clifford Geertz (London: Fontana Press, 1993): 104.

41 Karma refers to the structural principle that influences the future and rebirth of a person based on their intent and actions.

Consequently, narratives of suffering have to be considered a mode of narrating life and life stages to negotiate status positions both in the present and future lives. Narratives of suffering as a discursive strategy have to be contextualized in local historical narratives, which use and apply the notion of contribution and suffering to contest group status and power relations on the national level. For example, Guyanese often use historical narratives of nation-building to negotiate and contest power relations among different 'ethnic groups.' In such narratives, a group's past contribution to the nation is emphasized to contest or legitimize dominant positions in the present social hierarchy.[42] Negotiations of status may similarly be implied in women's construction of life stage narratives: experiences of suffering are reframed in terms of endurance, based on a woman's effort and contribution to the family and, hence, to society at large. This allows them to legitimize a high(er) social status and better living conditions in the life stage of the widow.

With this hypothesis, I do not seek to trivialize the very real experiences of pain and suffering experienced by my informants. However, I believe it is necessary to not gloss over the extent of women's agency but instead to reflect on aspects that allow further insight into the meanings of godnas and their related narratives of female suffering. This is necessary to avoid reproducing a narrow perspective on Indo-Caribbean women as simply victimized and repressed, a perspective replicated all too often.[43] While such approaches have been challenged more recently in the academic context, the trope of the suffering Indo-Caribbean woman has proven to be persistent, particularly in popular discourse and cultural representations, affecting, to some extent, the godna narratives produced.[44] Alternatively, it is necessary to "listen in stereo,"[45] as addressed earlier, and to acknowledge Guyanese and Surinamese women's agency in constructing and narrating their lives. Without obscuring the pain and suffering their experiences have caused and continue to cause, I believe the women should not be considered mere victims in weaving their narratives.

From this perspective, my interlocutors may have also narrated their experiences to (un-)consciously claim the status of 'good wife' and 'good woman' to legitimize or demand an enhanced living standard and social status in the present. As "storytellers have incentives to skew stories in their own favor or in support of those with power or prestige,"[46] and it is not exceptional in life narratives that narrators seek to address

42 Sinah T. Kloß, "Giving and Development: Ethno-Religious Identities and 'Holistic Development' in Guyana," in *Faith-Based Organizations in Development Discourses and Practice*, ed. Jens Köhrsen and Andreas Heuser, Routledge Studies in Religion and Politics (London: Routledge, 2019).

43 Marina Carter, and Khal Torabully, *Coolitude: An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*, Anthem South Asian Studies (London: Anthem Press, 2002).

44 Kloß, "Embodying Dependency."

45 Anderson and Jack, "Learning to Listen": 11.

46 Boyd, "Narrative and Storytelling": 4.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 421

audiences "whom they want to persuade of their version of experience,"[47] we may want to hypothesize that my informants also claimed and legitimized their high(er) social status concerning other family members in their current old age, having transitioned to the life stage of widowhood. I do not believe, for example, that Radica consciously manipulated her narrative of endurance and suffering simply as a means of claiming higher social status. During our interview, the presence of her younger family members however formed an audience that she addressed while she answered my interview question, which influenced her narrative strategies. For example, during the interview and after relating her narrative of misery as a wife, Radica directly addressed her fear of "ending up in the dharamsala," the socially ostracized old age home, despite having "minded her children." She constantly complained in informal conversations that her family does not or cannot take sufficient care of her. Her daughters, who were in the same room and heard Radica's laments, were indirectly addressed, being called out on their supposedly low morals. In my presence, that of a white European researcher, her claims gained in determination.

Through narratives of suffering, often initiated when I asked a woman about her godna, a female narrator could claim a survivor's role and to have endured wifehood in dignity and with high morals. Indeed, most of the women who did not hesitate to characterize their husbands in the discussed ways and in the presence of their (adult) children were widows. Widows, or no-longer wives, self-confidently dismissed their husbands, having outlived them and not fearing their wrath and continued abuse. However, wives whose husbands were still alive voiced their criticism and frustrations more quietly, and sometimes indirectly, in our informal conversations. Widowed narrators frequently indicated that their current life situation had improved and that they were supported by (some of) their children, enabling them to (finally) live a "comfortable" and "humble" life. For example, Dhanmattie, introduced earlier, explained that she had been a widow for a while now, commenting: "I may be a poor woman, and I am a widow for 22 years now, this month. I was a widow since then, but before that, I was even *poorer*! Because he was bad! If he worked, not a dollar he would bring home" (January 2012; author's translation from Guyanese). She considered her current social and economic situation to be an improvement already, although she still considered herself "poor." Widows who faced loneliness due to their children's death, neglect, or emigration, whose lives were dominated by illness, or, in rare cases, whose deceased husbands were considered attentive and caring, were not so positive about their current situation.

With this discursive strategy, widows could increase their social status and position today and in the future. Having contributed to the family and society in this life as a moral and virtuous wife, they could hope to be reborn as a (more powerful) man in their next life. Dhanmattie's account exemplifies the narrative's interweaving of gen-

47 Smith and Watson, *Reading Autobiography*: 6.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 422

der-based violence and (female) religious duties, suggesting that it is important for a woman to endure suffering, which has implications for her next life. Initiating her response by highlighting that she was not telling me idle gossip, but instead telling me the truth ("me talk me own story")—an expression she commonly used to create narrative authority—she referred to her virtue and modesty as a Hindu woman. A virtuous Hindu woman, according to Dhanmattie, had to respect her husband unconditionally before she could (claim to) love god. She then stated:

> You know, when a man falls, he is sick, and you have seen him in lots of wrong things [before]. Well, our kind of bible tells us, like this, says: 'If that is not for this birth, we hope for the next birth.' So we go away quick, like that. And that is left for the next birth, when we come [back]. So, when you see one-body coming, just now, our book tells us that . . . that it is not rubbed out. Because if you do five [*inaudible*], the five are there. If you do 20 good [things], the 20 good things are there, so with this now; it does not correspond equally, so you cannot suffer so much. But how much more [could I have suffered]? [. . .] I was not able to pay [for a better house], because the man was so *bad*. Before I tell anybody else's story, I tell my own story. And it is never done. And god cannot be mad at me for this, because I told god, I said, said, I must have done something wrong, to make me punish. I would not even see my man, and he [would] bust my head. (Dhanmattie, 73, Guyana, February 2012; author's translation from Guyanese)

Dhanmattie addressed a multiplicity of topics and entangled discourses in this revelatory fragment from our interviews. On a general level, she linked a husband's misconduct ("you have seen him in lots of wrong things") to a wife's obligation to hope for betterment in her next life. She explained how, if good deeds outweigh one's bad actions, karma will make one suffer less in future births. Linking this statement to the rhetorical question, "But how much more [could I have suffered]?" she then provided her example of suffering and shifted to her personal experience. Describing poverty, the condition of being 'punished,' and gender-based violence, she concluded that "god cannot be mad at me for this"—that is, for narrating her own story (truthfully) and for having dutifully endured all sorts of suffering and 'punishment.' Narrating these experiences, she simultaneously claimed the status of having been a 'good' and 'dutiful' wife, legitimizing what "little comfort" she had now as a widow and what she was hoping for in her next life.

6 Conclusion

Godnas can be interpreted as marks representing, embodying, symbolizing, and actively (re-)constructing experiences of gender-based suffering in Suriname and Guyana. They are inherently linked to male domination and female subordination, representing asymmetrical dependencies and, thus, structural and symbolic violence. As I have demonstrated in this article, godnas—sensory memories and embodied marks—initiate and become framing principles of narratives of suffering, which (re-)

create gender roles and social norms of (good) wife- and womanhood. By claiming the status of 'good wife' and contributing to society by 'raising their children' despite the hardships suffered during the life stage of wife, widowed narrators used their narratives, on the one hand, to share their painful experiences and memories. On the other hand, such narratives were also wielded to claim high(er) social status in their current life stage of a widow and their anticipated next lives. Having dutifully and obediently endured the *pinaren*, the cosmologically justified yet still disproportionate suffering, women may now hope for better living conditions and less suffering in future lives. Stressing female endurance, the tattooed marks—as outcomes of a painful tattooing experience—also materialized and visualized the twofold processes of suffering and endurance related to both marriage *and* tattooing. In this sense, godnas served as framing principles or initiatory triggers to life stage narratives and sensory memories that impacted the ways these narratives were constructed. Future research should compare the possibly different narratives that may evolve when asking a woman about a godna's meaning compared to asking about the tattooing process. Preliminary results indicate that memories of the tattooing process less often evoke narratives of suffering than prompt discussions of (female) relationships and relational narratives of those involved in the tattooing process.

7 Acknowledgements

I thank my Surinamese and Guyanese friends and informants for their time, enthusiasm and support of my research. I also thank Claudette Austin, Maurits Hassankhan, Sebieren Hassenmahomed, Rosemarijn Hoefte, and Aruna Mungra, who allowed me access to various institutions in Guyana, Suriname, and the Netherlands.

Bibliography

Anderson, Kathryn, and Dana C. Jack. "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," in *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History*, ed. Sherna Berger Gluck, and Daphne Patai (New York: Routledge, 1991): 11–26.

Arya, Usharbudh. *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam*, Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1968).

Benjamins, Herman Daniël, and Johannes François Snelleman, eds. *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch West-Indië* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1914).

Bourgois, Philippe. "The Power of Violence in War and Peace: Post-Cold War Lessons from El Salvador," *Ethnography* 2, no. 1 (2001): 5–34, https://doi.org/10.1177/14661380122230803.

Boyd, Brian. "Narrative and Storytelling," in *The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology* (2018): 1–7, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1900 [accessed 07.09.2023].

Carter, Marina, and Khal Torabully. *Coolitude: An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*, Anthem South Asian Studies (London: Anthem Press, 2002).

Chamberlain, Mary. "Gender and Memory: Oral History and Women's History," in *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective*, ed. Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton and Barbara Bailey (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 1995): 94–110.

Galtung, Johan. *Peace: Research, Education, Action*, Prio Monographs 4 (Copenhagen: Ejlers, 1975).

Geertz, Clifford. "Religion as a Cultural System," in *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, ed. Clifford Geertz (London: Fontana Press, 1993): 87–125.

Ho, Hannah Ming Yit. "Negotiating a Personal Experience: Identity Affirmation of the Horimono Artist," in *Tattoo Histories: Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*, ed. Sinah T. Kloß, Routledge Studies in Cultural History 81 (New York: Routledge, 2020): 295–310.

Johnson, William John. *A Dictionary of Hinduism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Kloß, Sinah Theres. "Embodying Dependency: Caribbean Godna (Tattoos) as Female Subordination and Resistance," *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 27, no. 4 (2022): 601–612, https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12644.

Kloß, Sinah Theres. "Talking History: Ethnographic Interviews, Intersectional Identities, and Power Negotiations in Research Encounters," in *Un-Mapping the Global South*, ed. Gero Bauer, Nicole Hirschfelder, and Fernando Resende (Routledge, forthcoming).

Kloß, Sinah Theres. "Giving and Development: Ethno-Religious Identities and 'Holistic Development' in Guyana," in *Faith-Based Organizations in Development Discourses and Practice*, ed. Jens Köhrsen and Andreas Heuser, Routledge Studies in Religion and Politics (London: Routledge, 2019): 113–38.

Koning, Daniel. *Pinaren in Het Paradijs: Suriname Na De Onafhankelijkheid* (Amsterdam: Fragment Uitgeverij, 1991).

Körte, Mona, ed. "Rückwärtsvorgänge: Retrogrades Erzählen in Literatur, Kunst und Wissenschaft," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 138 (2019).

Kosut, Mary. "Tattoo Narratives: The Intersection of the Body, Self-Identity and Society," *Visual Sociology* 15, no. 1 (2000): 79–100.

Oksanen, Atte, and Jussi Turtiainen. "A Life Told in Ink: Tattoo Narratives and the Problem of the Self in Late Modern Society," *Auto/Biography* 13, no. 2 (2005): 111–30.

Oxford English Dictionary Online, www.oed.com [accessed 07.09.2023].

Pink, Sarah. *Doing Sensory Ethnography* (Los Angeles: Sage, 2009).

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. "Small Wars and Invisible Genocides," *Social Science & Medicine* 43, no. 5 (1996): 889–900, https://doi.org/10.1016/0277-9536(96)00152-9.

Schmidt, Silke. *(Re-)Framing the Arab/Muslim: Mediating Orientalism in Contemporary Arab American Life Writing* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2014).

Schwalm, Helga. "Autobiography," in *Handbook of Autobiography/Autofiction*, ed. Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019): 503–19.

Seremetakis, Constantina Nadia. "The Memory of the Senses, Part I: Marks of the Transitory," in *The Senses Still: Perception and Memory as Material Culture in Modernity*, ed. Constantina N. Seremetakis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 1–18.

Singh, Sherry-Ann. *The Ramayana Tradition and Socio-Religious Change in Trinidad, 1917–1990* (Kingston: Ian Randle Publishers, 2012).

Smith, Sidonie, and Julia Watson. *Reading Autobiography: A Guide for Interpreting Life Narratives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001).

Thompson, Beverly Yuen. *Covered in Ink: Tattoos, Women, and the Politics of the Body*, Alternative Criminology Series (New York: New York University Press, 2015).

Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2015).

Wagner-Egelhaaf, Martina. *Handbook of Autobiography / Autofiction* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019).

3. Research Lenses

Introduction

In the first funding period (2019–2025), the BCDSS has approached strong asymmetrical dependencies in different societies in five different research areas, i.e., from five different thematic and methodological angles. The first research area (Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives) focused on the semantics, lexical fields and narrative articulation of strong asymmetrical dependencies. The second one (Embodied Dependencies) examined strong asymmetrical dependencies that have been 'inscribed' in bodies and artefacts. The third research area (Institutions, Norms and Practices) studied strong asymmetrical dependency as produced at the crossroads of conflicting institutions, norms and practices, while the fourth one (Labor and Spatiality) was concerned with labor-related strong asymmetrical dependencies and spatial mobility. Finally, the fifth and last research area (Gender [and Intersectionality]) focused on the strong asymmetrical dependency that emerges at the intersections of gender, status, class, ethnicity, religion, and age. In each of these focus areas, relevant conceptual debates and approaches of the humanities were drawn upon and put to the test for arriving at a new social history of strong asymmetrical dependencies. While the first subfield of study made use of the new interest in historical semantics, the second one built on the 'material turn' and body history. The third subfield drew on the neo-institutional approach, and the fourth subfield engaged in current debates in global labor history. Finally, the fifth subfield used an intersectional approach and new debates in gender studies. Of course, individual research projects within the BCDSS touched upon several of these five research areas, and the BCDSS' researchers were involved in the activities of a number of subfields.

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Introduction

In Research Area A, we approached the phenomenon of slavery and other types of strong asymmetrical dependencies from three methodologically and theoretically distinct perspectives. (1) Semantics. Our approach to the semantics of the many different languages focused on the word, i.e., the lexical dimension, as well as on pragmatics, in so far as meaning often turns out to be dependent on the contexts in which a word is used. We aimed at identifying inventories of linguistic items (and their usage) that are pertinent to our topic at a particular time and in a specific historical (con)text. Most of us adopted a synchronic approach and focused on a single text or a small set of texts. These case studies could of course not provide a comprehensive account of the semantics of slavery and strong asymmetrical dependencies, but they allowed us to compare different ways of conceptualizing strong asymmetrical dependencies linguistically, which are specific to particular regions or points in time. (2) Lexical Fields. Our understanding of lexical fields was based on an onomasiological approach – which linguistic items are used to refer to a concept? Which words are used to express a concept? This means that the concept is a semantic unit which is not directly accessible but may be manifested in different ways on the linguistic level. We were interested in single concepts such as ‘wisdom’ or ‘fear’, but also in more complex semantic units like ‘strong asymmetrical dependencies’. We consider concepts to be abstract units that are manifested in a particular language. Yet, there are not necessarily one-to-one correspondences between concepts and individual words or other linguistic structures. In some cases, we could identify anthropological constants, which suggest that there are at least some universal concepts, i.e., concepts that can be expressed in all of the languages we examine. What provided deeper insight into the specific societies was an analysis of the concrete expressions of concepts, which may look similar, but usually are not identical for people in different cultural contexts and language communities. In comparative studies, which sought to examine different cultural contexts, the concept of lexical fields was enormously useful, since it was a tool that helped us reveal differences in terms of usage associated with otherwise similar concepts. Thus, it seemed reasonable to compare specific conceptual networks and their lexical manifestations in different languages as well as in different diachronic stages of the development of a society and a language. Generally, in each language (or diachronic stage), key terms emerged. (3) Narratives. Finally, the Research Area also focused on the analysis of narratives of slavery and other forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies. A narrative text is always a form of cultural self-perception and self-reflection. We define ‘culture’ as the interaction of material, social and mental phenomena. The analysis of selection processes with respect to what is addressed and to the literary forms that are characteristic of a particular genre or period provided insights into the mental disposition typical of a particular historical period. Studying the mental dimension of the culture of a society with the help of the methods supplied by literary studies, thus, means trying to reconstruct the system of values, norms, ideologies and collective concepts that is typical of a society, since this system (or at least segments thereof) manifests itself in condensed form in narratives. We were interested in the relations between narrative texts and the discourses and the knowledge of societies, seeking to trace how texts draw upon the sociocultural knowledge of the time they were produced in and incorporate this knowledge in media- and genre-specific ways, thus fulfilling diverse cultural functions. A transcultural narratological analysis of literary strategies provided insights into mental ways of making sense of reality and world-making. Nevertheless, with respect to their production and cultural reception, narratives of slavery and other forms of

strong asymmetrical dependencies – just like all other narratives – do not represent cultural realities mimetically; nor can they be accounted for in terms of straightforward relations of cause and effect. Instead, such narratives articulate individual and collective experiences, restructure these experiences and, last but not least, may have a significant impact on cultural symbolic inventories. In other words, these narratives of slavery and other forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies draw upon elements which are part of the imagination, experience and knowledge of a culture, even if these elements of the cultural archive are taken out of their original contexts and thus may be fundamentally changed in the process of narration.

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Jeannine Bischoff, Stephan Conermann and Marion Gymnich. “Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies: Introduction,” in *Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies. A Textual Approach*, eds. Jeannine Bischoff, Stephan Conermann and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 1-12.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111210544-001

Jeannine Bischoff, Stephan Conermann and Marion Gymnich

Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies: Introduction

1 Introduction

The concept of 'strong asymmetrical dependency' is proposed by the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) as an umbrella term for various social phenomena that have traditionally been referred to by terms such as 'slavery', 'serfdom' or 'unfree labour'. This new term is neither meant to replace established terminology, nor should it erase the manifold differences between historically specific conditions of enslavement or other forms of dependency. Instead, the term has been coined to break free from long-standing associations and to facilitate an interdisciplinary dialogue about the social conditions and the experience of a wide range of enduring coercive social structures. The study of strong asymmetrical dependencies requires paying attention to the terms used to talk about relevant historical phenomena as well as to the (cultural) narratives in which asymmetrical dependency is represented, affirmed, questioned or negotiated. In his influential monograph *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach*, Joseph C. Miller argued in favour of "understanding slaving as a historical strategy" rather than "only as an institution".[1] Approaching the history of slaveries across different regions and historical periods from this vantage point also implies that exploring the ways in which enslavement is talked about in historical (and historiographic) discourses is bound to produce interesting results.

The present volume, which brings together expertise from different disciplines, including Islamicate history, Scandinavian studies, theology, German medieval literary studies and law, is based on presentations and discussions in the context of the first Annual Conference of the BCDSS on October 1–2, 2020. This (online) conference marked the end of the first of five 'thematic years' that serve as milestones for the progress of research activities in the BCDSS over the period from 2020 to 2025. The conference was structured around the three key concepts 'semantics', 'lexical fields' and 'narratives', which were at the centre of the first 'thematic year'. The contributions during the two-day conference confirmed that studying the semantics of terms associated with asymmetrical dependency and the narratives in which these are embedded is crucial for overcoming the idea of a straightforward dichotomy of free vs. unfree that tends to inform discourses about enslavement in modern/post-Enlightenment societies. Such a binary opposition fails to do justice to the often highly complex situation in societies, in particular in pre-modern ones, but to some extent also in today's world.

1 Joseph C. Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2012): x.

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111210544-001

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 431

2 Semantics of Dependency

In research on the global history of enslavement and other forms of asymmetrical dependency there is a certain tension between the use of umbrella terms, which partially derives from the necessity of having an academic 'meta-language', on the one hand and the plurality of actual, local, historical terms on the other hand. Using the term 'slavery' or the plural 'slaveries' as general terms for the very different kinds of asymmetrical dependencies that existed throughout human history cannot capture the enormous heterogeneity that informed social relationships involving dependency. While this critique of course holds true for *any* umbrella term, the more descriptive term 'strong asymmetrical dependency' proposed by the BCDSS arguably has the advantage of being comparatively free of the at times quite fixed associations older expressions have accumulated over the course of their history. Thus, the new term may help to remove obstacles for an academic comparison across very different regional and historical contexts and also facilitates the type of comparison that seeks to acknowledge local and historical differences. While umbrella terms are useful for generating dialogue, a thorough analysis of the history of asymmetrical dependencies requires studying the terms that actually existed in a particular context.

Drawing upon the expertise provided by historical semantics and etymology, semantic analyses of the terms used to refer to dependent people in a specific historical context offer an important method for gaining a better understanding of the complexity of asymmetrical dependencies.[2] Studying the terms that form part of one and the same lexical field (e.g., enslavement) in a particular society provides information on which social distinctions were deemed relevant. This approach may help, for instance, to grasp some of the fundamental differences between transatlantic slavery and enslavement in the Ottoman Empire.[3] As the renowned American linguist and anthropologist Edward Sapir put it, "[t]he complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the community".[4] The social distinctions that can be identified by means of a semantic analysis of the lexical field of enslavement/dependency often go significantly beyond a simple binary opposition of 'free' vs. 'unfree' people. Semantic

2 Cf. the contributions in Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann, eds., *Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependencies: Semantics and Lexical Fields* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022).

3 On enslavement in the Ottoman Empire, cf., for example, 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, Ottoman Studies/Osmanistische Studien 7 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 11–27 as well as the articles by Tolino and Czygan in this volume.

4 Edward Sapir, "Language and Environment [1912]," in *Selected Writings in Language, Culture, and Personality*, ed. David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985): 90–91. In his pathbreaking studies from the beginning of the twentieth century, Sapir, for instance, introduced the idea of linguistic relativity.

analyses confirm that the 'unfree' people in a society did not necessarily constitute a uniform group. Serena Tolino and Stefan Brink show in their contributions to this volume that texts from the Fatimid Empire and from medieval Scandinavia make use of terms that subdivide unfree people into categories that differ, for instance, in terms of their provenance, their rights or their social status. There is, however, not always a one-to-one relationship between social categories and words. As Hossein Sheikh stresses in his discussion of Old Persian and Middle Iranian terminology in this volume, polysemous words are among the factors that complicate the analysis to some extent.

A feature that sets the lexical field of enslavement apart from many other lexical fields (and simultaneously enhances the likelihood of one-to-one relationships between social categories and linguistic items) is the fact that the vocabulary referring to asymmetrical dependency typically includes terms that are defined in legal texts and whose use thus has legal implications. From the point of view of semantics, legal terms appear to have a somewhat special status in so far as they need to be defined precisely to serve their purposes within society. Many other words in languages, by contrast, correspond to semantic categories that defy clear definitions, involving blurred boundaries instead, which may at times make it difficult to assign a term to a phenomenon: "there is a focal range in which judgments are secure and consistent, but it shades into a borderline range in which there is conflict with a neighboring category, and in which judgments become less secure and more context-dependent".[5] A legal framework might be expected to preclude this kind of blurred semantic category, and the normative function of legal texts should thus give rise to a clearly structured lexical field as far as enslavement is concerned. Yet, even though laws are certainly apt to order and stabilise the structure of the lexical field of enslavement to some extent, jurisprudence is also an area where definitions continue to be debated and where borderline cases are far from uncommon, as the contribution by Barbara Herceg Pakšić illustrates.

3 Metaphors of Dependency

A semantic analysis of the (historical) repertoire of terms associated with asymmetrical dependency can be complemented by paying attention to the metaphorical usage of these terms and to diachronic changes in this respect. Especially the umbrella terms 'slave' and 'slavery' (as well as their counterparts in other languages) appear to have been used metaphorically for a long time. As Andrea Binsfeld shows, for instance the idea of being a 'slave of love' can already be found in ancient Greek

5 Ray Jackendoff, *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002): 351.

literature.[6] In nineteenth-century Britain, the terms 'slave' and 'slavery' occur in various contexts to refer to the experience of asymmetrical dependency in situations that were *not* defined as slavery from a legal perspective. A case in point is the emergence and dissemination of the concept of 'white slavery', which is discussed by Ruth Ennis in the present volume. Yet, a tendency towards using the term 'slave' metaphorically cannot only be observed in larger discourses, where the metaphor comes to be employed systematically. There are also isolated instances of metaphorical usage, i.e., passages in specific texts that use the term to establish a comparison. In Charlotte Brontë's novel *Jane Eyre* (1847), for example, the orphaned title character, who is treated very badly in the household of rich relatives and sees no way of escaping from this situation, compares herself to an enslaved person, when she describes her experience as follows: "like any other rebel slave I felt resolved, in my desperation, to go all lengths."[7] In a novel that was published only fourteen years after the Slavery Abolition Act had been passed in the United Kingdom and during ongoing efforts to abolish slavery in the United States, even a brief reference to slavery like the one quoted above can be expected to resonate strongly with many readers. The cultural and political context presumably motivates the metaphorical usage of the term 'slave' and simultaneously endows it with emotional intensity. Brontë's novel, however, also draws the readers' attention to another possible framework motivating the metaphorical usage of 'slave', i.e., Roman history, which is alluded to in the following passage, where Jane explains why she accused her cousin of being "like a slave-driver" and "like the Roman emperors" as follows: "I had read Goldsmith's *History of Rome*, and had formed my opinion of Nero, Caligula, &c."[8]

According to conceptual metaphor theory, "metaphors are deeply entrenched in the cultural discourses of their age",[9] which means that "people draw on their preexisting cultural knowledge when they use or process metaphors".[10] Moreover, metaphors can be "seen as underpinnings, even fundamental underpinnings, of culture".[11] This certainly also holds true for a metaphorical usage of the term 'slave', as the examples mentioned in the previous paragraph illustrate. In societies where slavery was part of everyday life and/or where its abolition was discussed, a metaphorical usage of terms related to this institution does not seem far-fetched. Debates on

6 Andrea Binsfeld, "Slavery and its Narratives in Ancient Novels – Stories of 'Decline and Fall'?" in *Narratives of Dependency*, ed. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

7 Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985): 44.

8 Brontë, *Jane Eyre*: 43.

9 Ansgar Nünning, "Metaphors the British Thought, Felt and Ruled by, or: Modest Proposals for Historicizing Cognitive Metaphor Theory and for Exploring Metaphors of Empire as a Cultural Phenomenon," in *Literature and Linguistics: Approaches, Models, and Applications. Studies in Honour of Jon Erickson*, ed. Marion Gymnich, Ansgar Nünning and Vera Nünning (Trier: WVT, 2002): 102.

10 Nünning, "Metaphors the British Thought, Felt and Ruled by": 110.

11 Philip Eubanks, "The Story of Conceptual Metaphor: What Motivates Metaphoric Mappings," *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (1999): 419.

transatlantic slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries thus provided a context that certainly encouraged for instance writers, journalists and social reformers to draw upon the terms 'slave' and 'slavery' for referring to other types of dependency. A preference for these terms can also be attributed to the fact that "the evoking of emotion is an important aspect of the metaphorical process".[12] In a cultural context in which people were made aware of the cruelty of slavery by testimonies of formerly enslaved people and by the efforts of abolitionists in general, the terms 'slave' and 'slavery' accumulated emotional intensity, becoming synonymous with immense suffering and injustice. Thus, when other social relationships were labelled as 'slavery', the aim was obviously to condemn these in no uncertain terms. In the discourse of 'white slavery' discussed by Ennis as well as in Brontë's novel we can recognise the "strong rhetorical overtones of injustice, inhumanity, social and political exclusion, personal abuse, and inequality that the notion of slavery carries in modern culture".[13] Some or all of these negatively connotated semantic features are likely to be activated cognitively when the terms 'slave'/ 'slavery' are used metaphorically.

According to cognitive approaches to metaphor theory, metaphors involve a "schema of *source domain*, *target domain*, and the *mapping* of source on target".[14] When a metaphor is used, "a number of prototypical features" of the source domain (here: slavery) are "projected onto the subject matter [i.e., the target domain] about which one wants to talk"[15] (here: trafficking of women for the purpose of sex work in the case of 'white slavery' or the situation of an individual orphaned child depicted in a British novel). This process is referred to as 'conceptual integration', which, as Mark Turner and Gilles Fauconnier point out, "typically works below the horizon of observation": "It occurs dynamically in the moment of thinking, acting, and speaking, for local purposes, but its products can become entrenched."[16] A contextualisation of both occasional and systematic (i.e., 'entrenched') metaphorical usage of terms related to asymmetrical dependency promises to provide additional insights into the historically variable discourses on dependency.

Contextualisation also implies paying attention to the narratives in which metaphors are embedded. According to Philip Eubanks, conceptual metaphors tend to be supported by 'licensing stories', i.e., by a "repertoire of ideologically inflected narratives, short and long, individual and cultural, that organize our sense of how the world works and how the world should work. That is to say, our world-making stories give us the license – provide the requisite justification – needed to regard possible metaphoric

12 Nünning, "Metaphors the British Thought, Felt and Ruled by": 113.

13 Miller, *The Problem of Slavery as History*: x.

14 Monika Fludernik, Donald C. Freeman and Margaret H. Freeman, "Metaphor and Beyond: An Introduction," *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (1999): 387.

15 Fludernik, Freeman and Freeman, "Metaphor and Beyond: An Introduction": 387.

16 Mark Turner and Gilles Fauconnier, "A Mechanism of Creativity," *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (1999): 408.

mappings as sound".[17] The proliferation of metaphors related to slavery in nineteenth-century Europe, for instance, can be interpreted as resulting from an underlying licensing story shaped by the European Enlightenment that consolidates a binary opposition between slavery as a state that needs to be left behind on the individual and collective level to ensure progress, which is linked with achieving freedom.

4 Narratives of Dependency

Due to the ubiquity of strong asymmetrical dependencies in human societies throughout human history it seems hardly surprising that this type of social relationship can be traced in countless texts. These are often valuable textual sources for analysing the semantics of asymmetrical dependencies from a synchronic as well as from a diachronic perspective, as the previous sections have already suggested. Texts provide the contexts that are frequently needed to grasp and perhaps to disambiguate the meaning of lexical items and to identify semantic nuances in the ways they are used. As the contributions in this volume show, a wide range of different text types and genres can be drawn upon for an analysis of the semantics and metaphors of dependency, including for instance inscriptions, letters, legal texts and fictional works. Yet, the functions of texts for the study of asymmetrical dependency go much beyond being a source for semantic analyses on the lexical level.

Some narrative texts open up the possibility of at least partially reconstructing the history of asymmetrical dependency and, more specifically, that of the *experience* of enslavement and dependency. In the context of efforts to tell the history of asymmetrical dependency, it seems necessary to adopt a wide concept of narratives, i.e., to include both texts that exhibit 'strong narrativity' and those that are characterised by 'weak narrativity' and thus may be less prototypical examples of narrative texts (and have traditionally often been ignored by narratologists for this reason).[18] Many text

17 Eubanks, "The Story of Conceptual Metaphor": 426–27.

18 Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan describe the distinction between strong and weak narrativity as follows: "*strong narrativity* [. . .] fulfills all the conditions constitutive of basic narrativity, it also involves a mode of narration that goes much beyond the depiction of a sequence of events involving beginning, middle and end. Such narratives will focus on the mental worlds of human or human-like protagonists, this is to say, on their desires, intentions and feelings. Strong narratives must flesh out the kind of content that is constitutive of story in order to bring out its experientiality [. . .]. On the other end of the narrative continuum is *weak narrativity*. It comes in two kinds. The first stems from an *only partial fulfillment of the basic conditions*. For instance, a news headline is an incomplete story that needs to be fleshed out by the text that follows. [. . .] The other form of weak narrativity fulfills the basic conditions listed above, but it does so through a mode of representation that *limits itself to the transmission of information*. Such texts have a distinct plot made of sequences of events and actions but they do not foreground the mental activity of the protagonists or actants. [. . .] This reporting style is the dominant form of factual narrative, but it is also found in some types of fiction"

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 436

types that prove to be particularly important sources of information on asymmetrical dependency, for example the customary law texts studied by Caroline Laske in her article in this volume, have to be categorised as weakly narrative texts. The task of reconstructing a history of asymmetrical dependency by means of narratives is fraught with problems. The most important challenge is certainly that texts tended to be written by enslavers rather than by enslaved people. This is likely to cause huge gaps in our knowledge and to confront us with a bias that privileges the perspective of the enslavers. Notwithstanding such problems, even these narratives may turn into important sources of knowledge if they are read against the grain and if details and silences are paid attention to. In a similar vein, Elke Brüggen argues in her contribution to this volume that canonical literary texts can produce information on asymmetrically dependent people if marginal characters are focused on and contextualised in the histories of enslavement.

Narratives that address asymmetrical dependency provide manifold insights into the cultural framework and its discourses that either support or challenge asymmetrical dependency in a society. Narratives may offer culture-specific justifications for the existence of slavery or indicate which values, norms and belief systems support the practice of enslaving people. As Chris de Wet shows in his discussion of various narratives that originated in the context of Early Syrian Christianity, actual enslavement may for instance be entangled in complex ways with religious ideas of a spiritual enslavement. The archive of texts that provide information on the history of asymmetrical dependency can be subdivided into two large groups on the basis of their attitude: (a) those that simply take asymmetrical dependencies for granted or even provide justifications of the institution and (b) those that criticise asymmetrical dependency and seek to abolish it.

The former constitute by far the largest group, which seems hardly surprising since the voices of hegemonic groups tend to be the ones that are primarily preserved in documents. In terms of text types and genres, this group of narratives is extremely diverse, including for example legal and religious texts as well as literary works and personal documents. In order to read between the lines or against the grain, as suggested above, the conventions informing the different text types and genres need to be taken into account. Moreover, tropes that occur across genres may provide interesting insights, as Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz shows in her interpretation of the trope of 'the slave who made it' in ancient Greek literature.

The second group of texts, those that criticise asymmetrical dependency and argue for its abolition, is on the whole much smaller, but it includes a few texts that are extremely well-known today. This is certainly true for some of the autobiographical texts that have come to be known as 'slave narratives', i.e., texts by formerly

(Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan, "Factual Narrative: An Introduction," in *Narrative Factuality: A Handbook*, ed. Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan [Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020]: 9).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 437

enslaved people like Olaudah Equiano, Frederick Douglass and Mary Prince that have played an important role in the efforts to abolish transatlantic slavery. As Vicent Sanz and Michael Zeuske stress, this type of narrative is comparatively rare and should strictly speaking be called 'ex-slave narrative', given the fact that enslaved people are typically in no position to publish texts.[19] Many of the authors of texts that were written to support the abolition of transatlantic slavery were white abolitionists, and in some regions these voices have even dominated the cultural memory for a long time, as Ulrike Schmieder shows in her study on Martinique in this volume. The letters written by a formerly enslaved woman from sixteenth-century Istanbul that are analysed in Christiane Czygan's article are particularly intriguing, since they offer a complex negotiation of the writer's position and show again that the institution of slavery in the Ottoman Empire differed significantly from transatlantic slavery.

5 The Contributions in this Volume

The eleven articles in this volume approach themes and questions outlined so far from different angles and disciplinary vantage points. They illustrate that a focus on the semantics and lexical fields that are relevant to asymmetrical dependency tends to provide impulses for the study of narratives of dependency and vice versa. The majority of the contributions discuss pre-modern societies, but it also becomes clear that a text-centred approach revolving around the semantics, lexical fields, metaphors and narratives of dependency is equally useful for an analysis of post-Enlightenment societies.

Stefan Brink examines the semantics and etymology of the terms that were used to refer to different types of enslaved people in medieval Scandinavia, especially in legal and literary texts. The juxtaposition of these terms reveals that being enslaved was a heterogeneous phenomenon in Scandinavian societies, even though the opposition between free and unfree persons at first appears to be binary from a purely legal perspective. As Brink shows, the features that set the different concepts apart include gender (e.g., *ambótt* 'female slave' vs. *þrœll* 'male slave'), but also differences in terms of the social position of enslaved people. A comparison with related terms in other Indogermanic languages as well as an analysis of diachronic changes provide insights into the cultural conceptualisation of the varying social roles of enslaved people as well as into the history of enslavement. This is perhaps most obvious in a specific semantic shift: words referring to (foreign) ethnic groups adopt the meaning 'slave'.

19 Vicent Sanz and Michael Zeuske, "Towards a Microhistory of the Enslaved: Global Considerations," in *El tabaco y la rearticulación imperial ibérica (s. XV–XX)*, ed. Santiago Luxán Meléndez and João Figuerôa Rêgo (Évora: Publicações do Cidehus, 2019).

This change in meaning can be observed in Scandinavia as well as across Indo-European languages and reflects in particular the enslavement of war captives.

Drawing upon sources such as inscriptions, letters and contracts written in ancient Near Eastern languages, Hossein Sheikh provides a similar contrastive semantic analysis of a large number of terms related to slavery. The starting point of Sheikh's overview is the Old Persian word *bandaka*, which, depending on the context, can mean either 'servant/slave' or 'subject'. Sheikh compares this term with cognates in other languages from the region, including the three Middle Iranian languages Sogdian, Pahlavi and Bactrian as well as various Semitic languages. According to Sheikh, semantic similarities between these languages can to some extent be accounted for culturally, by shared underlying concepts of (divine) superiority and inferiority, which do not correlate with the (modern) binary opposition of free vs. unfree. The social category 'gender' turns out to be a distinctive feature in the lexical field, giving rise to different terms referring to male and female slaves/servants.

In her discussion of the terminology used to refer to eunuchs in Islamic societies, Serena Tolino argues that it is necessary to study the semantic distinctions inherent in different terms referring to people in dependent positions in order to break free from Western-centric notions that tend to be informed by the simplified dichotomy of free vs. unfree. Even though most eunuchs were enslaved, they could still hold a range of influential political and administrative positions and they could have certain rights. For her analysis, Tolino uses primarily sources from the ninth to twelfth centuries, drawing upon chronicles from the Fatimid Empire, legal texts (*fiqh* manuals) as well as three lexicographic sources from the tenth century. These text types present several terms for eunuchs and thus imply different distinctive features. The chronicles, for instance, distinguish types of eunuchs depending on their rank and social function. In legal texts, by contrast, the terms used to refer to eunuchs indicate the degree of castration, which had an impact on the rights a eunuch was granted.

In an article focusing on early Syrian Christianity, Chris de Wet explores concepts and images of enslavement in a region that has been largely ignored in slavery studies. He traces changing implications of the image of the captive monk and narratives revolving around this figure over the course of several centuries, addressing different ways in which ascetical theology and practice were informed by the notion of being enslaved. De Wet argues that a historical context in which enslavement was ubiquitous fostered a tendency to conceptualise ascetic practices in terms of enslavement. In theological discourses in late ancient Syria, enslavement was regarded as a consequence of free will, which estranges the person from God – a state that can be overcome by becoming a slave *of* God. The texts examined by de Wet include the apocryphal *Acts of Thomas*, which feature an early example of the figure of the captive monk and intertwine notions of institutional, spiritual and metaphorical enslavement, Jerome's *Life of Malchus*, where physical enslavement is presented as a punishment for sins, and the *Book of Steps*, which presents enslavement of the body as ascetic practice.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 439

Ruth Ennis revisits the problematic expressions 'white slavery' / 'la traite des blanches', seeking to unentangle the dissemination of these terms across various Francophone and Anglophone (con)texts in the nineteenth century. Ennis thus engages in the debate to what extent the idea of a widespread trafficking of white women, which came to be referred to as 'white slavery' or 'la traite des blanches', was a myth fueled by processes of Othering in terms of both nationality and class. Having started out as metaphors that were used comparatively unsystematically to refer to diverse kinds of exploitation, the expressions 'white slavery' / 'la traite des blanches' eventually turned into a powerful and highly gendered concept in its own right, which referred specifically to trafficking women for the purpose of sex work. Ennis describes the emerging narrative of 'white slavery' as a transnational production and circulation of knowledge that involved many historical actors, served a range of different functions and was closely linked with prejudices regarding nationality and class.

Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz explores stories about manumitted slaves from the ancient Greek world that present their formerly enslaved protagonists as achieving wealth and/or fame by various strategies. As Zelnick-Abramovitz shows, this type of narrative can be found across different genres, including philosophical texts by Plato and Plutarch, writings by the historian Herodotos and by the geographer Strabo as well as the fictitious biography *Life of Aesop* from the first century CE. While there are a few accounts of actual manumitted slaves in ancient Greece who became successful, some well-known narratives about former slaves have probably fictitious protagonists with legendary features, such as Aesop, to whom many fables have been ascribed. What the various (formerly) enslaved protagonists share is their wit, which is the quality that ensures their success and that links them to the character type of the 'cunning slave' in comedies. According to Zelnick-Abramovitz, such narratives may have fulfilled multiple social functions, responding to hopes of enslaved people and to fears of enslavers alike.

In her discussion of one of the most famous Middle High German epic poems, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm* from the thirteenth century, Elke Brüggen demonstrates that reading pre-modern canonical texts against the grain and specifically through the lens of asymmetrical dependency may provide innovative readings of these works. The character of Rennewart in *Willehalm* has already attracted considerable interest among literary scholars. Nevertheless, as Brüggen claims, interpreting this Muslim character of royal descent as someone who was abducted as a child, who has been forcibly removed from the cultural and religious context he was born into and who has lived as a servant at the court of a Christian king makes it possible to glean allusions to what could be classified as alienating, even traumatic experiences. Thus, a literary figure like Rennewart can be situated in the history of the abduction and enslavement of children in the Holy Roman Empire – a facet of enslavement that has traditionally been marginalised in studies of slavery in European history.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 440

The contribution by Christiane Czygan focuses on letters written by Hurrem, a controversial historical figure from Ottoman history in the sixteenth century, who rose from being an enslaved woman in the Ottoman Imperial harem to exerting a considerable amount of political power. Czygan describes the Imperial harem as an environment where a comparatively high social status was often coupled with an equally high degree of dependency. In the sixteenth century, female slaves in the Imperial harem generally played an important role by producing male heirs, and having given birth to several sons certainly contributed to Hurrem's influential position at court. The letters Hurren wrote to Sultan Süleyman while the latter was away from the court provide a glimpse of Hurrem's voice and display her efforts to consolidate a position that was highly unusual for a woman like her. According to Czygan, the rhetorical strategies drawn upon by Hurrem to achieve her goals include expressions of love as well as a strong emphasis on her obedience, which corresponds to repeatedly referring to herself as the sultan's slave.

In her contribution to this volume, Caroline Laske analyses the *Sachsenspiegel*, a customary law text written down in eastern Saxony in the thirteenth century, through the lens of asymmetrical dependency. This approach stresses that the far-reaching lack of women's legal capacity in medieval society situated them in a dependent position. The *Sachsenspiegel*, like other late medieval customary law texts, tends to deny women legal capacity as far as control of both resources and actions is concerned. In the *Sachsenspiegel*, the norm of male guardianship, which was experienced by married women due to the legal principle of the *feme covert*, was not only inherent in the legal provisions. As Laske shows, this norm was additionally reinforced in references to the narrative of the Roman figure of Calefurnia, whose insolent demeanour was supposed to justify the silencing of women in legal contexts. The allusions to Calefurnia were also incorporated on the visual level, by means of images highlighting the insolence and even indecency of Calefurnia as a warning.

Ulrike Schmieder addresses various narratives about enslavement on Martinique and explores the competing memory cultures on the Antillean island, where the descendants of enslaved people and the *békés*, whose ancestors were enslavers, have traditionally remembered the past differently. These narratives include abolitionist Victor Schœlcher's account of the crimes committed by the Jaham brothers, whose cruel torture of enslaved people was meant to convince readers of his *Histoire de l'esclavage pendant les deux dernières années* (1847) that the abolition of slavery was necessary. As Schmieder shows, hegemonic French memory culture as well as that of many *békés* initially privileged the commemoration of the abolition of slavery rather than recalling the cruel reality of enslavement; in recent decades, however, descendants of enslaved people have increasingly challenged the *békés*' account, for instance by articulating a de-colonial counter-memory that emphasises resistance, self-liberation and agency on the part of the enslaved people.

Barbara Herceg Pakšić demonstrates what it means to approach slavery from the point of view of human rights and criminal justice today. She stresses that enslavement

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 441

is a human rights violation that cannot be relegated to the past, given that slavery continues to evolve into new forms. This, as Herceg Pakšić points out, implies that legal anti-slavery measures for the benefit of vulnerable groups are still called for. For contemporary societies, the concept of *de facto* slavery, which encompasses actual exploitative practices, might be more useful than the notion of *de jure* slavery, which can be applied to traditional forms of strong asymmetrical dependency. Herceg Pakšić discusses the definitions of slavery drawn upon by the European Court of Human Rights, by the International Criminal Tribunal for Former Yugoslavia and by Australian jurisprudence to distinguish between slavery and phenomena like forced labour in court decisions. In case studies, she illustrates the judicial reasoning, which helps to problematise the notion of (modern) slavery.

Bibliography

Binsfeld, Andrea. “Slavery and its Narratives in Ancient Novels – Stories of ‘Decline and Fall’?” in *Narratives of Dependency*, ed. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, forthcoming).

Bischoff, Jeannine, and Stephan Conermann, eds., *Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependencies: Semantics and Lexical Fields* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2022).

Brontë, Charlotte. *Jane Eyre* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985).

Conermann, Stephan, 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, Ottoman Studies/Osmanistische Studien 7 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020): 11–27.

Eubanks, Philip. “The Story of Conceptual Metaphor: What Motivates Metaphoric Mappings?” *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (1999): 419–42.

Fludernik, Monika, Donald C. Freeman and Margaret H. Freeman. “Metaphor and Beyond: An Introduction,” *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (1999): 383–96.

Fludernik, Monika, and Marie-Laure Ryan. “Factual Narrative: An Introduction,” in *Narrative Factuality: A Handbook*, ed. Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan (Berlin/ Boston: De Gruyter, 2020): 1–26.

Jackendoff, Ray. *Foundations of Language: Brain, Meaning, Grammar, Evolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Miller, Joseph C. *The Problem of Slavery as History: A Global Approach* (New Haven, CT/London: Yale University Press, 2012).

Nünning, Ansgar. “Metaphors the British Thought, Felt and Ruled by, or: Modest Proposals for Historicizing Cognitive Metaphor Theory and for Exploring Metaphors of Empire as a Cultural Phenomenon,” in *Literature and Linguistics: Approaches, Models, and Applications. Studies in Honour of Jon Erickson*, ed. Marion Gymnich, Ansgar Nünning and Vera Nünning (Trier: WVT, 2002): 101–27.

Sanz, Vicent, and Michael Zeuske, “Towards a Microhistory of the Enslaved: Global Considerations,” in *El tabaco y la rearticulación imperial ibérica (s. XV–XX*), ed. Santiago Luxán Meléndez and João Figuerôa Rêgo (Évora: Publicações do Cidehus, 2019), https://books.openedition.org/cidehus/6545 [accessed 31.10.2022].

Sapir, Edward. “Language and Environment [1912],” in *Selected Writings in Language, Culture, and Personality*, ed. David G. Mandelbaum (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1985): 89–103.

Turner, Mark, and Gilles Fauconnier, “A Mechanism of Creativity,” *Poetics Today* 20, no. 3 (1999): 397–418.

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Marion Gymnich. “Introduction: Narratives of Dependency: Examining the History of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies through the Lens of Narrative Texts,” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 1-13.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-001

Marion Gymnich

Introduction – Narratives of Dependency: Examining the History of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies through the Lens of Narrative Texts

1 Narratives of Dependency: A Definition and its Implications

Given that strong asymmetrical dependencies of various kinds have shaped "all human societies, past and present,"[1] it seems almost like a foregone conclusion that social phenomena such as slavery, captivity and many other types of dependency must have left traces across all sorts of narrative texts, both factual and fictional ones.[2] In the history of transatlantic slavery and its abolition, a particular type of narrative text has played an especially prominent role: life writing by formerly enslaved people, i.e., texts that have come to be known as 'slave narratives'.[3] Arguably, the most well-known representatives of this specific type of life writing continue to shape the ways in which transatlantic slavery is remembered today. This is certainly true for texts like Olaudah Equiano's *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano* (1789), Mary Prince's *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave* (1831), Frederick Douglass' *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (1845), and Harriet Jacobs's *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (1861), which are still part of the cultural memory. In the political struggle to abolish slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, life writing by formerly enslaved people

1 Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency," *Journal of Global Slavery* 8, no. 1 (2023): 4. https://doi.org/10.1163/2405836X-00801002. See also Damian A. Pargas, "Introduction: Historicizing and Spatializing Global Slavery," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery Throughout History*, ed. Damian A. Pargas and Juliane Schiel (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023): 1, who points out that "[s]lavery has been a common – if often fluid and complex – condition in most world societies throughout history."

2 Winnebeck et al., "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency": 4, define the term strong asymmetrical dependency as follows: "The analytical concept of asymmetrical dependency seeks to replace the traditional binary opposition of 'slavery versus freedom' still prevalent in slavery studies with the much broader analytical concept of asymmetrical dependency, which aims to encompass all forms that human bondage and coercion have taken over time."

3 For an overview of this type of life writing, see Audrey Fisch, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) and John Ernest, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-001

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 444

served as "evidentiary testimony,"[4] which sought to "persuade readers to join the abolitionist cause"[5] by providing insights into the immense suffering caused by chattel slavery. We can assume that life writing contributed to bringing about the end of transatlantic slavery, which is one of the many social functions narratives of dependency can fulfil.

While life writing by formerly enslaved people might be the first kind of narrative of dependency many people are likely to think of today, texts like the ones by Equiano, Prince, Douglass and Jacobs prove to be exceptions among the textual sources that represent slavery and other forms of strong asymmetrical dependency. If we seek to chart the whole range of textual representations of asymmetrical dependencies and thus establish a global archive of narratives of dependency, the texts that need to be considered prove to be extremely heterogeneous. Such an archive encompasses many text types that do not provide detailed accounts of the lives of people in asymmetrically dependent positions and instead merely offer glimpses of the experience of dependency. The contributions in this volume are first steps towards defining a global and diachronic archive of narratives of dependency by broadening the corpus of narrative texts that are examined in slavery and dependency studies. Firstly, this means including text types that are far from prototypical examples of narrativity. Cases in point are the Ottoman court records discussed by Veruschka Wagner in the present volume. Wagner shows that these highly formulaic texts can be read as micro-narratives of dependency, which provide important insights into how enslavement was dealt with in the Ottoman Empire. Secondly, broadening the archive of narratives of dependency also means re-reading canonical (fictional and factual) texts from a new vantage point. The contributions by Andrea Binsfeld and Clara Hedtrich illustrate this approach. Reading canonical texts through the lens of dependency studies is often apt to reveal new facets of these texts, drawing, for instance, attention to minor characters or challenging the implicit value system of a text.

What has been said so far already suggests that the present volume proposes a *wide* concept of narratives of dependency. Thus, in the following, 'narratives of dependency' will be used as an umbrella term for sources that bear features of very different genres and text types while sharing one defining characteristic: they represent the experience of strong asymmetrical dependency (in a more or less detailed manner). The term is meant to be very flexible and to subsume fully fledged accounts of the lives of strongly asymmetrically dependent people as well as micro-narratives that provide only little information on dependency. Moreover, narratives of dependency include narratives *by* dependent people as well as narratives *about* them. As Rudolf Stichweh points out, having no voice and specifically lacking "the possibility of conflictual com-

4 Anna Stewart, "Revising 'Harriet Jacobs' for 1865," *American Literature* 82, no. 4 (2010): 714.

5 Mitch Kachun, "Slave Narratives and Historical Memory," in *The Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative*, ed. John Ernest (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020): 25.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 445

munication" are among the typical features of strong asymmetrical dependencies.[6] Thus, it comes as no surprise that representations of asymmetrical dependencies from the perspective of dependent people are rather uncommon, especially in the context of extreme forms of dependency such as chattel slavery. Many narratives of dependency are shaped by biases; this may, for instance, mean that they take the existence of strong asymmetrical dependencies for granted. In particular premodern narratives of dependency are typically informed by the perspective of those who control the resources and actions of others and are not interested in changing the dependencies that shape society. In general, we can expect to encounter narratives that *criticise* strong asymmetrical dependencies primarily in the context of abolition movements.

Adopting a wide concept of narratives of dependency implies that the narratives that are subsumed under this term differ considerably with respect to their position on the scale between "*strong narrativity*" and "*weak narrativity*."[7] According to Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan, the concept of narrativity can be defined

> as a cognitive pattern, or mental representation, that is triggered by certain semiotic objects or even by unmediated life experience. We construct stories in our mind not only when we read texts or watch videos, but also when we witness an accident, watch a sports game, or revisit certain memories. These mental representations become narratives when they are captured and communicated through semiotic means such as language, image, sound, moving bodies or through combinations of various types of signs.[8]

In addition to fulfilling the fundamental requirements for narrativity, such as presupposing a time and place of action or including events and actions that are caused by agents,[9] strong narrativity "involves a mode of narration that goes beyond the depiction of a sequence of events involving beginning, middle and end. Such narratives will focus on the mental worlds of human or human-like protagonists, this is to say, on their desires, intentions and feelings."[10] The abovementioned life writing by formerly enslaved people fulfils the criteria for strong narrativity; the accounts of captivity and imprisonment discussed by Alexander Bauer, Gül Şen and Miriam Quiering can presumably also

---

6 Rudolf Stichweh, "How Do Divided Societies Come About? Persistent Inequalities, Pervasive Asymmetrical Dependencies, and Sociocultural Polarization as Divisive Forces in Contemporary Society," *Global Perspectives* 2, no. 1 (2021): 4. The characteristics of strong asymmetrical dependency as defined by Stichweh are described in terms of lack, specifically a lack of (a) access to resources, (b) control over one's actions, (c) voice, (d) possibilities of leaving the dependent position, and (e) "inner emigration".

7 Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan, "Factual Narrative: An Introduction," in *Narrative Factuality: A Handbook*, ed. Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan, Revisionen: Grundbegriffe der Literaturtheorie 6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020): 9.

8 Fludernik and Ryan, "Factual Narrative": 8.

9 For a more detailed discussion of these conditions, see Fludernik and Ryan, "Factual Narrative": 8 as well as Marie-Laure Ryan, "Toward a Definition of Narrative," in *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, ed. David Herman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 22–35.

10 Fludernik and Ryan, "Factual Narrative": 9.

be categorised as examples of strong narrativity. Other texts examined in contributions to this volume, however, display weak narrativity at best.[11] Due to the scarcity of information on human experience, many narratives of dependency lack "experientiality," a concept that refers to the "cognitively grounded relation between human experience and human representations of experience", "particularly the embodiment of cognitive faculties, the understanding of intentional action, the perception of temporality, and the emotional evaluation of experience."[12] Experientiality in this sense is often missing in factual and premodern sources in general as well as in extremely short or even fragmentary texts. Yet, sources of this kind often play a vital role as narratives of dependency; they may even provide insights into the history of strong asymmetrical dependency that are simply not available from other sources.

Information on the experience of strong asymmetrical dependency has traditionally tended to be marginalised in historiography as well as in many fictional texts. Thus, research on representations of slavery and dependency often requires reading in the margins and considering sources that provide only minimal information. In his postcolonial re-readings of canonical literary texts in *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said has shown that attention to details and reading against the grain may pay off as far as references to colonialism are concerned. A similar argument can be made for references to and representations of slavery and other forms of strong asymmetrical dependency. In fact, one of the best-known examples of Said's postcolonial re-reading of nineteenth-century British literature even refers to chattel slavery. With respect to Jane Austen's novel *Mansfield Park* (1814), he famously argued: "According to Austen we are to conclude that no matter how isolated and insulated the

11 Fludernik and Ryan, "Factual Narrative": 9–10 further distinguish two types of weak narrativity: "The first stems from *only partial fulfillment of the basic conditions*. For instance, a news headline is an incomplete story that needs to be fleshed out by the text that follows. A list of the events that compose somebody's daily routine lacks the property of non-habitual eventfulness because its elements can be repeated over and over again. The report of a weather event lacks human agency; it only becomes a full-fledged story when humans or human-like creatures are emotionally affected. [. . .] The other form of weak narrativity fulfils the basic conditions [. . .], but it does so through a mode of representation that *limits itself to the transmission of information*. Such texts have a distinct plot made of sequences of events and actions but they do not foreground the mental activity of the protagonists or actants. Neglecting the 'how,' they privilege the 'what' and the 'why.' This reporting style is the dominant form of factual narrative, but it is also found in some types of fiction. Many medieval narratives, for instance, strike the modern reader as weakly narrative, because the expressive devices of modern fiction, such as stream of consciousness, or vivid descriptions, had not yet been developed." Both types of weak narrativity can be encountered in narratives of dependency.

12 Marco Caracciolo. "Experientiality," in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn et al., Hamburg University, http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/experientiality [accessed 30.08.2023]. For a thorough discussion of experientiality, see Monika Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology* (London: Routledge, 1996), who coined the concept.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 447

English place (e.g. Mansfield Park), it requires overseas sustenance."[13] The "overseas sustenance" referred to in this quotation is a plantation on the island of Antigua, where slave labour ensures the wealth of the upper-class Bertram family, who reside in England. As postcolonial readings of *Mansfield Park* by Said and others suggest, even brief references to slavery may turn out to be very illuminating.[14] Even if these references do not represent the enslaved, they at least provide glimpses of assumptions and thought patterns of the enslavers and of ideas that circulate in societies shaped by asymmetrical dependencies.

The texts subsumed here under the umbrella term 'narratives of dependency' have in common that they are embedded in social power relations that have a strong impact on *what* can be said about asymmetrical dependency, on *how* it is said, and on *whose voices* are likely to be heard. In other words, the information on individuals, institutions, and everyday practices provided within narratives of dependency is bound to be biased. This characteristic of narratives of dependency implies that a thorough contextualisation is called for when narratives of dependency are discussed. The original social function of a given text and its original target group are factors that are of particular importance in this context. The way texts are told is likely to be shaped by these two factors. As for instance Elena Smolarz and Markus Saur show in their contributions in this volume, different versions of the same story emerge once social functions and target groups change.

While a comparison of variants of one and the same story of dependency is certainly illuminating, a more general comparison of different narratives of dependency in terms of their content is likely to be problematic. Comparing different types of dependency is bound to cause ethical concerns. The experience of a victim of chattel slavery in Cuba has very little in common with that of an elite captive in the Ottoman-Russian war (1768–74) who partially retained his privileged position. What does seem fruitful, however, is a comparative approach and an interdisciplinary collaboration with regard to methodological questions: Given that the voices of dependent people are often hard to find (and sometimes even harder to interpret), it makes sense to enter into a dialogue about how to trace and contextualise these voices in single texts as well as in archives. Other overarching questions concern the strategies of representation, the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that can be identified in narratives of dependency. These questions can initiate a productive conversation that benefits from the participation of experts from many disciplines, including historians, social anthropologists, literary historians, and theologians.

13 Edward Said, *Culture and Inperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994): 107.

14 For a further discussion of the significance of references to Antigua in *Mansfield Park*, cf., for example, Susan Fraiman, "Jane Austen and Edward Said: Gender, Culture, and Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 4 (1995): 805–21, and Rita J. Dashwood, "The Triumph of the Estate? Fanny Price and Immoral Ownership of Property in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 4 (2021): 453–68.

By discussing strongly and weakly narrative texts that address different types of asymmetrical dependency and were produced in very different historical periods and regions, the articles in the present volume also contribute to the ongoing project of establishing a historical narratology.[15] Discussing premodern texts from a narratological perspective is a challenge due to the fact that the traditional narratological categories have been defined primarily on the basis of modern texts by structuralist and postclassical narratologists alike. The weakly narrative or even fragmentary nature of many narratives of dependency renders a narratological analysis of these texts even more difficult. The aim of the following contributions is not an application of traditional narratological categories in the narrow sense. Instead, they seek to provide contextualised, "historically sensitive"[16] readings of narrative texts *and* their structural features; i.e., they pay attention to "the importance of narrative's situatedness in particular media, material and cultural environments."[17] Contextualisation, i.e., exploring the contexts shaping the production, reception and dissemination of texts is essential for an analysis of both the content and the structures of narratives of dependency.

2 The Contributions in this Volume

The (highly selective) history of narratives of dependency presented in this volume starts with Honey L. Hammer's discussion of two ancient Egyptian tomb inscriptions from the First Intermediate Period and the Middle Kingdom. The inscriptions examined by Hammer commemorate Nomarchs' lives and are often called 'tomb biographies', though, as Hammer stresses, it would be more appropriate to refer to them by the more neutral term 'self-presentations'. The Nomarchs' self-presentations reflect a situation that is far from uncommon in premodern societies, since the men whose tombs provide information on their social status and career were in an intermediate position in the social hierarchy. As Nomarchs, they were positioned above many dependent people while being dependent on the Pharaoh. The tomb inscriptions follow a typical pattern, including, for instance, the tomb owner's titles and achievements and putting the emphasis clearly on his position in society. Hammer shows that this specific text type has undergone significant developments in terms of structure and content. The selected self-presentations by two Nomarchs, Ankhtifi and Sarenput I, exemplify some of these changes in the ways they negotiate the tomb owner's in-between position in terms of motifs, rhetorical strategies, and imagery.

---

15 For an introduction to this field of narratology, see Eva von Contzen and Stefan Tilg, eds., *Handbuch Historische Narratologie* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2019).

16 Dorothee Birke, Eva von Contzen and Karin Kukkonen. "Chrononarratology: Modelling Historical Change for Narratology," *Narrative* 30, no. 1 (2022): 27.

17 Birke et al. "Chrononarratology": 27.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 449

In the next contribution, Markus Saur discusses the ways in which dependency structures are reflected in varying depictions of the relationship between Jerusalem and the Phoenician trading city of Tyre in the historiography of the Hebrew Bible, specifically in the Books of Samuel and Kings and in the Books of Chronicles. The economic superiority of Tyre, which was based on its trade networks, makes itself felt in the way the relationship between David of Jerusalem and the Phoenician king Hiram of Tyre in the tenth century BCE is represented in different books of the Bible. In the Book of Samuel, a visit of a delegation sent by King Hiram is presented very prominently, while this visit plays a less important role in the Book of Chronicles, which serves to downplay the link to Tyre. As Saur shows, a similar pattern emerges in the accounts of the relationship between Hiram of Tyre and David's son Solomon in the Book of Kings and the Book of Chronicles. Again, the Book of Chronicles downplays the significance of Tyre for Jerusalem, for instance with regard to building the temple. The accounts interpret what actually was an asymmetrical relationship, in which Tyre was the stronger partner, as a more balanced one, up to the point where the actual power structures were reversed in the narrative.

The biblical Exodus story, which continues to serve as Hebrew foundation myth up to the present day, is examined in a further contribution from the field of Protestant theology. Hermut Löhr draws upon this highly influential story to explore what can be gained from historical narratology for the field of (biblical) exegesis. The phenomena discussed by Löhr include pseudepigraphy, i.e., texts that are associated with mythical or historical authors from the distant past (such as Henoch, Abraham, and Moses) as well as the tendency towards presenting characters as idealised representatives of a group, which can be identified both in biblical stories and in texts related to these. Löhr compares Artapanus' *Perí Ioudaíôn* and Philo's *Vita Mosis*, two texts written in the Egyptian Jewish diaspora that exemplify the reception of the Exodus narrative in Antiquity. The comparison shows that a historical contextualisation is necessary to understand the specific interpretations of the Exodus story in these two writings. Löhr argues, for example, that the way in which the Hebrews' status as slaves or prisoners of war in Egypt is presented is among the most striking features of Philo's *Vita Mosis*. In this specific textual and historical context, the idea of 'liberation' emerges as an important concept.

Andrea Binsfeld analyses representations of slavery in four novels from Antiquity. The selected fictional texts by Xenophon of Ephesos, Achilleus Tatios, Heliodorus and Chariton of Aphrodisias were written between the first and the fourth centuries AD. Binsfeld asks how much the depiction of enslaved characters in these fictional works tells us about actual enslavement at the time. In this context, as Binsfeld stresses, it is necessary to consider the functions of references to slavery in a type of literary text that was first and foremost meant to entertain its readership with stories about adventure and romance. In the four novels selected by Binsfeld, the experience of abduction and captivity is embedded in adventure and romance plots. Thus, the motif of being enslaved is a vital structural feature of the novels, which are essentially stories of en-

slavement and liberation. Moreover, as Binsfeld points out, the depiction of enslavement is apt to create both empathy for the protagonists and suspense. In all novels, however, enslavement is only a temporary phenomenon, given that the characters are of noble origin. Literary tropes like that of the 'slave of love' or the convention of the happy ending in stories of enslavement and liberation contribute to complicating the relationship between references to the reality of enslavement and fictional elements.

Similar to Binsfeld's contribution, the article by Clara Hedtrich also addresses representations of asymmetrical dependency in fiction. Both contributions illustrate that it may be anything but easy to relate fictional depictions of dependency to reality. Hedtrich, in fact, argues that dependencies can sometimes only be grasped by reading against the grain; she uses the term 'concealed dependencies' to refer to depictions of social relationships in fictional texts that render dependency structures all but invisible. Hedtrich discusses a story of betrayal that can be found in the Middle High German *Rolandslied*, a crusade epic written by Priest Konrad in the twelfth century. The traitor, Genelun, is a member of the courtly elite, but he still proves to be in a dependent position. This becomes apparent when the ruler demonstrates that he has control over Genelun's life. This instance of strong asymmetrical dependency is largely concealed by the value system inherent in the Middle High German epic. The emperor's control over Genelun's life is taken for granted by the narrator, while Genelun is presented in a negative light due to his unwillingness to do a task which may cost his life and his criticism of the idealised emperor Karl.

Premodern, non-Western historiographic writing on the whole deserves more attention by scholars in the field of dependency studies. Anna Kollatz shows that the biographic manual by al-Sakhāwī from the fifteenth century proves to be an extremely valuable source of information from the perspective of dependency studies. This Arabic historiographic text from the Mamluk Sultanate in Cairo is useful for reconstructing emic concepts of enslavement in the Mamluk era. The cases from the manual that were selected by Kollatz illustrate the diversity and complexity of what enslavement could mean in this context. They provide insight into the careers of eunuchs as well as of *mamlūks*, elite slaves whose temporary enslavement is associated with training, but they also display stereotypes about these groups. Kollatz stresses that biographic manuals like that by al-Sakhāwī should not be read merely as a source of factual information but as narratives, with structures and patterns that create meaning. According to Kollatz, the distinct narrator's voice and the usage of dialogues are among those features of biographic manuals that call for a narratological analysis.

In the next contribution, Veruschka Wagner focuses on another text type that has so far received little attention in dependency studies: Istanbul court records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the Ottoman Empire, enslaved people were often eventually manumitted. This made the existence of official documents of manumission necessary. The court records examined by Wagner are highly standardized documents in terms of their structure, content, and language, which also means that they made use of recurring expressions. As Wagner shows, a typical feature of these

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 451

documents is that they seem to evoke utterances of enslaved people, even if it remains highly doubtful whether these can be attributed to an actual, 'authentic' voice expressing the experience of enslavement. Instead, the utterances have to be accounted for in terms of their function in the court proceedings. Enslaved people had certain rights, they had access to the court, and recording their statements was even crucial for various legal matters, especially their manumission. For this reason, utterances by enslaved people occur in various forms in the court records. Although they tend to be very short, they provide insights into the legal status of enslaved people in Istanbul, their rights, and further aspects of slavery in the Ottoman Empire.

The following three contributions discuss texts that can be subsumed under the umbrella term 'captivity narrative'. Gül Şen examines the account of an Ottoman official, Meḥmed Necāti Efendi, who was a war captive in Saint Petersburg for four and a half years in the context of the Ottoman-Russian War (1768–74). Being part of the Ottoman elite, Necāti had a privileged status, even as a war captive. This is, for instance, apparent in his access to places in Russia. Şen argues that his main target group, i.e., Ottoman officials, had an impact on what Necāti Efendi chose to present in the account of his captivity in Saint Petersburg. The captivity memoir was written down after his captivity and labelled as historiographic text (*History of Crimea*) by its author, although it contains passages featuring a first-person point of view that lead to a categorisation as ego document from today's perspective. The hybrid character of the text is further enhanced by features of yet another genre, the Ottoman embassy reports (*sefāretnāme*). Şen examines how the account of war captivity has been shaped by a range of different narrative and rhetorical devices, including, for instance, the use of dialogue and of a dramatic mode as well as the presentation of the persona of the narrator.

Alexander Bauer examines a captivity narrative by Pavel Levašov called *Captivity and the Sufferings of the Russians among the Turks*. Levašov was an eighteenth-century Russian nobleman and diplomat whose account of his experiences as prisoner and hostage in a war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire has to be read in the wider context of narratives about Turkey that were produced by Russian diplomats at the time. These presented the Ottoman Empire as Oriental other to highlight the European character of Russia, as Bauer points out. Levašov's text was presumably based on notes written down when he was a prisoner of war in the Ottoman Empire but was only completed after his release and return to Saint Petersburg. This memoir was at first circulated as a handwritten manuscript and was only published as a book several years later, when Russia was again at war with the Ottoman Empire. Levašov's insistence on the veracity of his report and the issue of plausibility as well as the motifs of violence and mortal danger are among the topics discussed by Bauer. Moreover, he explores the question to what extent the narrative has been shaped by Levašov's position as diplomat and by the target group of his text.

Elena Smolarz compares two different versions of the account of the captivity of Iakov Zinov'ev, a Russian fisherman who, after having been captured on the Caspian

Coast, was an enslaved captive in Khiva and Bukhara in the 1830s, before he could eventually return to Russia due to diplomatic agreements. There is a literary version of this story that was written by the author and ethnographer Vladimir Dal' and published in a newspaper in Saint Petersburg as well as the official testimony by Iakov Zinov'ev, which was recorded by the Orenburg Border Commission after his release and can now be found in the State Archive of the Republic of Kazakhstan. As Smolarz shows, these two versions differ significantly in terms of their content as well as their narrative strategies. Smolarz argues that the official testimony by Iakov Zinov'ev is typical of testimonies of released Russian captives in terms of its structure. While the version by Dal' stays close to the structure of the testimony (including, for instance, an identification formula and an account of the capture) and even presents the released captive Zinov'ev as first-person narrator, it is much more elaborate than the testimony and thus to some extent tells a different story.

Pia Wiegmink uses *The Liberty Bell* as an example to discuss the ways in which the popular format of the gift book was employed by abolitionists in the nineteenth century in the context of antislavery literature. Gift books are compilations of different texts and text types; in the case of *The Liberty Bell*, which was edited by the well-known abolitionist Maria Weston Chapman, as well as in other abolitionist gift books various types of antislavery texts were presented, including poetry, letters, and obituaries. There are 15 volumes of *The Liberty Bell*, which were published by the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society between 1839 and 1858 and sold to raise funds for the abolitionist movement. By including local, national as well as international contributions *The Liberty Bell* creates the impression of an international community, a network that is linked by its shared opposition to slavery. Yet, as Wiegmink illustrates, the gift books do not include Black abolitionists on an equal footing. While commemorating deceased abolitionists via poems and obituaries was an important strategy of creating an abolitionist community, there are hardly any texts dedicated to Black abolitionists. Wiegmink concludes from this that Black abolitionists were by and large excluded from the affective abolitionist community that was conjured up in the gift book; they lacked a voice in *The Liberty Bell*.

In his survey of very different types of sources that provide information on enslavement in Cuba, Michael Zeuske confirms that there is a lack of texts written by enslaved people. Thus, as he stresses, research is confronted with millions of victims of the Atlantic slave trade whose voices are lost. Yet, as Zeuske demonstrates, there are in fact strategies that make at least some of the victims visible. These strategies include listening to oral (family) histories and examining texts such as notaries' protocols documenting the sale of people or their manumission as well as documents by the police or courts written in the context of criminal charges against enslaved people. There are, however, also complaints by enslaved people; these *Quejas* are a unique source, resulting from specific circumstances in Cuba, as Zeuske shows. A further type of source discussed by Zeuske are depositions of enslaved people on captured or shipwrecked slave vessels from the time after the (official) abolition of the

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 453

slave trade. Moreover, Zeuske argues that even people's names tend to provide information on their biography, given that Spanish naming conventions make it possible to see whether someone was enslaved or not. Zeuske claims that longer texts about slavery in which the victims' voices are presented are actually 'freedom narratives', given that they were written in hindsight, i.e., after slavery. This is also true for the most extensive life narrative by a formerly enslaved person from Cuba: Esteban Montejo's memories of his life in slavery, which he told to a white writer, Miguel Barnet, decades after the abolition of slavery.

Zeynep Yeşim Gökçe analyses representations of slavery in the Ottoman Empire that can be found in travel writing by British women from the long nineteenth century. Gökçe situates these representations in the context of the Anglo-Ottoman relations in the nineteenth century. At a time when Britain exerted pressure on the Ottoman Empire to abolish slavery, the depiction of household slaves, concubines and harems in elite households fascinated western travel writers. Unlike their male counterparts, women travelers had access to the harem and thus could offer their readers glimpses of this place, which tended to evoke Orientalist stereotypes. These travelogues are part of the larger project of creating an Oriental 'other' that was used to legitimise European interventions in the Ottoman Empire. Gökçe claims that the depiction of dependent women in Ottoman households also needs to be situated in the context of the legal situation of British women in the nineteenth century. In both Julia Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836* (1837) and Lady Emilia Hornby's *Constantinople during the Crimean War* (1863), European and Ottoman women are presented in terms of binary oppositions that are informed by Orientalist stereotypes. According to Gökçe, the insistence on dichotomies served to hide the dependent status of British women.

Miriam Quiering discusses an Egyptian text by a female author from the second half of the twentieth century: Zainab al-Ghazali's prison memoir *Ayyām min ḥayyātī*, published in 1977. This text adopts an unusual stance towards the author's authority; Zainab al-Ghazali references dependency to justify her position as female leader within the Islamist Muslim Brotherhood, which was founded in Egypt in 1928 and sought to establish a society based on *sharīʿa* law. At first sight, Zainab al-Ghazali's endorsement of traditional gender roles and her political activism seem to be at odds. Quiering argues that the author's self-presentation in her prison memoir seeks to resolve this apparent contradiction by means of a range of narrative strategies. In her memoir, Zainab al-Ghazali evokes various dimensions of dependency, some of which are secular (her imprisonment, her being dependent on her husband), while others are spiritual (first and foremost her dependency on God). She deems the latter more important than the former and claims that her dependency on God helps her overcome man-made dependencies. On this basis, she fashions a role for herself that includes breaching boundaries and defying traditional gender roles.

The contribution by Sinah Theres Kloß expands the range of narratives addressed in this volume by discussing a particular type of oral life (stage) narrative of Hindu

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 454

women from Suriname and Guyana: stories about gendered suffering that are associated with tattoos called *godna*. Hindu women in the Caribbean used to be marked with these *godnas* to indicate their status as wives. For the individual, the *godnas* serve as reminders of marriage and of the experience of structural violence. Kloß collected the oral stories by means of interviews in which the tattoo narratives were produced interactively and performatively, triggered by the tattoo as a sign with an inherent memorial function. Despite being linked to memory, tattoo narratives are also ephemeral in the sense that they are the product of a specific interactive situation, shaped by the presence and questions of the interviewer as well as by family members and other people who happen to be present. Suffering turned out to play such a prominent role in the women's life narratives that, as Kloß puts it, this particular type of story could also be referred to as 'narrative of suffering' – reflecting pain caused by oppressive patriarchal structures, by cruel husbands and in-laws.

⁎⁎⁎⁎⁎

The present volume emerged from an online workshop on "Narratives of Dependency" that was organised by Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich in the context of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) in July 2021. The workshop and this volume are part of the activities of Research Area A ("Semantics – Lexical Fields – Narratives"), one of five Research Areas of the BCDSS. *Narratives of Dependency* complements the volumes which emerged from two earlier conferences organised by members of Research Area A: *Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies – Semantics and Lexical Fields*, edited by Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann as well as *Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies – A Textual Approach*, edited by Jeannine Bischoff, Stephan Conermann and Marion Gymnich.[18] Many of the contributions in the present volume were written by members of Research Area A, but the topic 'narratives of dependency' also attracted scholars beyond the Research Area.

The editors of the present volume are extremely grateful to Merle Drescher and Marie-Therese Erkens, who helped proof-read the manuscript, as well as to Imogen Herrad for her invaluable support with the language editing. Thanks are also due to Janico Albrecht, the publications manager of the BCDSS, and the excellent editorial team at De Gruyter.

18 Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann, eds. *Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies – Semantics and Lexical Fields*, Dependency and Slavery Studies 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022) and Jeannine Bischoff, Stephan Conermann and Marion Gymnich, eds. *Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies – A Textual Approach*, Dependency and Slavery Studies 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 455

Bibliography

Austen, Jane. *Mansfield Park* (London: Penguin, 1994 [1814]).

Birke, Dorothee, Eva von Contzen and Karin Kukkonen. "Chrononarratology: Modelling Historical Change for Narratology," *Narrative* 30, no. 1 (2022): 26–46.

Bischoff, Jeannine, and Stephan Conermann, eds. *Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies – Semantics and Lexical Fields*, Dependency and Slavery Studies 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022).

Bischoff, Jeannine, Stephan Conermann and Marion Gymnich, eds. *Naming, Defining, Phrasing Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies – A Textual Approach*, Dependency and Slavery Studies 8 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023).

Caracciolo, Marco. "Experientiality," in *The Living Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Peter Hühn et al., Hamburg University, http://www.lhn.uni-hamburg.de/article/experientiality [accessed 30.08.2023].

Dashwood, Rita J. "The Triumph of the Estate? Fanny Price and Immoral Ownership of Property in Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park*," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44, no. 4 (2021): 453–68.

Douglass, Frederick. *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* (1845), in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, ed. Nina Baym (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008): 924–88.

Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018 [1789]).

Ernest, John, ed. *The Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020).

Fisch, Audrey, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the African American Slave Narrative* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Fludernik, Monika. *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology* (London: Routledge, 1996).

Fludernik, Monika, and Marie-Laure Ryan. "Factual Narrative: An Introduction," in *Narrative Factuality: A Handbook*, ed. Monika Fludernik and Marie-Laure Ryan, Revisionen: Grundbegriffe der Literaturtheorie 6 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020): 1–26.

Fraiman, Susan. "Jane Austen and Edward Said: Gender, Culture, and Imperialism," *Critical Inquiry* 21, no. 4 (1995): 805–21.

Jacobs, Harriet. *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015 [1861]).

Kachun, Mitch. "Slave Narratives and Historical Memory," in *The Oxford Handbook of the African American Slave Narrative*, ed. John Ernest (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020): 1–35.

Pargas, Damian A. "Introduction: Historicizing and Spatializing Global Slavery," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery Throughout History*, ed. Damian A. Pargas and Juliane Schiel (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023): 1–13.

Prince, Mary. *The History of Mary Prince: A West Indian Slave* (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2004 [1831]).

Ryan, Marie-Laure. "Toward a Definition of Narrative," in *The Cambridge Companion to Narrative*, ed. David Herman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 22–35.

Said, Edward. *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994 [1993]).

Stewart, Anna. "Revising 'Harriet Jacobs' for 1865," *American Literature* 82, no. 4 (2010): 701–24.

Stichweh, Rudolf. "How Do Divided Societies Come About? Persistent Inequalities, Pervasive Asymmetrical Dependencies, and Sociocultural Polarization as Divisive Forces in Contemporary Society," *Global Perspectives* 2, no. 1 (2021): 1–9.

von Contzen, Eva, and Stefan Tilg, eds. *Handbuch Historische Narratologie* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2019).

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "The Analytical Concept of Asymmetrical Dependency," *Journal of Global Slavery* 8, no. 1 (2023): 1–59, https://doi.org/10.1163/2405836X-00801002.

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Stephan Conermann. “Introduction: The Semantics of Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependency in Comparison,” in *Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependencies: Semantics and Lexical*, eds. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022): 1-10.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-001

Stephan Conermann

Introduction: The Semantics of Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependency in Comparison

The Bonn Center of Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)[1] explores slavery and other types of strong asymmetrical dependencies from five different thematic and methodological vantage points. The first of these five research areas aims at establishing a new language of analysis.[2] In other words, an important condition for our ambitious undertaking is questioning our own analytical vocabulary. We need to reconsider the key concepts, terminologies and categories that structure the way we think and speak about asymmetrical dependencies. The goal of the first research area is thus the exploration of the *semantics, lexical fields and narratives* used by historical actors themselves in organizing their world and talking about asymmetrical dependencies.

Part of the working program of the BCDSS are its "thematic years." Apart from the first and the last year of the funding period of the Cluster of Excellence, each of the other five years highlights the central topic of one of the five research areas. Thus, in addition to our on-going work in individual and collaborative projects, we

1 www.dependency.uni-bonn.de.

2 The second research area (Embodied Dependencies) examines primarily non-textual relics of asymmetrical dependencies, which have been "inscribed" in bodies and artefacts. The aim of this research area is to correct the widespread imbalance in academic evaluations of written and non-written traditions by including the perspectives of pre-colonial cultures, and to establish archaeology, art history, and object-based anthropology on an equal level with those disciplines of the humanities that focus on textual sources. In this way, we give "voice" to actors operating in non-textual environments. The third research area (Institutions, Norms, and Practices) studies forms of asymmetrical dependency produced at the crossroads of conflicting institutions, norms, and practices. Their interaction must be conceived of as a two-way movement: top-down, i.e., from institutions to practices (for example, when institutions create norms that are – or are not – implemented into practices), and from below (for instance, when practices produce norms and these become "institutionalized"). The fourth area (Labor and Spatiality) focuses on labor-related asymmetrical dependencies and mobility. Instead of starting with the Industrial Revolution, and thus adopting European free wage labor as the standard labor relation of modernity, all forms of labor have to be taken into account in equal measure. Against this backdrop, the dialectics between spatial mobilization and immobilization of the dependents have also to be studied. The fifth research area (Gender [and Intersectionality]) addresses asymmetrical dependencies specifically at the intersections of gender, status, class, ethnicity, religion, and age. Originally developed by scholars from the field of gender studies, intersectionality has since been productively applied to various forms of social hierarchization, discrimination, discreditation and stigmatization. Intersectionality does not merely necessitate a rethinking of personal identities, but rather allows for an overarching analysis of the asymmetrical dependencies present within identities.

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-001

seek to share our research with the global scientific community with a special focus on the research area at the center of the current thematic year. We organize themed international workshops and an annual international conference. By focusing on the topic of one research area per year, we create an intellectually intense and inspiring environment that boosts research. We invite eminent scholars in the field of Slavery and Dependency Studies from around the world so that they can discuss, debate and collaborate with each other, with us and with our Fellows. The Fellows who join us for the thematic years in our Institute of Advanced Study, the Heinz Heinen-Kolleg, are consequently chosen with matching thematic foci. In this way, we make sure to pick Fellows who complement our research by filling our thematic gaps.

The first thematic year of the BCDSS started in October 2019. The first workshop, "Semantics and Lexical Fields of Slavery and Other Forms of Asymmetrical Dependencies," whose results are published in the present volume, took place from March 5–6, 2020, ten days before the first Covid lockdown in Germany started. Due to the pandemic, that year's annual conference, "Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies: Semantics, Lexical Fields and Narratives" (October 1–2, 2020) had to take place virtually. The thematic year was wrapped up with the workshop on "Narratives of Dependency" (July 15–16, 2021), organized by Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich, which had been postponed due to the pandemic.[3]

The humanities in Germany can look back on a long tradition as far as the study of *semantics* and *lexical fields* are concerned. This tradition is associated first and foremost with the (linked) fields of the history of concepts ("Begriffsgeschichte") and historical semantics ("Historische Semantik") as well as with a number of excellent long-term projects. The *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, which was initiated by Erich Rothacker in 1955, developed over the course of time into an internationally renowned journal for research on the history of concepts.[4] It complements in many respects the multi-volume *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* (*HWPh*, Historical Dictionary of Philosophy), which was completed in 2007.[5] The eight-volume *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* edited by the historians Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck from 1972 to 1997 constitute the most important handbook on the history of concepts.[6] This work is a historical lexicon of political and social language used in Germany since 1700. The *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (*HmT*, Dictionary of Musical Terminology), which was published as a loose-leaf collection between 1971 and 2006, provides an important overview of the origin, history

3 The proceedings of the other two workshops will also be published in 2022.

4 https://meiner.de/zeitschriften-ejournals/afb.html [accessed 17.05.2022].

5 Joachim Ritter, Karlfried Gründer, and Gottfried Gabrie, eds., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 13 vols., 1971–2007 (Basel: Schwabe, 2007) (CD-ROM).

6 Otto Brunner, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, eds., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, 8 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2004).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 460

and meaning of musical terms.[7] Probably the most important German-language encyclopedia on scientific rhetoric is the twelve-volume *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* (Historical Dictionary of Rhetoric, editor: Gert Ueding), completed in 2015.[8] The *Historisch-kritisches Wörterbuch des Marxismus* (*HKWM*, Historical-Critical Dictionary of Marxism), planned to be published in fifteen volumes, is a major international German-language encyclopedia covering over 1,500 historical terms connected with Marxism.[9] Intense collaborative work resulted in a seven-volume historical dictionary of the key concepts of aesthetics, *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe*, published between 2000 and 2005.[10] It is against this background that Ernst Müller and Falko Schmieder, both of Humboldt University in Berlin, produced a comprehensive overview of the major currents and developments of the field of conceptual history and historical semantics.[11] At first glance, their chronological overview of various disciplines looks like a very simple approach. They trace the development of conceptual history and historical semantics in philosophy from Georg Friedrich Wilhelm Hegel, Ludwig Feuerbach and Karl Marx by way of Friedrich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger to Hans-Georg Gadamer and Hans Blumenberg. For historiography, they discuss Max Weber and Karl Mannheim, Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and of course Reinhart Koselleck. Their description of discourse in linguistics and communication studies touches not only on classical onomasiology and structuralism, but also Dietrich Busse's prototype semantics and theory of linguistic structure. In the history of science and knowledge, the survey ranges from Max Horkheimer and Thomas Kuhn to Hans-Jörg Rheinberger, and in cultural studies from psychoanalytic signification studies (Sigmund Freud, Hans Sperber, Adolf Josef Storfer), via Edgar Wind's concept of embodiment and discourse analysis to the semantics of unavailability (Heinz Dieter Kittsteiner) and metaphorology. While such an approach makes it impossible to eschew overlaps and duplications, Müller and Schmieder succeed very well in showing the numerous interconnections between individual theoretical approaches, and in writing a coherent history of this (very German) field of scholarship. The exploration of conceptual histories and semantic analyses of historical texts reveals the linguistic configuration of the world, and, as a result, the world views of actors in social orders. Understanding culture as a comprehensive practice of articulating and of updating

7 Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Albrecht Riethmüller, eds., *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971–2006) (CD-ROM).

8 Gregor Kalivoda, Franz-Hubert Robling, and Gerd Ueding, eds., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vols. 1–9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992–2009), vol. 10: *Nachträge A–Z* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), vol. 11: *Register* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), vol. 12: *Bibliographie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

9 http://inkrit.de/neuinkrit/index.php/de/hkwm [accessed 17.05.2022].

10 Karlheinz Barck, ed., *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe: Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000).

11 Ernst Müller and Falko Schmieder, *Begriffsgeschichte und Historische Semantik: Ein kritisches Kompendium* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2016).

significations can, according to Müller and Schmieder, lead to the equation of conceptual history and historical semantics with cultural sciences. The authors go on to argue that both represent the self-reflection inscribed in modernity and could, as such, function as alternatives to common meta-narratives. In their introduction, the authors provide some useful definitions. "Historical semantics" could be understood as "the umbrella term for methodological approaches that, like the history of ideas, or conceptual history in its broadest sense, address diachronic linguistic changes, whether from an onomasiological or a semasiological perspective."[12] As such, they argue that historical semantics equates to the linguistic component of cultural semantics and is thus always in and of itself already an abstraction, because language was always inseparably integrated into social relationships and practices, figurative ideas, and media. Following Willibald Steinmetz, they hold that "conceptual history" should be understood as "the investigation of 'nodal points in the diachronic change of the meaning of individual words', of socially highly effective, often controversial crystallizations of linguistic meanings."[13] Accordingly, historical semantics is, in a manner of speaking, the context of conceptual history, while conceptual history stands for only one of many ways in which historical semantics may be pursued.

The compendium by Müller and Schmieder offers an excellent starting point for our research in Research Area A of the BCDSS, and specifically for grasping the concepts "semantics" and "lexical fields." A productive process of discussing different approaches has led to the following definitions:

(1) Semantics. Our approach to the semantics of the many different (predominantly pre-modern) languages we are interested in focuses on the word, i.e., the lexical dimension, as well as on pragmatics, in so far as meaning often turns out to be dependent on the contexts in which a word is used. In addition to the linguistic context, the genre/text type and wider cultural contexts may turn out to be relevant as well. We aim at identifying inventories of linguistic items (and their usage) that are pertinent to our topic at a particular time and in a specific historical (con)text. Most of us will first adopt a synchronic approach and focus on a single text or a small set of texts. These case studies will of course not be able to provide a comprehensive account of the semantics of slavery and asymmetrical dependencies, but they will allow us to compare different ways of conceptualizing asymmetrical dependencies linguistically, which may or may not turn out to be specific to particular regions or points in time. An analysis of diachronic semantic changes, which amounts to a

12 Müller and Schmieder, *Begriffsgeschichte und Historische Semantik*: 18: "[D]er Oberbegriff für methodische Ansätze, die sich wie Problem-, Ideen- oder Begriffsgeschichte im weitesten Sinne mit diachronen sprachlichen Veränderungen, sei es in onomasiologischer oder semasiologischer Perspektive, beschäftigen."

13 Müller and Schmieder, *Begriffsgeschichte und Historische Semantik*: 18: "[D]ie Untersuchung von 'Knotenpunkte(n) im diachronen Bedeutungswandel einzelner Worte', von gesellschaftlich hochwirksamen, nicht selten umstrittenen Kristallisationen sprachlicher Bedeutungen."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 462

history of the terms pertinent to our topic, would of course be very interesting, but for most of the subjects in our Cluster of Excellence a diachronic perspective can hardly be a short- or medium-term goal, since the prerequisites for such an approach are simply not there. For instance, there simply is not a sufficient number of edited texts that are relevant to our topic for many regions and/or periods. Our approach is based on the assumption that the meaning of a word can only be identified by taking its usage into consideration. Detailed analyses of key terms that are associated with the conceptualization of strong asymmetrical dependencies promise to provide new insights into the self-concept and knowledge of pre-modern societies. The majority of these key terms have not been studied from a semantic or terminological perspective so far.

(2) Lexical Fields. Our understanding of lexical fields is based on an onomasiological approach – which linguistic items are used to refer to a particular concept? Which words are used to express a concept? This means that the concept is a semantic unit which is not directly accessible but may be manifested in different ways on a linguistic level. We are interested in single concepts such as "wisdom" or "fear," but also in more complex semantic units like "strong asymmetrical dependencies." We consider concepts to be abstract units that are manifested in a particular language. At the same time, we are aware that direct translations of concepts and individual words or other linguistic structures are not necessarily possible. In some cases, we can identify anthropological constants, which suggest that there are at least some universal concepts, i.e. concepts that can be expressed in all of the languages we examine. What provides deeper insights into the specific societies we are interested in is an analysis of the concrete expressions of concepts, which may look similar, but usually are not identical for people in different cultural contexts and language communities. A lexical field encompasses the set of linguistic items in one language that can be linked to a particular concept (e.g., "wisdom") and the related conceptual network due to semantic relations. In comparative studies, which seek to examine different cultural contexts, the concept of lexical fields promises to be enormously useful, since it is a tool that helps us to reveal differences in terms of usage associated with otherwise similar concepts. Thus, it seems reasonable to compare specific conceptual networks and their lexical manifestations in different languages as well as in different diachronic stages of the development of a society and a language. Generally, in each language (or diachronic stage), key terms emerge. The usage of these key terms should be analyzed in terms of its relations to linguistic items that can be shown to be syntagmatically and paradigmatically linked to the key term (synonymy and opposition).

As was shown above, there is vibrant research on the history of concepts and on questions of Historical Semantics by German academics (in German). It has, however, barely been acknowledged internationally. An interesting initiative to institutionalize at least the history of concepts beyond the specific German context emerged in

Finland.[14] Jointly with his American colleague Malvin Richter (City University, NY), Kari Palonen from the University of Jyväskylä organized a workshop on "Conceptual Changes in European Political Cultures" at the Finnish Institute in London in 1998. In the wake of this conference the *History of Political and Social Concepts Group* was established, which changed its name to *History of Concept Group* in 2012. This Group is incorporated as a non-profit entity in Finland, and is affiliated with the Center for Intellectual History at Helsinki University. At the moment, the board consist of four persons: Martin J. Burke (City University of New York), Chair; Margrit Pernau (Max Planck Institute for Human Development, Berlin), Vice-Chair; Rosario López (University of Malaga), Secretary; Jani Marjanen (Helsinki University), Treasurer.[15]

Our conference can likewise be seen as an initiative that seeks to move terminological issues and concepts from Historical Semantics beyond a limited focus on European contexts. It is a first, exploratory attempt to broaden the discussion by integrating sources in Chinese, Ancient Egyptian, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Maya into our research. An interdisciplinary dialogue across languages, cultures and times promises to yield innovative methodological impulses for the field of Historical Semantics. Semantic and sociolinguistic approaches that have thus far been designed and discussed mainly for the investigation of European languages can be brought into a productive dialogue with models predominantly used in disciplines with a focus on non-European societies.

In her contribution, *Susanne Adamski* explores the question of whether the earliest societies of ancient China (the late Shāng, c. 1300–1045 BC, and the Western Zhōu, c. 1045–771 BC) had social relations characterized by strong asymmetrical dependency. Starting from the premise that these two societies differed significantly in some respects from later societies of the Chinese empire, Adamski first addresses the problem of calling these early societies "slave societies" in contemporary scholarship, a term often used for ancient China. Through an analysis of ancient inscriptions, Adamski then examines whether there were indeed forms of "strong asymmetrical dependency" in the late Shāng and Western Zhou. In doing so, Adamski concludes that the inscriptions do not provide sufficient semantic evidence to define relationships of "strong asymmetric dependency." She therefore suggests a shift of focus from examining pure terminology to analyzing social phenomena in more detail in order to approach the concept of "asymmetrical dependency."

Ludwig D. Morenz analyzes the culture of Pharaonic Egypt in its formative phase during the late fourth and early third millennia BC in his paper. He explores the probably *almost universal* phenomenon of "subjugation," of bringing someone under the yoke, both as a metaphor and as a social practice. According to Morenz,

14 https://www.historyofconcepts.net [accessed 17.05.2022].

15 https://www.historyofconcepts.net/the-history-of-concepts-group/meet-the-board [accessed 17.05.2022].

"subjugation" denotes radical subjection in connection with high levels of social control. Certain social patterns, stronger asymmetrical dependencies and the origins of the imagery they reflect in spatially and temporally distant linguistic and written worlds seem to emerge frequently from lexical fields that have certain aspects in common, even in the absence of concrete historical connections.

Winfried Schmitz discusses the semantics of various asymmetrical forms of dependency regarding the rural population in archaic and classical Greece. For this purpose, he examines the twelfth book of the *Geographica* by the ancient geographer Strabo (circa 64 BC–19 AD), which reports on the kingdom of Pontus on the Black Sea and contains an account of the Mariandyni, who were forced into bondage by the Milesians, who had founded the city of Heracleia in the territory of the Mariandyni. The status of the Mariandyni is described by Strabo with the term *heilōteúein*, a form of dependency similar to that of the helots in Sparta: The Mariandyni could be sold, but only within the limits of their former territory, so that many would remain in their villages as tribute payers and serfs. The analysis of the terminology used by Strabo to describe these dependency relationships reveals a differentiated understanding of different forms of strong asymmetrical dependency, which move between the poles of "slave" and "free."

Martin Schermaier's contribution focuses on the historical origins and development of the semantics of Latin terms describing dependency relationships in ancient Roman society. Schermaier analyzes the term *familia*, whose meanings he examines on the basis of Roman legal texts. Through a contextual analysis, Schermaier shows the semantic developments undergone by the term, developments that also point to a conceptual change of slavery during the Roman republican period. According to Schermaier, the variations of public attention paid to dependency relationships in the private sphere also point to a close connection between the legal status of slaves and social and political changes of the time.

Christian M. Prager's paper discusses the representation of asymmetrical dependency relations in Classic Maya narratives. The many small hegemonic Maya states spanning the territory of the Yucatán Peninsula in southern Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, and Honduras in the Classic period (AD 240–950) were characterized by strictly hierarchized social orders. At the top of these societies stood the rulers and their families, courtiers and priests who inhabited the monumental palaces in the political centers of the city states. The rural population that inhabited the surrounding areas under their rule had to pay tributes to the ruling families in the form of agricultural yields or of labor in the elites' building projects. Using various inscriptions that emerged in the course of the court culture, Prager analyzes expressions and visualizations of these forms of dependency in Maya hieroglyphs.

In her contribution, *Anna Kollatz* explores the historical semantics of strong asymmetrical dependencies in Islamicate societies on the Indian subcontinent. In doing so, she elaborates on problematic areas that, on the one hand, complicate the study of these societies living in the period between the decline of the Mughal

Empire and Indian independence, and, on the other hand, affect the evaluation of Islamic legal semantics in relation to strong asymmetric forms of dependency. To this end, Kollatz examines the *Book on Manumission* from the Ḥanafī legal commentary *al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī*, which is still considered one of the most influential works of the Hanafite legal school. The focus of the analysis is the translation process that this text underwent: The Arabic original was first translated into Persian and then into English under colonial occupation. By contrasting the Arabic original and the English translation, the effects of translation on semantic attributions are examined.

Veruschka Wagner examines in her paper manumission documents from the Ottoman Empire. Since slavery relations under the Ottomans were always limited in time, numerous copies of such manumission papers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lie in the archives of Istanbul courts. By analyzing the terminology used in them in connection with slavery and emancipation, Wagner shows different stages and layers in the dependency relationships between (freed) slaves and owners. She notes that, on the one hand, slaves were only ever dependent to a certain degree and at a certain time, but on the other, they could never completely rid themselves of their constantly changing status as dependents, since certain dependencies remained even after manumission.

Hans-Heinrich Nolte's article uses early modern records to examine terms used for dependent people among the Russian rural population and their historical development. In doing so, he finds that terms for dependent people, which in the fifteenth century could describe quite different dependency relationships, were systematized and standardized in the sixteenth century, when Russia was ruled by Moscow, and later underwent yet another semantic change in the St. Petersburg Empire (from 1721). According to Nolte, these changes of terminology and their meanings are also accompanied by a gradual systematization and degradation of dependent people in the rural population.

Bibliography

Barck, Karlheinz, ed. *Ästhetische Grundbegriffe: Historisches Wörterbuch in sieben Bänden* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000).

Brunner, Otto, Werner Conze, and Reinhart Koselleck, eds. *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, 8 vols. (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2004).

Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich and Albrecht Riethmüller, eds. *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1971–2006) [CD-ROM].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 466

Kalivoda, Gregor, Franz-Hubert Robling, and Gerd Ueding, eds. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, vols. 1–9 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1992–2009), vol. 10, *Nachträge A–Z* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), vol. 11, *Register* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), vol. 12, *Bibliographie* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

Müller, Ernst and Falko Schmieder. *Begriffsgeschichte und Historische Semantik: Ein kritisches Kompendium* (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2016).

Ritter, Joachim, Karlfried Gründer, and Gottfried Gabrie, eds. *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 13 vols. (Basel: Schwabe 1971–2007) [CD-ROM].

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Semantics, Lexical Fields

Anna Kollatz. “How to Approach Emic Semantics of Dependency in Islamic Legal Texts: Reflections on the Ḥanafī Legal Commentary al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī and its British-Colonial Translation,” in *Slavery and Other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies. Semantics and Lexical Fields*, eds. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2022): 179-204.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-007

Anna Kollatz

How to Approach Emic Semantics of Dependency in Islamic Legal Texts: Reflections on the Ḥanafī Legal Commentary *al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī* and its British-Colonial Translation

1 Introduction

Historical semantics as a method of study has yet to be applied to Islamicate concepts of strong asymmetrical dependency.[1] A major reason for this is simply a lack of technology: a constitutive part of historical-semantic studies is the evaluation of large source corpora by means of digital quantitative methods, to identify and count, for example, certain conceptual terms or *Schlüsselbegriffe* in a body of source material.[2] But we still lack the technical means to search digitally manuscript material or even

1 The study of historical semantics still lacks a pronounced theoretical foundation in other disciplines, since the amount of data provided by case studies is as yet too small, as Simone Schultz-Balluff notes for German Studies. Cf. Simone Schultz-Balluff, *Wissenswelt 'triuwe': Kollokationen – Semantisierung – Konzeptualiserung* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2018): e.g. 13. Schultz-Balluff's study shows the possibilities inherent in digitally supported historical-semantic research. In the field of Islamic studies, Ulrich Haarmann has pointed to the connection of jurisprudence and morphology; cf. Ulrich Haarmann, "Religiöses Recht und Grammatik im klassischen Islam," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement 2 (1974): 149–69. Kurt Franz' seminal article, "Slavery in Islam: Legal Norm and Social Practice," in *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017): 51–141 is an excellent starting point for the study of conceptual terms in the context of Islamic slavery, especially for the use of conceptual terms in the Qurʾān and his detailed discussion of the current state of research. Another 2017 publication, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht* by Rainer Oßwald, gives detailed insight into concepts of strong asymmetrical dependency in Mālikī law: Rainer Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017).

2 The present essay does not seek to expand the discussion of the concepts and theory of historical semantics, but translates certain concepts from neighboring disciplines in a heuristic manner, to test their applicability on the text corpus in question. As there is to date no substantial literature on historical semantics in the field of Islamicate History, I rely on recent publications from German and Asian studies. For a discussion of the concept *Begriff* see Dietrich Busse, "Begriffsstrukturen und die Beschreibung von Begriffswissen: Analysemodelle und -verfahren einer wissensanalytisch ausgerichteten Semantik (am Beispiel von Begriffen aus der Domäne Recht)," *Archiv Für Begriffsgeschichte* 56 (2014): 153–95. In a similar way, Christian Schwermann uses the term *Schlüsselwort*, cf. Christian Schwermann, *'Dummheit' in altchinesischen Texten: Eine Begriffsgeschichte*, Veröffentlichungen des Ostasien-Instituts der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 62 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011): 32. His analysis of the word field "stupidity" is, in addition to Schultz-Balluff's study (see n. 1),

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-007

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 470

editions written in the Arabic alphabet, which makes it virtually impossible to base research on large source corpora in Arabic, Persian or Urdu.[3]

The first part of this essay therefore discusses the experimental workaround mode I tried to apply in order to generate a set of data that would give me initial insights into the historical semantics of strong asymmetrical dependency in Indian Ḥanafī legal texts. A crucial part of this workaround mode is the use of English translations of the texts in question, because these are digitally searchable. My aim was not to use the English version as a basis for my analysis, but merely to help me identify relevant passages in the original text. However, this approach proved to be problematic for reasons which I will discuss below. The most challenging part was the textual history of the English translation itself, which is a product of British colonial appropriation and the transformation of what colonial officials found in their new realm. Due to this particular genesis, the English translation is of limited use as a reference text for research into the emic semantics inherent in the original text. However, the special setting of this case offers the opportunity to investigate changes in the semantics of the translation process. The *Hidāya* actually has a long history of translation, in which the original Arabic text was translated into Persian and then into English.

The main part of this article consists of a qualitative analysis of key words in the original Arabic source text. It will focus on the *Kitāb al-ʿitāq*, the *Book on Manumission* from the Ḥanafī legal commentary *al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī,* which served as a reference text for Islamic jurisprudence for British Colonial officials; a function it had already previously fulfilled during Islamicate rule in northern India. My analysis suggests that forms of strong asymmetrical dependency are not limited to *slavery*: not only in the *Hidāya*, but in Islamic law in general. The practice of releasing and partially or gradually manumitting enslaved persons over a longer period of time results in gradations of strong asymmetrical dependency, for which Islamic law has special terms. I will trace these terms in a part of the text and will localize them on a continuum of dependency, following the concept developed by David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman.[4] In a final step, I will compare the results of this analysis with the method employed by the English translator. For future interest in the development of historical semantic fields, it would be most helpful to study

---

another example of the manifold and fruitful use of digital searches of text corpora in the research of historical-semantic questions.

3 Initial promising results have recently been announced by "The Digital Orientalist," see e.g. https://digitalorientalist.com/2020/03/04/some-thoughts-about-arabic-script-ocr/ [accessed 17.05.2022], and the JEDLI toolbox developed at Hamburg University that allows indexing an context searches in digitized texts, see https://www.islamic-empire.uni-hamburg.de/publications-tools/digital-tools/jedli.html [accessed 17.05.2022]. However, until the launch of a software that allows OCR'ing manuscripts and editions, digitally assisted research will be restricted to a small corpus of recent editions.

4 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 1420–1804*, ed. David Eltis et al. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1–21.

the full translation process of the *Hidāya* from the Arabic original into Persian translations that were used by both the Mughal and the British authorities in India, with the subsequent British-colonial rendering. As the Persian versions are available only in manuscript, and thus require much preliminary work in Indian archives, this aspect cannot be considered until further studies have been carried out.

2 The *al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī*

This article concentrates on a normative text from the Ḥanafī legal school. The selected source implies that the study will initially only allow conclusions to be drawn about the historical semantics of normative perceptions of strong asymmetrical dependencies in this particular *madhhab* (legal school). This complements Veruschka Wagner's essay in this volume, which focuses on historical-semantic studies of praxeological texts, namely archive material from Ottoman court registers.[5] The *al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī* (commonly known as *Hidāya*, "The Guidance") is a twelfth-century legal commentary by the Ḥanafī scholar Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Marghīnānī (1135–1197), a native from the region of Farghana (modern Uzbekistan).[6] The multivolume Arabic text is a concise commentary (*mukhtaṣar*)[7] on al-Marghīnānī's own compendium *al-Bidaya al-mubtadī* (hence the title *Guidance through al-Bidaya al-mubtadī*), which was in turn based on two renowned legal treatises, the *Mukhtaṣar* by al-Qudūrī and al-Shaybānī's *al-Jāmiʿ al-ṣaghīr*. It belongs to the corpus of Ḥanafī normative literature and is considered one of the most influential compendia in Ḥanafī law to this day. There are numerous super- and supra-commentaries and additions by contemporary and later scholars.[8] This rich hypertextual tradition linked to our basic text would invite further investigation into how historical-semantic notions of strong asymmetrical dependencies developed over centuries of discussion among Islamic jurists, and – an aspect that makes this source genre especially interesting – in different geographical contexts of the Islamic and Islamicate world. While the *Hidāya* was written by an author from Transoxania, i.e. the eastern parts of the Islamic world, it spread

5 The Mughal Empire and the Ottoman Empire both count among the predominantly Ḥanafī Islamic realms.

6 He is regarded as the most important member of a well-established family of Ḥanafī legal scholars, cf. Willi Heffening, "al-Marghīnānī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Pery Bearman et al., http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0685 [accessed 17.05.2022].

7 The genre flourished in the field of Islamic jurisprudence, among many others. See Albert Arazi and Haggai Ben-Shammay, "Mukhtaṣar," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Pery Bearman et al., http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0792 [accessed 17.05.2022].

8 Cf. Willi Heffering, "al-Marghīnānī"; for the transmission of the main text and of many of the related commentaries see Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1943–49): vol. 2: 466–69 and vol. 1: 644–49.

quickly over all regions inhabited by Ḥanafī Muslims, among those the Islamicate realms on the Indian subcontinent.[9] It would be an intriguing task to compare the historical-semantic notions of strong asymmetrical dependency in the two hypotexts mentioned above with those in the *Hidāya* itself and several super-commentaries from beyond the region.

The *Hidāya* covers, in a total of eight volumes,[10] all aspects of Islamic law. This includes both provisions concerning the relationship between God and human beings (*ʿibāda*), such as prerequisites for the proper conduct of worship and other religious duties of Muslims, and juridical regulations for the social life in Muslim societies (*muʿāmalāt*), including marital or criminal law, among others.[11] For example, volume one of the 1791 English translation contains Book 1 on *zakāt* (i.e. the obligation of giving alms, which as a religious duty for Muslims comes directly after the obligation of five prayers a day), Book 2 on marriage, Book 3 on fosterage, Book 4 on divorce, Book 5 on the manumission of slaves, and Book 6 on vows.[12] The *Hidāya* has no separate chapter or book dedicated to slave law exclusively, a fact that seems astonishing only at first glance. As slavery and other forms of strong asymmetrical dependency formed an integral part of Islamicate societies,[13] special legal provisions

9 Other regions with a majority on Ḥanafī Sunni Muslims are the Levant, Egypt and Turkey, parts of the Balkans and Central Asia. Ḥanafī minorities lived and still live in most other regions of the Islamic *umma*.

10 The edition I used for this article is Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Marghīnānī, *al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī,* ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Luknawī (Karachi: Maktaba al-Bushra, 2011). All quotations from the Arabic texts in this article are based on this edition. All translations, except otherwise stated, are mine. I will refer to the Arabic text as *Hidāya*, with the volume number given in Latin numerals.

11 On the architecture and development of Islamic jurisprudence, see e.g. Gotthelf G. Bergsträsser, *Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, ed. Joseph Schacht, Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 35 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935); Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950); Wael B. Hallaq, *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunnī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). A French translation of one of the *Hidāya*'s sources, together with an analysis of the regulations on personal status, is available in Georges Henri Bousquet and Léon Bercher, eds., *Le statut personnel en droit musulman hanéfite: Texte et traduction annotée du Muḫtaṣar d'al-Qudûri*, Institut des hautes études de Tunis: Bibliothèque juridique et economique 3 (Paris: Recueil Sirey, [1952?]).

12 Cf. Charles Hamilton, trans., *The Hedàya, or Guide. A Commentary on the Mussulman Laws Translated by the order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal by Charles Hamilton*, 4 vols. (London: Bensley, 1791): vol. 4, without a table of contents in the original edition. For a table of contents, see the second edition, which however omitted the text of "Book V on Manumission," cf. Charles Hamilton, trans., *The Hedàya, or Guide. A Commentary on the Mussulman Laws Translated by the order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal by Charles Hamilton*, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Premier Book House, 1957).

13 Franz, "Slavery in Islam"; see also Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*. On the development of concepts of freedom in Islamic law, see Irene Schneider, "Freedom and Slavery in Early Islamic Time (1st/7th and 2nd/8th Centuries)," *Al-Qanṭara* 28 (2007): 353–82 and the classic Franz Rosenthal, *The*

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 473

concerning the legal position and treatment of dependent people form part of all sections of the commentary. It might thus be misleading to use a term like *Islamic slave law*, because this would imply the notion of a separate body of provisions relating to slaves or other dependents. Moreover, as the analysis of emic conceptual terms in this article will show, the *Hidāya* knows far more variations of strong asymmetrical dependency than *slavery* alone. It is worth pointing out in passing that slavery and forms of strong asymmetrical dependency directly derived from it are always discussed in this legal commentary, as they are in other Islamic legal writings, in close conjunction with legal statuses of, for example, a minor child, a married woman or a not wholly sane person.[14]

The structure and argumentation in all books and chapters correspond to the genre characteristics of Islamic legal commentaries: they are based on the citation of Qurʾānic verses and/or material from the *sunna* (the tradition) of the Prophet Muḥammad. In a second step, the author refers to relevant Ḥanafī teachings, including discussions or controversies, occasionally also differences to other Islamic schools of law, without bringing forward a definite answer to the questions raised.[15] The commentary is obviously intended for a specialist readership, as it neither explains nor defines the legal vocabulary used. So to approach the semantic fields of our interest, we need to scrutinize the argumentation related to the defined keywords. This approach via qualitative analysis includes the search for definitions by opposing terms and by indirect definitions, e.g. in the context of exemplifying passages.[16]

As an important Ḥanafī legal text, the *Hidāya* was held in high regard in the Mughal Empire as well; some volumes of the text, formerly in the library of Mughal emperor Farrūkh Siyār (r. 1713–1719), have been preserved in the British Library,[17] and numerous copies are in Indian manuscript libraries.[18] Given the discursive character of Islamic jurisprudence, we may imagine that al-Marghīnānī's twelfth-

Muslim Concept of Freedom Prior to the Nineteenth Century (Leiden: Brill, 1960); and on a more general level Hans Müller, "Sklaven," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 1, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, ed. Bertold Spuler (Leiden: Brill, 1977): 53–83.

14 Similarly Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*: 113 and especially esp. 123.

15 Such a form of open argumentation that allows different conclusions is also typical for the genre and stands witness to the degree of tolerance towards ambiguous positions in Islamicate culture. Cf. Thomas Bauer, *Die Kultur der Ambiguität: Eine andere Geschichte des Islams* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011).

16 The detection of emic definitions and related keywords, moreover, is a prerequisite for future qualitative analysis.

17 For example, MS London, British Library, RSPA 85, a manuscript of the first volume of the *Hidāya* bearing seals from the courts of the Mughal emperors Muḥammad Muʿaẓẓam Bahādur Shāh (r. 1708–1712) and Farrukh Siyar (r.1713–1719), and a further one of the British governor Henry Vansittart, dated 1164/1750, and RSPA 86, the second part of the text, which bears a possession mark of Sir William Jones (1746–1794), who presented the copy to the Royal Society in 1792.

18 E.g. Khudā Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, 1970. Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library. 2nd ed. Patna: The Library, vol. 39, Jurisprudence,

century compendium still served as a standard reference work during late Mughal rule in India, together with commentaries and supra-commentaries by later generations. It was an established practice of the Mughals to translate works from Arabic as well as Sanskrit or Hindi into Persian, the *lingua franca* of the empire.[19] The British could draw on the experience of specialists trained in Mughal service when they in their turn had the *Hidāya* translated into Persian. Finally, in 1791, Charles Hamilton published an English translation of the commentary in London. This text has an extensive preface, which, incidentally, would offer interesting material for the study of colonial governance and scholarship, and the positionality of scholars in this context. The preface also contains a short outline of sources, functions and institutions of the "Mussulman Law,"[20] written to introduce British colonial officials to the basics of Indian society and the evolution of Islamic law. Prepared on behalf of the British governor in Bengal, the translation formed part of British efforts to structure the law of their colonial subjects according to British standards[21] and thus stands witness to "a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient."[22] Clearly observing the topic with an "imperial gaze," it "defines the identity of the subject, objectifies it within the identifying system of power relations and confirms its subalternity and powerlessness,"[23] and therefore cannot serve as a reliable basis for any research on the Arabic or Persian source texts, but must be recognized as a highly problematic adaption.[24] This is precisely the reason why this text is suitable for exemplifying translation problems from a historical-semantic point of view.

No. 2352/ HLÖ No. 4079, *Hudayah Farsi* is a manuscript of the Persian translation of the *Hidāyā* prepared on behalf of the British governor of Bengal, Warren Hastings (1732–1818), by the Indian Muslim scholars Ghulām Yaḥyā Khān Biharī (d. after 1776), Maulavī Tājuddīn Bangālī (d. unknown), Mīr Muḥammad Ḥusain Irānī (d. unknown) and Sharīʿatullāh Sanbhalī (d. unknown), later revised by Muḥammad Rashīd b. Ziyāuddīn Bardawānī (d. unknown).

19 On translation as a cultural technique in the Mughal empire, see e.g. Carl W. Ernst, "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 173–95; for the impact of translations from Indic languages see Audrey Truschke, *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016). The ANR/GRF funded project PersoIndica has prepared an extensive list of translated manuscripts, see http://www.perso-indica.net/ [accessed 17.05.2022].

20 Taken from the title of the English translation by Hamilton, *The Hedàya, or Guide*. Other Colonial paraphrases use *Moohummudan* as a reference to Islamic law, cf. Neil Benjamin Edmonstone Baillie, *A Digest of Moohummudan Law* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1875).

21 As Hamilton, *The Hedàya, or Guide* writes in his translator's preliminary discourse, cf. vol. 1, especially v–vii.

22 Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003): 3.

23 Bill Ashcroft et al., *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007): 19, 207.

24 Even more problematic are digests prepared from a number of Islamic sources, like e.g. digests of Islamic juridical texts. See for example Baillie, *A Digest of Moohummudan Law*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 475

3 Workaround Mode and Problems

But before we start the actual semantic analysis, I will briefly turn to the workaround mode for texts that cannot be searched digitally. A simple search for "slave" in the first volume of the English translation brought a total of 514 results on 676 pages. The hits are evenly distributed over all chapters. This confirms one of the central findings of Rainer Oßwald's study on Mālikī law[25] where he showed that Islamic legal provisions on slavery are much more than just a distinct legal corpus dedicated to slavery-specific issues such as enslavement, sale, etc. Oßwald's impressive collection of evidence suggests that slavery was a factor firmly embedded in the social order of Mālikī societies in North Africa. This implies that practically all aspects of legal regulation of human life include distinct provisions for free, enslaved and partly dependent people. Legal provisions for enslaved persons thus do not form a separate body of *slave* law, but instead are integrated in all areas covered by Islamic law. Due to this situation, searching for a single translated keyword can only reveal a fraction of the relevant text passages,[26] so further searches for possible keywords were necessary. I then manually traced the relevant passages and the emic Arabic terms, in the Arabic text. A multitude of Arabic emic terms are represented in the English translation as "slave(ry)," "manumitted/manumission" and "free(dom)/freed." Figure 1 shows that the translation has often been transverse to emic semantic fields. The emic terms *ʿabd*,[27] *ama*, *mamlūk*[28] and *riqq*, which originate from different semantic fields and can therefore refer to different legal statuses, are synonymously translated as "slave," "slavery" and "bondage." In a similar way, words belonging to the different emic semantic fields of *ḥ-r-r* (related to "freedom")[29] and *ʿayn-t-q* (related to "manumission") were translated crosswise into the English words "manumitted" and "free(dom)," respectively (see Fig. 1).

In relation to the historical semantics of the English terms chosen by the translator, this transversal translation practice may have produced feasible renditions of the emic concepts in individual cases. In the overall picture, however, it has resulted in terminological obscurities that can only be clarified by semantic analysis of the original source text. That the crosswise translation into a single semantic

25 Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*.

26 The same would hold true for quantitative searches based on a limited set of keywords in Arabic or Persian texts.

27 The Arabic root *ʿ–b–d* is of common Semitic origin and refers both to the semantic fields of worship (of God) and to the semantic field of work (in Hebrew), service and slavery. Cf. Arthur Jeffrey, *The Foreign Vocabulary of The Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938): 209–10.

28 See below.

29 Translations of Arabic terms in brackets serve exclusively to make the terms comprehensible to readers who do not read Arabic. They do not represent the result of a semantic analysis, but are merely approximations. I denote the semantic fields associated to Arabic verbal roots as related to an English translation of the emic concept the root is connected to.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 476

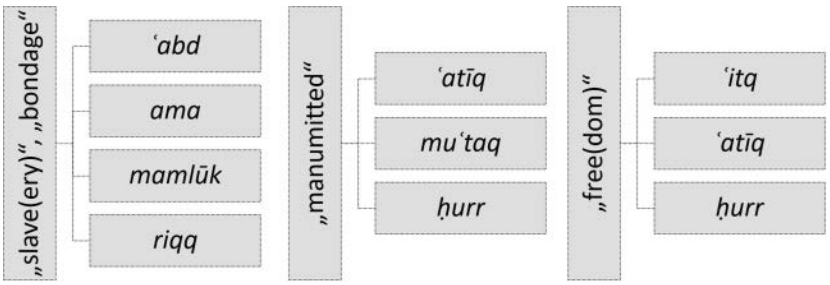


Fig. 1: Translation across emic semantic fields. Graphic by A. Kollatz.

field in English is problematic can also be seen from Kurt Franz's analysis, who found, for example, that the different terms in the Qurʾānic terminology of manumission were not interchangeable.[30] In what follows, I will concentrate on the first step of this clarification, namely the examination of the Arabic source terms. This is where the possibilities of digitally supported search in the translated text end. Until such times as suitable applications for Arabic are available, it is therefore advisable to resort to a qualitative analysis for clarifying emic semantic fields. Due to the sheer volume of text, such analyses can only be carried out as individual case studies.

4 Emic Semantic Fields

The analysis in this article concentrates on the fifth book of the *Hidāya*, following the British count, the *Kitāb al-ʿitāq* (*Book on Manumission*),[31] which discusses the manumission of dependent people. As this chapter deals with the conceptual terms for different states or grades of dependency separately, it is the ideal starting point for an investigation into the emic definitions of these concepts. By studying the different ways of manumission and the legal states a former dependent could reach, it is possible to delineate the different states and their position on a continuum of dependency.

Figure 2 illustrates the Arabic roots, each defining its own semantic field, and several selected keywords that derive from the respective root.[32] The following

30 Franz, "Slavery in Islam": 66.

31 The Arabic edition has no chapter numbering; the *Kitāb al-ʿitāq* is part of the third volume of the Karachi edition, cf. *Hidāya* III, 346–414.

32 For better readability, instead of referring to the semantic fields by their root structure, I will choose one of the derived terms, e.g. for the semantic fields *ḥ-r-r* (related to "freedom") and *m-l-k* (related to "possession"), I will use the keywords *ḥurriyya* ("freedom") and *milk/mamlūk* ("possession/a person possessed by another") respectively. To distinguish the naming of a semantic field from the reference to a specific source term, I will refer to Arabic terms as used in the *Hidāya* with

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 477

discussion will focus on three semantic fields: *ḥurriyya* (related to "freedom") and *milk* (related to "possession") appear in the chapter on manumission as two important, but clearly distinct, pillars of the definitions of dependence and manumission respectively. A third semantic field is *ʿitāq* (related to "manumission"), which features in the title of the fifth book of the *Hidāya*, the *Kitāb al-iʿtāq*, the *Book on Manumission*. Finally, I will also look at the emic semantic fields of three central Arabic terms denoting enslaved people, *ʿabd* (translates both as "servant" and "slave," from the root *ʿayn-b-d,* related to *ʿubudiyya* "service"), *ama* (from the old Semitic root *a-m-m*, translates as "female slave") and *riqq* (the most common term used to denote enslaved people in the *Hidāya*, from the root *r-q-q*, related to "being enslaved"). The text part under consideration here did not contain translations of terms belonging to the Arabic root *kh-d-m*, which is related to the semantic field of "service," e.g. *khādim*, which may denote both free and enslaved servants.

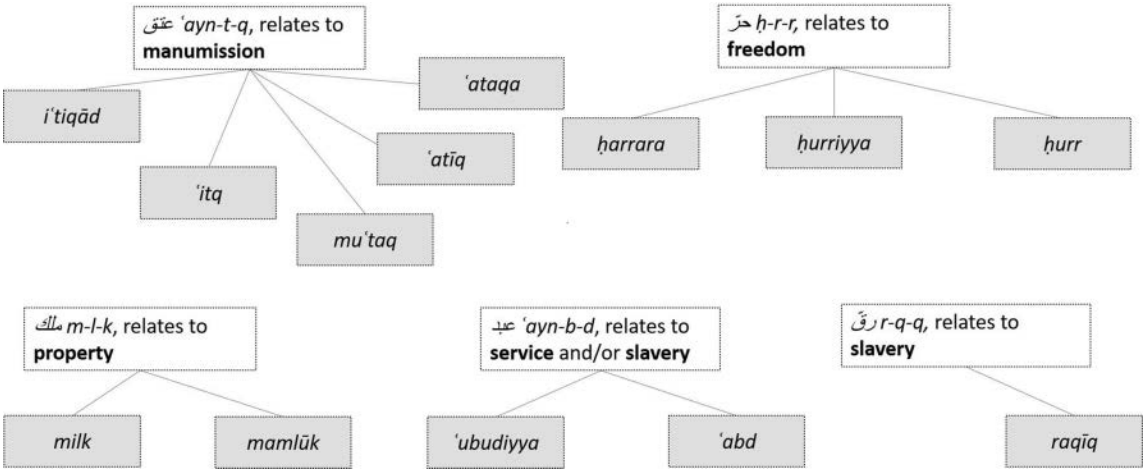


Fig. 2: Semantic fields and related conceptual terms. Graphic by A. Kollatz.

Before commencing with my semantic analysis of terms used in the Arabic original of the *Hidāya*, we need to take a brief look at the two semantic fields of *ʿubudiyya/ riqq* ("slavery") and *ḥurriyya* ("freedom"). There is no exclusive semantic field or conceptual term in Arabic that would equal "slavery." Instead, several terms from at least two semantic fields are usually translated as "slavery" or "slave." Kurt Franz has discussed the individual conceptual terms to be found in the *Qurʾān* and the *ḥadīth*, the tradition of prophet Muḥammad's sayings and deeds, which form the main normative basis for Islamic legislation.[33] Among the most common terms

an approximate English translation and the Arabic source term in brackets, e.g. manumission (*iʿtiqād*).

33 For the terminology of slavery and related concepts in Qurʾān and *ḥadīth*, see Franz, "Slavery in Islam": 59–69, 73–81. For the ambiguity and emic discussions of the conceptual term *ḥurriyya*, see also Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*: 23.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 478

translated as "slavery" are *ʿubūdiyya* and *riqq*, while terms derived from the semantic field *ḥurriyya* exclusively refer to the state of freedom. The *Kitāb al-iʿtāq* does not contain a discussion of the binary opposition of "slavery" and "freedom," which however underlies legal concepts of strong asymmetrical dependency in Islamic law. Islamic jurisprudence as well as research on the topic usually refer to two quotations that express the Islamic principle of understanding human beings as free, owing to their status as God's creatures:

> The general doctrine reads *al-nās aḥrār fī l-aṣl*, 'people are freemen in principle (or: by origin),' or *al-aṣl huwa al-ḥurriyya*, 'the basic principle (or: the original state) is freedom.' Slavery is thus an exceptional state, sharply distinguished from the original.[34]

However, given the discursive character of Islamic law, there is no constitutional definition of either *ḥurriyya* or the different terms for strong asymmetrical dependencies that would apply across all schools of law. Law books and commentaries usually derive their individual definitions from Qurʾānic quotations, or abstain from sharp definitions, relying on the recipients' knowledge. The *Hidāya* discusses definitions of terminology only in such passages where a more precise description is necessary for clarifying the context: for example when it is a matter of presenting different views in different schools of law. The divergence between semantic fields, mentioned above, becomes obvious when al-Marghinānī compares the definition of manumission from a Shāfiʿī and a Ḥanafī perspective. In this case, manumission (*iʿtiqād*) is defined by contrasting it with characteristics of its opposing legal status, namely *riqq* (slavery). The first definition explains the Shāfiʿī opinion, according to which it is impossible to manumit a slave partially. Manumission, or the *legal status* of being manumitted (*ʿitq*) is contrasted with slavery (*riqq*), which is defined as a *legal status* as well, namely as the absence of legal capacity:

> Manumission (*iʿtāq*) is the establishment of the status of being manumitted (*ʿitq*), which means the capacity of taking decisions (*quwwa ḥukumiyya*). It is established by the removal (*izāla*) of its opposite (*ḍidduhā*), which is slavery (*riqq*), and which means the absence of the capacity of taking decisions (*ḍaʿf ḥukumī*). Both criteria cannot be separated from each other, like (the criterion of being married) in the case of divorce.[35]

As long as both manumission and slavery are defined as legal statuses, both are regarded as inseparable entities. The second definition, however, explaining the Ḥanafī point of view, establishes a differentiation between the personal right of possession (*milk*), to which the slave owner is entitled, and the legal status of slavery (*riqq*). According to the Ḥanafī definition, manumission does not affect the legal status of the slave in question, but only removes the owner's right of possession,

---

34 Franz, "Slavery in Islam": 81–82. The quotation is followed by an extensive discussion of the question whether this principle is to be acknowledged as generally valid.

35 *Hidāya* III, 363. All translations from the Arabic, unless otherwise stated, are mine.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 479

because the owner can make decisions only for such items as they possess.[36] In a case of shared ownership, a slave cannot become fully manumitted if only one owner gives up their right of possession, because the owner is not entitled to decide on possessions owned by others:

> Manumission (*iʿtāq*) is the establishment of the status of being manumitted (*ʿitq*). It is established by the removal (*izāla*) of possession (*milk*). Possession is (a person's) right, while slavery (*riqq*) is a legal status. [. . .] This means that (the owner) can remove (a part) of his right, without touching upon any other.[37]

This definition suggests that slave owners cannot affect the legal status of an enslaved person, but it does not explain which person or institution is entitled to do so. So the commentary does not present an absolute definition of either term, nor does the text mark one of the definitions as preferable. However, in the case of partially manumitted slaves, the *Hidāya* recommends that the remaining owners should either release them as well, or at least grant them the right to ransom themselves, for example in the context of a *kitāba* contract (see below).

It is also important to note that the *Hidāya* regards the conceptual terms it discusses as having different qualities. For example, al-Marghīnānī defines a phrase a slave-owner can use to manumit an enslaved person as "clear and well understood both in the legal terminology and in common use" (*ṣarīḥa fihi* and *mustaʿammila fīhi sharʿan wa ʿurfan*).[38] If a slave owner uses such a phrase in front of a slave, they will be manumitted fully and immediately, even if the owner did not intend to set them free. Such phrases operate with the two sematic fields *ḥurriyya* ("freedom") and *ʿitāq* ("manumission"), which may contain either a verbal construction or constructions with different active or passive participles of the verbs in question.[39] The text lists examples for synonym formulations: "'You are free,' or 'a manumitted person,' or 'manumitted,' or 'a freed person,' or 'I have set you free,' or 'I have manumitted you'" (*Anta ḥurr, au muʿattaq, au ʿatīq, au muḥarrar, au qad ḥarrartuka, au*

36 In the general remarks on manumission (*ʿitāq*) at the beginning of the *kitāb al-ʿitāq*, al-Marghinānī notes that a slave can only be legally released if the person releasing them has full legal capacity and the slave is in their possession, cf. *Hidāya* III, 346–47. For the definition of enslaved persons as *milk* in Mālikī law, see Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*: 59–61.

37 *Hidāya* III, 363–64.

38 *Hidāya* III, 347.

39 As a Semitic language, Arabic is based on a system of so-called verbal roots, which are formed of a combination of three, sometimes four, basal consonants that each define a semantic field, from which further verbs and nouns can be derived by the use of fixed morphological patterns. For a discussion of the semantic field *ḥurriyya*, see below. For an introduction into traditional Arabic grammar and morphology, see Jonathan Owens, "Traditional Arabic Grammar," in *Morphology. An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, vol. 1, ed. Geert Booij, Chrisitian Lehmann and Joachim Mugdan (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2000): 67–75.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 480

qad iʿtaqadtuka).[40] As al-Marghīnānī describes these phrases as equally effective in leading to full and immediate manumission, we may conclude that the verbal roots *ḥurriyya* and *ʿitāq* relate to the same concept of freedom, the first describing the legal status of being free and enjoying full legal capacity, the second the legal process of becoming free. Other terms are regarded to have a certain ambiguity, for example phrases that use verbs or nouns from the semantic field *milk*. This semantic field relates to ownership, chiefly from the slave-owners' perspective in the context of manumission. According to al-Marghinānī, phrases such as "I no longer have any ownership rights over you" (*lā milkun lī ʿalaika*)[41] are considered ambiguous and therefore only effect a manumission if that is the owner's intention.[42] Ambiguity may also result from the use of different languages, as al-Marghīnānī explains. Both the Arabic and Persian form of address "oh free one" (arab. *yā ḥurr/yā ḥurra*, pers. *yā āzād*) to an enslaved person by their owner are regarded as clear and thus sufficient to manumit a slave immediately, even if this was not the intention of the slave-owner. So the Arabic and Persian terms seem to be regarded as synonymous. However, al-Marghīnānī mentions an exceptional case: if *āzād* happens to be the slave's personal name, the address *yā āzād* from an Arabic-speaking owner would not effect an immediate manumission against the owner's intentions. To clarify the intention of setting such a slave free, it would however suffice to use the Arabic formulation *yā ḥurr*, which cannot be mistaken for the slave's personal name.[43]

5 Semantics of Manumissions and the Continuum of Dependency

The *Kitāb al-ʿitāq* discusses a great variety of possible ways of manumitting a slave, all of which are commonly found in Islamic legal treatises.[44] There are several ways of manumitting a slave or granting them the possibility to ransom themselves. Several of these legal procedures result in (temporal) statuses of partial enslavement, or partial manumission. As mentioned above, partial manumission can occur when one of several joint owners of an enslaved person decides to release their share of

40 *Hidāya* III, 347. Arabic is a consonant script, so it is frequently not clear from the written text whether the female or male – or both – grammatical forms are referred to. In the transliterations given here, I only display the male forms for ease of reading.

41 *Hidāya* III, 348.

42 *Hidāya* III, 348–49.

43 *Hidāya* III, 348. For the semantics of the Persian *āzād* in Ottoman Ḥanafī documents, see the article by Veruschka Wagner in this volume.

44 For a general overview, see Franz, "Slavery in Islam." For a case study on Mālikī law see Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 481

the slave. Other procedures involve contractually guaranteed manumission at a specified time in the future; or they may grant the enslaved person certain rights, for example the right to accumulate possessions and dispose freely of them. These forms of partial enslavement still feature characteristics of strong asymmetrical dependency: while some cases include a contractual agreement between owner and slave, others leave the slave without any written guarantee and can easily be retracted by the owner or their heirs. The aim of the following discussion is to locate the different forms of partial manumission on a continuum of dependency[45] in order to gain better insights into the architecture of concepts of strong asymmetrical dependency in Ḥanafī law, and the emic classification of legal statuses between the two extremes of *ʿubudiyya, riqq* ("slavery") and *ḥurriyya* ("freedom"). They represent the extreme ends of the continuum of dependency sketched here. My criteria are as follows: 1) The binding character of the contract or agreement between owner and enslaved; 2) the differentiation of legal capacity: partially enslaved people with the prospect of manumission may gain limited legal capacity either on their own account, or as deputies of their owners. Depending on the form of partial manumission, some partially enslaved persons thus enjoy more, or different, capacities than others; 3) the semantic relations established between the different statuses in their definition by al-Marghīnānī. This is a tentative first approach to classifying the semantics of dependency on the basis of a relatively small text basis. It should not be understood in any shape or form as an attempt at an overall concept for Ḥanafī law on the subcontinent, nor of Islamic law at large.

A pressing question that arises from reading the *Kitāb al-ʿitāq* concerns the status of a formerly enslaved person. Where on the continuum between their former status and that of a freeborn Muslim do they fall? To put it plainly: is the status of a *muʿattaq* ("manumitted one") equal to the status of *ḥurr* ("free"), i.e. are they equal in status to a freeborn Muslim? My earlier comparison of different phrases for manumitting a slave suggested that the semantic fields *ḥurriyya* and *ʿitāq* were considered synonymous,[46] but the way the two terms *muʿattaq* and *ḥurr* are used in the present text sample indicate different connotations. In the *Kitāb al-ʿitāq*, al-Marghīnānī uses only the term *muʿattaq* (or other derivates from the root) to describe the status of manumitted slaves, which suggests a differentiation between this semantic field and the field of *ḥurriyya*. So *muʿattaq* should be placed slightly below *ḥurr* on the continuum of dependency. This assumption is supported by the fact that after the dissolution of their legal bond to their former master, manumitted slaves enter into a new form of social dependence towards them. This social status of *walāʾ* (*al-ʿitq*), "the enduring

45 Eltis and Engerman, "Dependency, Servility and Coerced Labor in Time and Space."

46 Jeffrey gives "to be free" as the original meaning of the root in ancient Arabic poetry, cf. Jeffrey, *The Foreign Vocabulary of The Qur'ān*: 211.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 482

attachment of the manumitted to the liberator,"[47] keeps a manumitted slave in a lifelong social connection to their former master or the latter's heirs, which includes certain obligations such as asking for permission to marry.[48] Even full manumission thus keeps the formerly enslaved in a form of dependence and thus cannot be understood as equal to the status of a freeborn person (*ḥurr*). On the continuum of dependency, I therefore placed the status of full manumission in the same range as *walāʾ/ mawlā* close to *ḥurr*, but slightly further down.

Muʿattaq ("manumitted") works as an umbrella term for all fully manumitted former slaves. This legal status can be achieved directly and without preconditions,[49] for example when the sole owner manumits by using an unambiguous formula, as discussed above. Manumission can also come about under certain preconditions, such as a vow by the owner (*al-khilf bi-l-ʿitāq*);[50] or by self-ransom either with a contract (*kitāba*) or without (*ʿitāq ʿalā juʿl*).[51] Lastly, manumission may be contractually deferred to a specified date, or enacted after the master's death (*tadbīr*).[52]

In the case of both contractual and non-contractual self-ransom, the fulfilment of the conditions depends on the actions of the slaves: they have to pay a certain amount of money or provide a service to achieve manumission, in some cases within a set period of time. Once the contract has been concluded, the (at this point still enslaved) holders obtain certain rights that are denied to fully enslaved people. If they do not manage to meet the conditions, they fall back into full enslavement. However, if the conditions for a manumission set at a later date are independent of the actions of the slave, such as when the master fixes a specific date of release, the legal status of a slave with the prospect of conditional manumission changes from the moment these conditions have been fixed and they cannot fall back into full enslavement. In both cases, the slave thus enters one of a number of legal statuses between slavery and full manumission. Each of these legal statuses is named according

47 Franz, "Slavery in Islam": 78. See also Daniel Pipes, "Mawlas: Freed Slaves and Converts in Early Islam," in *Slavery and Abolition* 1 (1980): 132–77. Reprinted in Robert Hoyland, ed., *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 18 (Farnham: Routledge, 2004): 277–322, 37 and Ulrike Mitter, *Das frühislamische Patronat: Eine Studie zu den Anfängen des islamischen Rechts*, Kultur, Recht und Politik in muslimischen Gesellschaften 8 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006).

48 On the different conceptualizations of *walāʾ*, see e.g. Arent Jan Wensinck and Patricia Crone, "Mawlā," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. Pery Bearman et al., http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0714 [accessed 17.05.2022], and Patricia Crone, *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); as well as Pipes, "Mawlas."

49 For unconditional manumission in early Islamic law see Ulrike Mitter, "Unconditional Manumission of Slaves in Early Islamic Law: A *Ḥadīth* Analysis," in *Der Islam* 78 (2001): 35–72.

50 See the relevant chapter, *Hidāya* III, 389–91.

51 *Hidāya* III, 392–99; *Hidāya* IV, 338–400.

52 *Hidāya* III, 400–402.

to the manner of conditional manumission decided by the owner or agreed with the slave. Another form of conditional manumission concerns a female slave who bears her owner's child. Once the owner recognizes the child (who is then born free), the woman enters the legal status of *umm walad* ("mother of the child")[53] and is automatically manumitted upon his death.

In his analysis of Mālikī law, Rainer Oßwald proposed to unite all forms of partial manumission (or enslavement) under the umbrella term "Hybridsklave" (hybrid slave); he defines the shared feature of all these forms as a "Beimengung" (an admixture) of freedom to the enslaved status.[54] But the different forms of partial manumission result in very different sets of hybrid legal statuses and differently restricted forms of legal capacity. In the following analysis of four terms used to denote variations of *hybrid enslavement*, I propose to evaluate these differentiations as criteria for placing the different hybrid forms on the continuum of dependency (Figs. 3 and 4).

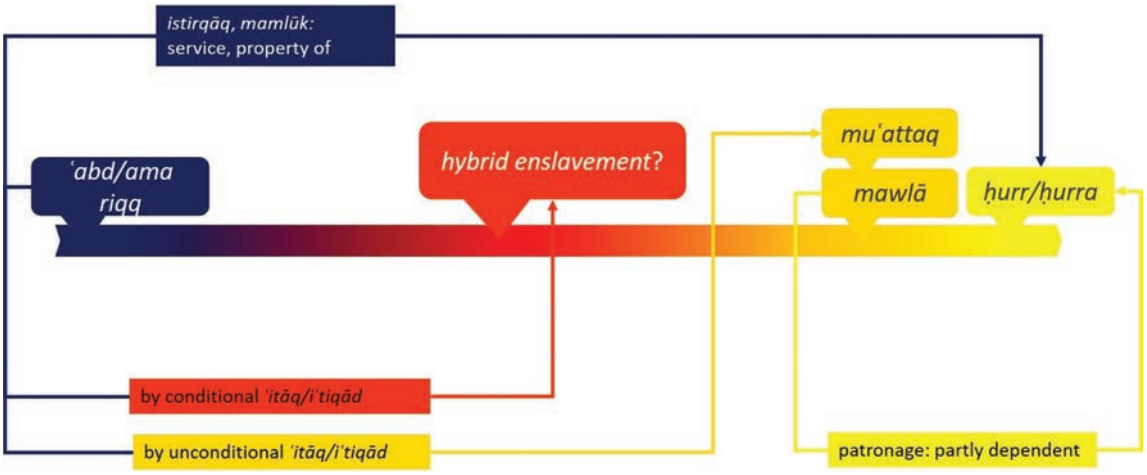


Fig. 3: Outline of the continuum of dependency. Graphic by A. Kollatz.

5.1 Contractual Conditional Manumission: *kitāba / mukātab*

While Islamic law does not provide for contract-based enslavement, e.g. of debtors, it does allow contractually agreed self-ransom. From a legal point of view this is a contract (*kitāba*) which regulates the manumission of an enslaved person upon the payment of a certain sum. For this reason the *Hidāya* does not discuss the *kitāba* in the *Book on Manumission*. Instead, there is a separate *Kitāb al-mukātab* ("Book on the holder of a *kitāba* contract") with six chapters which discuss, for example, how a *kitāba* contract needs to be worded to be considered valid, the rights and obligations of

53 *Hidāya* III, 403–14.l.
54 Oßwald, *Das islamische Sklavenrecht*: 207–8.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 484

a *mukātab*, and special cases like the *kitāba* for a slave in shared ownership, or the question which legal status the child born by a *mukātaba* to her owner will have.[55] The *Hidāya* interprets holders of such a *kitāba* as slaves who for a number of reasons are no longer completely dependent on their owners. As soon as the contract is drawn up, a *mukātab* has the right to acquire property (which is a prerequisite for the self-ransom) and to dispose freely of their possessions. This is very different from a fully enslaved person, who is not allowed to own property (*lā milk li-l-mamlūk*, "the owned one has no possession").[56] Interestingly, the right of accumulating possessions includes the right to buy slaves, a legally complicated constellation on which the *Hidāya* has a separate chapter.[57] However, the *mukātab* still remains in a state of full enslavement with respect to the work they owe their owner.[58] The *Book on Manumission* does, however, briefly discuss *kitāba* in the context of the manumission of a slave owned by more than one owner. Once more, we clearly see the high degree of ambiguity that results from the variable definitions of manumission. A *mukātab* who agreed a *kitāba* with their single owner will eventually fall back into the status of full enslavement if they cannot pay the ransom within the time agreed and so fails to fulfill their part of the contract. But a *mukātab* who contracts a *kitāba* with just one of their several owners will never fall back into full enslavement. In this case, the process of self-ransom is interpreted as only affecting the property rights (*milk*) of the owner with whom the contract was agreed. The *mukātab* cannot lose the property rights that have come to them even upon incomplete payment, and so cannot revert into full enslavement.[59] Such subtleties ultimately make it impossible to determine the status of the *kitāba* at a fixed point in the continuum of dependency. We should instead expect a number of very different combinations of, on the one hand, a *mukātab*'s capacity to act, and on the other their continuing dependency.

5.2 Non-Contractual Manumission Upon Payment: *ʿitāq ʿalā juʿl* and *maʾdhūn*

In contrast to the *mukātab*, who may revert to a fully enslaved status if they fail to fulfil their contractual obligations, and who in any case remains a slave in terms of their tasks, the *Hidāya* states that a slave to whom the owner promises release for a certain price (*juʿl*) is subject to immediate manumission. The first paragraph of the "chapter on manumission for a certain price" (*bāb al-ʿitq ʿalā juʿl*) compares this

55 *Hidāya* VI, 338–400.
56 *Hidāya* III, 346.
57 *Hidāya* VI, 360–66.
58 *Hidāya* III, 364–65.
59 *Hidāya* III, 365.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 485

process to a contract of sale, by which the buyer receives the merchandise immediately but has to pay off their debts subsequently.

> If someone releases his slave (*ʿabd*) for money and the slave accepts, he is (immediately) free (*ḥurr*). For example, if someone says 'For a thousand dirhams you are free', the slave is released at the moment this is spoken (*bi-qaulihi*), because this is an exchange of property for a different kind of property (*muʿāwaḍa al-māl bi-ghair al-māl*) [. . .] As in a contract of sale, he is free (*ḥurr*) at the moment he agrees to the contract. The price he has to pay is a debt upon his person. This differs from *kitāba*, because the latter comes into force only upon full payment and concerns the termination (*qiyām*) of enslavement (*riqq*).[60]

Again, the defining criterion is the nature of the item involved: while *ʿitāq ʿalā juʿl* refers solely to property rights (*milk*), *kitāba* is about a contract that changes the legal status of the slave. Ultimately, therefore, *ʿitāq ʿalā juʿl* comprises two logical steps: first, the enslaved buys the title to themselves. From the legal point of view, this is a sales contract by which the property right is transferred to the buyer with immediate effect, even before full payment of the contracted price has been made. As such, it does not affect the legal status of the enslaved. But since no human being can own themselves, they are automatically declared free (*ḥurr*) in a second step. This form of sales contract, by which an enslaved person is immediately and fully freed but may still have to pay off a debt, is probably the most direct and safest way to leave the slave status. This also explains why there is no specific term for slaves released in this way: the process turns them directly into *muʿattaq*s. However, even if they are no longer threatened by re-enslavement, a debtor continues to be in a strong asymmetrical relationship of dependency to their former owner. They also lose their entitlement to the care (however limited) which slave owners were required to provide to both slaves and *mukātab*s.

The owner can also make full payment of the price a condition, in which case the slave is manumitted only upon such payment. In the meantime, the *Hidāya* tells us, they count as *maʾdhūn*, because they are neither completely released nor in possession of a written guarantee for their right to be freed by a *kitāba* contract.[61] By demanding a compensation for manumission from the *maʾdhūn*, the owner implicitly grants them the right to accumulate property, similar to the case of the *mukātab*. However, according to the *Hidāya* there is no legal consensus on the question of whether the owner's promise is to be regarded as legally binding. In the case of a contractual *kitāba* the owner must completely manumit his *mukātab* after full payment, but a *maʾdhūn* remains dependent on their owner's willingness to keep to the verbal agreement – or on

60 The text goes on to explain that this form of contract resembles marriage and divorce contracts, because in all three cases, property is used to "buy" something that is not property. Cf. *Hidāya* III, 393.
61 *Hidāya* III, 393.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 486

a judge's willingness to interpret it as a binding contract.[62] As *maʾdhūn*s can still be sold and remain under their owner's authority until full payment,[63] I placed this status of dependency next to full enslavement at the lowest point of the continuum of dependency.

5.3 Unilateral Manumission Practices: Vows, *tadbīr/mudabbar* and *istilād/umm walad*

Finally, it is also possible for the owner to make the manumission of a slave subject to conditions that cannot be influenced by the slave. Nur Sobers Khan proposed a classification of manumission practices according to the criterion of whether manumission was effected solely by the owner (*unilateral* manumission), or with the consent or cooperation of the enslaved person, which we might describe as *bilateral* manumission, though she does not use this term.[64] None of the types of manumission discussed in this last section can be influenced by the enslaved person, and we might therefore describe them as *unilateral*, thereby distinguishing them from the practices discussed earlier. However, even these manumission types result in a gradual *upward* shift of the enslaved person's legal status on the continuum of dependency, even though they do not necessarily lead to full manumission.

The *Hidāya* mentions vows by the owner and discusses several examples of legally binding or invalid wordings.[65] Since such vows do not result in special legal statuses between full enslavement and freedom I will not discuss them here. A special case is the owner's commitment to grant the slave manumission upon their death, the guarantee being called *tadbīr*.[66] Slaves whose status is tied to such a promise or oath enter the status of *mudabbar*. The *Hidāya* defines the promise of *tadbīr* as a "clear" (*ṣarīḥ*) statement of manumission planned for the future (*ithbāt al-ʿitq ʿan dabr*); therefore, a *mudabbar* may not be sold or otherwise transferred to another

62 *Hidāya* III, 393–95.

63 *Hidāya* III, 395.

64 Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014): 70, where she defines the Ottoman practice of *ʿitāq* as "unilateral." It must be noted that the Ottoman practice of *ʿitāq* as described by Sobers-Khan differs from the rather general designation of the word in the *Hidāya*, where it serves as an umbrella term for the various manumission practices discussed in it.

65 *Hidāya* III, 389–91, *bāb al-ḥilf bi-l-ʿitāq*.

66 Cf. *Hidāya* III, 400–402, *bāb al-tadbīr* (chapter on *tadbīr*). In its original sense, *tadbīr* means "to plan" or "to look forward to some action to be implemented in the future." Cf. Hans Wehr, s. v. "dabara," in *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic: Arabic-English*, ed. J. Milton Cowan (Urbana IL: Spoken Language Services, 1994).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 487

owner. In this aspect, the status of *mudabbar* resembles that of the *mukātab* in Ḥanafī doctrine.[67] *Tadbīr* is defined first as a gift, but later, the *Hidāya* prefers to define *tadbīr* as an inheritance (*waṣīya*). If one were to understand *tadbīr* as a gift, the *mudabbar* would receive full freedom upon the death of the owner. Yet if *tadbīr* is defined as an inheritance, the *Hidāya* again interprets enslaved persons including *mudabbar*s as property. So the *mudabbar* paradoxically is both part of the estate and an heir at the same time. Since all property must be divided among the heirs, the *mudabbar* only receives the title to one third of himself, while the other two thirds go to the other heirs or to the treasury. He will have to ransom the remaining two thirds from the owner's heirs, if they agree, and otherwise remains partly dependent.[68] So a *mudabbar* does not directly advance to the status of a manumitted person (*muʿattaq*), but rather into that of a partially released person; their status seems to lie somewhere between the contractually secured *mukātab* and the *maʾdhūn*. Since the promise of manumission is linked to the death of the owner, a *mudabbar* may not be sold[69] – this would violate the conditions. They do, however, remain completely dependent on their owner in all other ways, and do not obtain any further rights, such as the right to acquire property, because the right of ownership remains untouched.[70]

Finally, the *Hidāya* also discusses a form of conditional manumission that results in a temporal intermediary status of dependency achievable for female slaves. If a female slave bears the child of her owner, and the owner recognizes this child as his own, the female slave (*ama*) will gain the status of *umm walad* ("mother of the child") upon the birth of the child.[71] There has been some debate on whether a woman can also achieve this status in the case of a miscarriage, but that is not of interest for the purpose of this article. The status of *umm walad* safeguards the living conditions of the woman to a degree that might even appear favorable compared to the status of a married woman. An *umm walad* cannot be sold (like the *mukātab* and the *mudabbar*), nor can she be coerced into concubinage or given to other men for that purpose.[72] Her owner has to offer her a decent standard of living, as he would to a wife from a lower class family; but he cannot end the relationship by divorce as he can a marriage. As such, he is obliged to look after the *umm walad* until his death, unless he marries her off to another man. Apart from sexual services, an *umm walad* however is required to render the same sorts of services as an enslaved person and so retains the status on an enslaved person in this respect.

67 *Hidāya* III, 400.
68 *Hidāya* III, 402.
69 *Hidāya* III, 400.
70 *Hidāya* III, 402.
71 *Hidāya* III, 403–14, *bāb al-istilād* ("chapter on the [manumission following] the birth of a child").
72 *Hidāya* III, 403.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 488

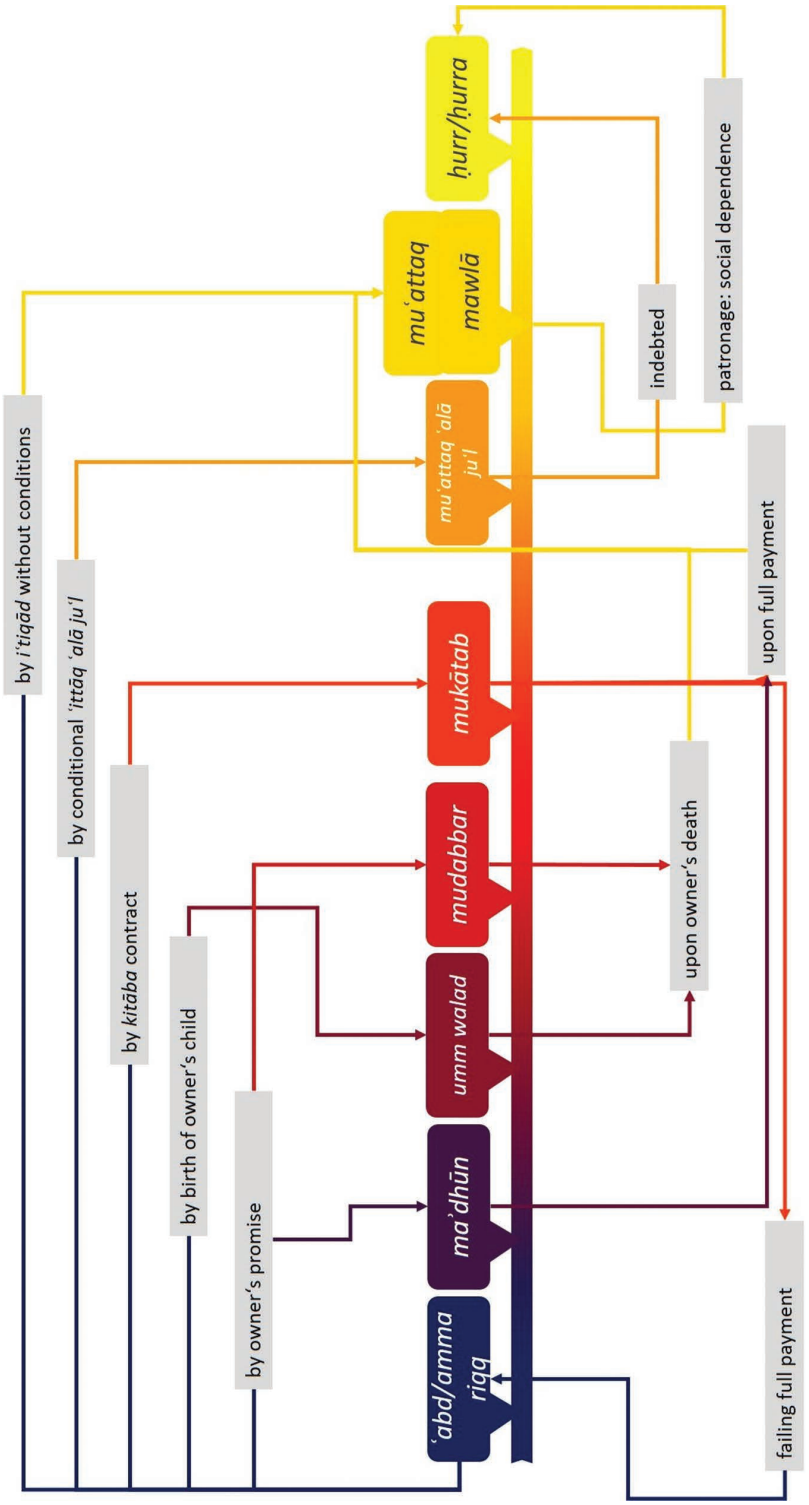


Fig. 4: Hybrid statuses on the continuum of dependency (tentative order). Graphic by A. Kollatz.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 489

She is only manumitted fully upon the death of her owner. Unlike the *mudabbar*, she does not form part of the deceased owner's estate.[73]

6 Conclusion

The *Hidāya* describes a number of ways of achieving partial of full manumission. Similar manumission practices are also described in other Islamic *madhhab*s, and have been analyzed e.g. by Rainer Oßwald for the Mālikī school of law; and by Nur Sobers-Khan for Ḥanafī manumission documents from the Ottoman Empire.[74] While Rainer Oßwald suggested that the manumission practices in question should be described as *hybrid enslavement* ("Hybridsklaven"), Nur Sobers Khan proposed to distinguish unilateral – and thus, implicitly, also bilateral – forms of manumission. As a result of my historical-semantic analysis in this article, I would suggest the duration of the process as a third criterion of definition. While some rare forms of manumission discussed in the *Hidāya* lead to immediate and full manumission in the legal sense (e.g. the manumission without condition, the *ʿitāq ʿalā juʿl*), most other practices might be described as *gradual*. These forms cause a slow upwards movement on the continuum of dependency, which may lead only to partial manumission – and, as such, to temporal or on-going hybrid legal statuses that constitute a stronger or lesser form of asymmetrical dependency. The different manumission practices discussed in this article are regarded as distinct legal procedures (contract, oral promise, contract of sale, etc.) by the *Hidāya* and therefore result in very different *combinations*, e.g. of legal capacity in certain areas with absolute dependency in others. Some forms of manumission that proceed via intermediate legal statuses protect the formerly fully enslaved person from a relapse into full enslavement, while others may preserve the intermediate status or even lead to a relapse into full enslavement, as in the case of *mukātab*. In some cases, even complete manumission intended by the owner, as in the case of *tadbīr*, may result in a partially enslaved status which can only be resolved through new agreements, e.g. *kitāba*. From the normative perspective of the *Hidāya*, partial manumissions are limited either temporally or by certain conditions, or by a combination of the two. The application of these normative standards results in a great variability in practice. We should therefore assume the existence of a large number of gradations of different legal and social dependencies between the absolute opposites of *full enslavement* and *freedom* or *manumission*, some of which in their practical implementation may have diverged considerably from the norms.

If we turn away from a clear dichotomy of *enslaved* and *free* (which, however, is also present in the historical semantics of Islamic legal texts) it becomes evident

73 *Hidāya* III, 406–7.

74 Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 490

that the normative legal texts not only discuss a number of different forms of strong asymmetrical dependency, but also distinguish them in semantic terms. The high degree of ambiguity and discursivity of the *Hidāya* bears witness to how difficult to grasp these legal statuses must have been for legal theorists. Clearly, this is not an a priori defined normative system, but rather an attempt at legal containment of practices that evolved, and continued to evolve, over time. The fact that the *Hidāya* puts a strong emphasis on discussing legally valid, clear or ambiguous wordings also shows that the negotiation and definition of legal status in the context of strong asymmetrical dependency must always have been a complex undertaking, and difficult to implement for both legal theorists and practitioners. Marc Bloch's dictum about historians and their struggle with emic semantics probably applies just as much to the historical Ḥanafī legal theorists in Transoxania and India as it does to us who, from the perspective of slavery and dependency studies, are today trying to clarify historical semantics: "To the great despair of historians, men fail to change their vocabulary every time they change their customs."[75]

Obviously, this effect is amplified when the texts and their underlying semantic connections are translated into another language, as a comparison of the semantic attributions between the Arabic original and the English translation by Charles Hamilton has shown. In the discussion of the various hybrid forms, I purposely refrained from quoting the Arabic original text together with Hamilton's translation. The latter is in fact not so much a translation as a paraphrase of the original which intervenes in the text, in sometimes heavily interpretative ways. His translation across emic semantic fields deserves particular mention. This technique enables the translator to bring the text statements closer to the etic historical semantics of strong asymmetrical dependency in his target language, i.e. English. This leads to the impression that many of the legal statuses that arise from the various forms of manumission are not directly related to *slavery*. The actual variety of strong asymmetrical dependency relationships described in the legal commentary is obscured by this technique, though they were not only a constitutive element of Muslim society in India, but also in all other parts of the Islamicate world. The two extremes of *slavery* and *freedom,* as they are established by the translation, seem to be a clear dichotomy, behind which the gradations of forms of strong asymmetrical dependency determined by legal theory fade away. For the historical recipients of the colonial translation, this impression must have been reinforced when, after the formal abolition of slavery, the *Book on Manumission* was omitted from the second edition of the translation. However, we may assume that the hybrid and ambiguous forms of strong asymmetrical dependency, and especially the social dependency of *muʿattaq*s on their former owners, remained formative principles of social interaction and hierarchy even after the formal abolition of slavery.

75 Marc Bloch, *Reflections on the Nature and Uses of History and the Techniques and Methods of Those Who Write It*, trans. Peter Putnam (New York: Vintage, 1953): 34.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 491

It would be beyond the scope of this essay to further investigate the relationship between the original as hypotext and the translation as hypertext. But a comparison of the key terms identified in the translation and the corresponding places in the original text alone has shown that the semantic concepts of the two texts do not match perfectly. The translation process began with the Arabic text analyzed here, and led through the Persian translation, which is only available in manuscript, to the British-colonial paraphrase. In order to understand at which point in the process these shifts entered the text, it would be necessary to examine the different text levels in detail and to compare the emic semantics in each case. My analysis of the emic terminology in the Arabic text could be a first step on this path. The results of such a comparison would then also have to be matched with practical legal documents, e.g. from the Mughal period or the early colonial period. This analysis would be a necessary step to understand the legal and social implementation of normative semantics in each time and society. If we want to further investigate emic historical semantics of strong asymmetrical dependency in Arabic or Persian texts, the only path open to us at present is that of dense qualitative studies, since translations in OCR'able languages cannot be carried out at all without a reconfiguration of the historical semantics inherent in the text.

Bibliography

Arazi, Albert, and Haggai Ben-Shammay. "Mukhtaṣar," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Second Edition*, ed. Pery Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emery Johannes van Donzel and Wolfhart Peter Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0792 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2007).

Baillie, Neil Benjamin Edmonstone. *A Digest of Moohummudan Law* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1875).

Bauer, Thomas. *Die Kultur der Ambiguität: eine andere Geschichte des Islams* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag der Weltreligionen, 2011).

Bergsträsser, Gotthelf. *Bergsträsser's Grundzüge des islamischen Rechts*, Lehrbücher des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin 35, ed. Joseph Schacht (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935).

Bloch, Marc. *Reflections on the Nature and Uses of History and the Techniques and Methods of Those Who Write It*, trans. Peter Putnam (New York: Vintage, 1953).

Bousquet, Georges Henri, and Léon Bercher, eds. *Le statut personnel en droit musulman hanéfite: Texte et traduction annotée du Muḫtaṣar d'al-Qudûri*, Institut des hautes études de Tunis: Bibliothèque juridique et economique 3 (Paris: Recueil Sirey, ca. 1952).

Brockelmann, Carl. *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols., 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1943–1949).

Busse, Dietrich. "Begriffsstrukturen und die Beschreibung von Begriffswissen: Analysemodelle und -verfahren einer Wissensanalytisch ausgerichteten Semantik (am Beispiel von Begriffen aus der Domäne Recht)," *Archiv Für Begriffsgeschichte* 56 (2014): 153–95.

Crone, Patricia. *Roman, Provincial and Islamic Law: The Origins of the Islamic Patronate*, Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

Eltis, David, and Stanley L. Engerman. "Dependence, Servility and Coerced Labor in Time and Space," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, *AD 1420–1804*, ed. David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman, Seymour Drescher, and David Richardson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 1–21.

Ernst, Carl W. "Muslim Studies of Hinduism? A Reconsideration of Arabic and Persian Translations from Indian Languages," *Iranian Studies* 36, no. 2 (2003): 173–95.

Franz, Kurt. "Slavery in Islam: Legal Norm and Social Practice," in *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017): 51–141.

Haarmann, Ulrich. "Religiöses Recht und Grammatik im klassischen Islam," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement 2 (1974): 149–69.

Hallaq, Wael B. *A History of Islamic Legal Theories: An Introduction to Sunnī uṣūl al-fiqh* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

Hamilton Charles, trans. *The Hedàya, or Guide. A Commentary on the Mussulman Laws translated by the order of the Governor-General and Council of Bengal by Charles Hamilton*, 4 vols. (London: Bensley, 1791) [2nd ed., Lahore: Premier Book House, 1957].

Heffening, Willi. "al-Marghīnānī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Second Edition*, ed. Pery Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emery Johannes van Donzel and Wolfhart Peter Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0685 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Hoyland, Robert, ed. *Muslims and Others in Early Islamic Society*, The Formation of the Classical Islamic World 18 (Farnham: Routledge, 2004).

Jeffrey, Arthur. *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1938).

Al-Marghīnānī, Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Abu 'l-Ḥasan. *Al-Hidāya fī sharḥ bidāya al-mubtadī*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Luknawī (Karachi: Maktaba al-Bushra, 2011).

Mitter, Ulrike. *Das frühislamische Patronat: Eine Studie zu den Anfängen des islamischen Rechts*, Kultur, Recht und Politik in muslimischen Gesellschaften 8 (Würzburg: Ergon, 2006).

Müller, Hans. "Sklaven," in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 1, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Vorderen Orients in islamischer Zeit*, ed. Bertold Spuler (Leiden: Brill, 1977): 53–83.

Oßwald, Rainer. *Das islamische Sklavenrecht* (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2017).

Owens, Jonathan. "Traditional Arabic Grammar," in *Morphology. An International Handbook on Inflection and Word-Formation*, vol. 1, ed. Geert Booij, Chrisitian Lehmann and Joachim Mugdan (Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2000): 67–75.

Pipes, Daniel. "Mawlas: Freed Slaves and Converts in Early Islam," *Slavery and Abolition* 1 (1980): 132–77.

Rosenthal, Franz. *The Muslim Concept of Freedom Prior to the Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1960).

Said, Edward. *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).

Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950).

Schneider, Irene. "Freedom and Slavery in Early Islamic Time (1st/7th and 2nd/8th Centuries)," *Al-Qanṭara* 28 (2007): 353–82.

Schultz-Balluff, Simone. *Wissenswelt 'triuwe': Kollokationen – Semantisierung – Konzeptualiserung* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2018).

Schwermann, Christian. *'Dummheit' in altchinesischen Texten: eine Begriffsgeschichte*, Veröffentlichungen des Ostasien-Instituts der Ruhr-Universität Bochum 62 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

Sobers-Khan, Nur. *Slaves Without Shackles. Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 493

Truschke, Audrey. *Culture of Encounters: Sanskrit at the Mughal Court* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2016).

Wensinck, Arent Jan and Patricia Crone. "Mawlā," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, *Second Edition*, ed. Pery Bearman, Thierry Bianquis, Clifford Edmund Bosworth, Emery Johannes van Donzel and Wolfhart Peter Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0714 [accessed 17.05.2022].

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Semantics, Lexical Fields

Josef Köstbauer. "'I Have No Shortage of Moors': Mission, Representation, and the Elusive Semantics of Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Moravian Sources," in *Beyond Exceptionalism. Traces of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Early Modern Germany, 1650-1850*, eds. Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Josef Köstlbauer and Sarah Lentz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 108-136.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110748833-005

Josef Köstlbauer

4 "I Have No Shortage of Moors": Mission, Representation, and the Elusive Semantics of Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Moravian Sources

In a letter written in apparent haste to request the expeditious transfer of an enslaved young woman named Cecilia, Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf assured the recipient, Danish plantation owner Johan Lorentz Carstens, that his only concern was for the woman's soul. "After all," he added, "I have no shortage of Moors."[1]

Committed to paper as a thoughtless aside seemingly bespeaking aristocratic self-confidence and sense of entitlement, this statement is remarkable. Not only does it attest to the extension of slavery and the slave trade to Northern and Central Europe, it also provides an insight into how Moravians perceived enslaved men and women living among them in Germany, as well as the motivations for bringing them there. What is more, it represents a small breach of the peculiar silence encountered in the sources when researching the presence of enslaved persons in the Moravian communal settlements (*Gemeinorte*). Typically, Moravian archives remain mute as far as the ambiguous status and slavery background of Africans or West Indian Creoles living in the communities is concerned. On the surface, they appear as brothers and sisters who ideally provided edifying examples of missionary achievement and spiritual awakening. The experience of slavery – shared in different ways by slaves and enslavers – and its confrontation with Moravian life in Europe stay hidden beneath this surface. Therefore, research on non-Europeans in the *Gemeinorte* is especially concerned with things left unsaid: It has to contend with the lacunae and omissions in the written discourse.

1 Unity Archives Herrnhut (UA), R.15.B.a.1.IV.2.g, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to Johan Lorentz Carstens, March 15, 1741. The case is discussed in more detail below. In the original German, Zinzendorf used the female term *Mohrinnen*. Indeed, there were four women or girls and one boy from St. Thomas living in Marienborn and Herrnhaag in 1740.

Notes: Publication was made possible by funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (grant agreement no. 641110, "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and Its Slaves," 2015–2022). However, this text reflects the author's views exclusively. The ERC is neither responsible for the content nor for its use. The text of this contribution was much improved thanks to the insightful and immensely helpful comments of Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, Sarah Lentz, Annika Bärwald, Julia Holzmann, and Jasper Hagedorn. Special thanks go to Julia Holzmann for kindly sharing her intimate knowledge of Dutch sources and archives.

Open Access. © 2021 Josef Köstlbauer, published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110748833-005

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 497

The Moravian Brethren – also known as the Moravian Church or the (renewed) *Unitas Fratrum* – were a radical pietistic community formed in Upper Lusatia in the 1720s by the charismatic Count Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf together with adherents of the old Protestant church of the Bohemian Brethren who had fled from prosecution in their Moravian homeland.[2] Even within the highly dynamic world of early modern Protestantism, the Moravian Church was extraordinary in many ways, not least because of its rapid growth and global expansion. As unlikely as it may seem, for a certain time this religious community emerging from the eastern fringes of the Empire formed a small but remarkable entryway into Germany for enslaved people. Thirty-seven individuals of non-European origin, mostly converts from colonial areas, are documented to have lived in or visited German *Gemeinorte*. Among them were thirteen individuals who evidently or very likely came as slaves or captives, of which twelve were of African or Creole extraction and came to Europe from the West Indies or North America. Others were former slaves or appear to have been in positions of uncategorized but nevertheless significant dependency.[3]

I argue that the Moravians are significant for historical research on traces of the slave trade in two respects: Firstly, the enslaved and formerly enslaved individuals they brought to Europe are evidence of the inevitable – though often obscure – extension of colonial slaveries into Europe. Secondly, the Moravian example poignantly demonstrates the difficulties encountered when researching slavery in Europe. The lives of slaves usually left only scant traces in the archives owing to their subaltern position. In addition, their status often remained ambiguous, with slavery hidden beneath other forms of service or dependency.[4] This is true for the Moravian cases as well: It is difficult to ascertain whether an individual was acquired as a slave and/or remained a slave, and what this meant to the involved parties.

The first part of this article briefly introduces the eighteenth-century Moravian stance regarding slavery. The second part investigates Moravian motivations for transferring individuals from colonial slavery contexts to Europe and the representative function assigned to them within Moravian social and spiritual contexts. In the third part, the cases of two enslaved individuals in Germany document how Moravians were willing to claim proprietorial rights rooted in slavery. Analyzing the

2 The community's statutes were formulated in 1727. On the beginnings, see Hanns-Joachim Wollstadt, *Geordnetes Dienen in der christlichen Gemeinde* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 24–48; Paul Peucker, "The 1727 Statutes of Herrnhut," *Journal of Moravian History* 20, no. 1 (2020).

3 Paul Peucker has written an important article assembling information on almost all non-European brothers and sisters coming to Germany. See Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen: Nichteuropäer in den deutschen Brüdergemeinden des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Unitas Fratrum* 59/60 (2007).

4 Rebekka v. Mallinckrodt, "There are no Slaves in Prussia?" in *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, ed. Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016); Anne Kuhlmann, "Ambiguous Duty: Black Servants at German Ancien Régime Courts," in *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250–1914*, ed. Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 498

ambiguous and at times contradictory terminology of these and additional sources, I will explore what they can tell us about perceptions, meanings, and practices involving enslaved individuals in Moravian Germany.

Moravians and Slavery

The Moravians' involvement with slavery goes back to the very beginnings of their missionary endeavors in the West Indies in 1732. Within just a few years, the Brethren not only established a successful mission among the slave population in the Danish colonies of St. Thomas, Saint John, and St. Croix, but also became slave owners themselves. Until the nineteenth century, slavery remained a part of Moravian economy in many parts of the Atlantic world, from Suriname and Berbice to Antigua, Jamaica, or North Carolina.[5]

Evidently, the Moravians did not oppose slavery as an institution. Since slave owners on St. Thomas initially opposed missionary activities among the enslaved fiercely and often violently, a position of compliance was deemed advisable, and the Moravians were quick to express their acceptance of colonial slavery. Upon leaving St. Thomas after a short visit in 1738–39, Count Zinzendorf delivered a famous farewell speech to an assembly of slaves in which he explained the slaves' position to be God-given. "King, lord, and slave" all had to adhere to the places assigned to them by the Lord.

---

5 On early Moravian missionary endeavors, see Peter Vogt, "Die Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde und ihre Bedeutung für den Neubeginn der protestantischen Missionen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 35 (2009). An essential account of the mission in the Danish West Indies is Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, *Historie der caribischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan: Kommentierte Ausgabe des vollständigen Manuskripts aus dem Archiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität*, ed. Gudrun Meier et al., 2 vols. (Berlin: VWB, 2000). This work was originally published by the Moravian Church in 1777 in a massively revised and abridged version by editor Johann Jakob Bossart. For a critique of Bossart's work, see Ingeborg Baldauf, "Christan Georg Andreas Oldendorp als Historiker: Freiheit und Grenzen eines Autors in der Brüderkirche," in *Christan Georg Andreas Oldendorp: Historie der caraibischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan. Kommentarband, ed.* Gudrun Meier et. al. (Herrnhut: Herrnhuter Verlag, 2010).

The involvement of the Moravians with Atlantic slavery has received a fair share of scholarly attention. To name but a few works: Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006); Jan Hüsgen, *Mission und Sklaverei: Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine und die Sklavenemanzipation in Britisch- und Dänisch-Westindien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2016); Louise Sebro, "Mellem afrikaner og kreol: etnisk identitet og social navigation i Dansk Vestindien 1730–1770" (PhD Diss, Lund University, 2010); Richard S. Dunn, *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014); Katharine Gerbner, *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 499

Apparently, God had punished the "first Negroes [. . .], turning their entire lineage into slaves."[6] What the enslaved men and women made of Zinzendorf's reasoning remains unknown.[7]

Even though the Moravians defended slavery and owned slaves themselves, they did not aspire to become part of planter society. For their mission to succeed, they had to carve out a unique position for themselves. Obviously, they could not eschew the color divide that formed the foundation of racialized slavery in the colonies – but they did distance themselves from planter society in order to gain access to the prospective converts' hearts and minds. This is manifest in Moravian rhetoric in that the missionaries spoke to the enslaved of an "internal slavery" trapping all sinners regardless of skin color. Compared to this, "external slavery" seemed ephemeral.[8] Today, such a position might be construed as cynical or exhibiting indifference to the everyday plight of slaves in the plantation economy. But in eighteenth-century St. Thomas, it transmitted a message of empowerment: The pious slave rose far above the sinful master. What was more, in the 1740s, many Moravians including Zinzendorf considered the second arrival of Christ to be imminent.[9] Such eschatological anticipations might have added considerably to the urgency of the Moravian message.

In addition, there was an ostensible equality pervading life in the Moravian mission congregations that stood in stark contrast to the colonial practices of slavery surrounding them. Everyone was addressed as brother or sister regardless of their class or skin color.[10] Free as well as enslaved converts could attain positions within

6 UA, R.15.B.a.3.64, Zinzendorf's farewell address, February 15, 1739, 21–22. In interpreting slavery as godly punishment, Zinzendorf alluded to the Curse of Ham, Genesis 9, 18–27, a well-established legitimation of slavery. On the origins of this interpretation, see M. Lindsay Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 135–165. Referencing pertinent passages from the Pauline epistles (Eph 6,5–9; Kol 3,22; 1 Tim 6,1–2, Philemon) some decades later, August Gottlieb Spangenberg basically expounded on the same motif used by Zinzendorf in 1739. See Spangenberg, *Idea fidei Fratrum, od. kurzer Begriff der christl. Lehre in den evangelischen Brüdergemeinen* (Barby: Unitas Fratrum, 1779), 78–79, 396; Spangenberg, *Von der Arbeit der evangelischen Brüder unter den Heiden* (Barby: Christian Friedrich Laux, 1782), 65–66. See also Craig D. Atwood, "Apologizing for the Moravians: Spangenberg's Idea fidei fratrum," *Journal of Moravian History* 8, no. 1 (2010).

7 Zinzendorf read a Creole translation to the crowd. Oldendorp, *Historie*, 2: 349.

8 Katherine Gerbner has emphasized this dichotomy of external and internal slavery. See Gerbner, *Christian Slavery*, 147–163.

9 Dietrich Meyer, "Chiliastische Hoffnung und eschatologische Erwartung innerhalb der Brüdergemeine und der Mission bei Zinzendorf und Spangenberg," in *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung in Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung,* ed. Wolfgang Breul and Jan Carsten Schnurr (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013); Erich Beyreuther, "Mission und Kirche," in *Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs: Gesammelte Aufsätze,* ed. Erich Beyreuther, 2nd ed. (Hildesheim: Olms, 2000), 168–170; Vogt, "Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde," 218–219.

10 This has recently been emphasized by Heike Raphael-Hernandez, "The Right to Freedom: Eighteenth-Century Slave Resistance and Early Moravian Missions in the Danish West Indies and Dutch Suriname," *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 459.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 500

the church's hierarchy and become *Helpers* and *Elders* of their congregations.[11] Nevertheless, the actual practices in the missions were not necessarily on par with the equality expressed in Moravian rhetoric: Slaves owned by the mission were expected to perform slave work in the fields, households, and workshops, and they were supervised and punished "according to the custom of the country" by the European brothers and sisters.[12]

Obedience was also expected of the European Moravians, for example when they were assigned a new occupation or ordered to a new place of residence. Such decisions were often made by casting lots, with the result regarded as Christ's will.[13] But still, these European men and women were no slaves, and the ideal of obedience they followed was an integral part of the Moravian commitment to communal life and labor. There was always the possibility of leaving the community if one was dissatisfied, as indeed a number of members did.[14]

Tellingly, there is no indication that the Moravians ever felt obliged to manumit even fully integrated congregation members. Oldendorp reports that, in 1745, the missionaries on St. Thomas exchanged one of their slaves for Abraham, an Elder of the mission congregation who belonged to a neighboring plantation, so that he could concentrate exclusively on his pastoral duties.[15] Remarkably, in his extensive revision of Oldendorp's original manuscript, editor Johann Jakob Bossart made a point of emphasizing that being acquired by his fellow Moravians did not mean that Abraham had been manumitted.[16]

---

11 For example, Rebecca Freundlichin/Protten or Maria Andressen. See Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival*; Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 1–4.

12 Cf. UA, R.2.B.45.1.d, Minutes of the Marienborn synod, August 5, 1769; R.15.B.a.21.b. Memorandum regarding the plantations of the Brothers on St. Thomas, August 16, 1769, 6–11. This has also been explored by Jan Hüsgen and Jon Sensbach: Cf. Hüsgen, *Mission und Sklaverei*, 113–118; Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan*, 90–91.

13 Elisabeth W. Sommer, *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727–1801* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), 53–54, 65–68, 91–99; Stephanie Böß, *Gottesacker-Geschichten als Gedächtnis: Eine Ethnographie zur Herrnhuter Erinnerungskultur am Beispiel von Neudietendorfer Lebensläufen* (Münster: Waxmann, 2015), 177–181.

14 Obviously, both social and financial pressures might be brought to bear on alienated members. This was alleged in the (somewhat vitriolic) criticism of the Moravians by Jean Francois Reynier. See Reynier, "Das Geheimnis der Zinzendorfischen Secte Oder eine Lebens-Beschreibung Johann Franz Regnier, woraus zu ersehen was vor ein schädlich Ding es sey, sich von Menschen führen zu lassen," in *Bewährte Nachrichten von Herrnhutischen Sachen*, ed. Johann Philipp Fresenius, (Frankfurt: Buchner, 1747), 363–364.

15 Oldendorp, *Historie*, 2: 678–679.

16 Of course, Bossart may have been wrong (as he was in other cases); unfortunately, he provided no sources for this interesting apposition, nor did he explain why he considered it necessary. For Bossart's work, see footnote 4.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 501

Representation

The dominant motivation for assembling a gathering of "Moors", as implied in Zinzendorf's statement, was the need for representation. Be they slaves from the West Indies, Inuit from Greenland, or Arawak from Suriname – upon arrival in Europe, they were all assigned a specific role in the enactment of Moravian (self-)representation.[17] They became potent symbols of the success of the Moravian mission, and as such could effectively assist in securing outside support. Furthermore, their presence held an eschatological promise: It was a sign of the imminent return of Christ and a humanity united in Christendom. The symbolic value attached to these individuals also led to their portrayal in Moravian works of art (see Fig. 4.1). It almost seems as though the Moravians were trying to instigate events by simulating them.

Especially the men, women, and children designated as "Moors" (*Mohren* – a German term usually applied to dark-skinned individuals of African or East Asian descent) were performing a vital service: They produced status for the Moravian community and represented a distinct Moravian vision, both to the brothers and sisters they interacted with and to outside visitors. The significance of this labor also served to increase the ambivalence of their status: Highly visible and highly regarded, their position depended on how well they knew to fulfil this role. And while the term "labor" is usually not applied to representative functions in early modern contexts, I employ it here to underline the fact that in baroque culture, one had to *perform* in a very literal sense.

Using a non-European convert to represent missionary success was by no means novel. During his time as a student in Halle (1710–1716), Zinzendorf himself met the Tamils Timotheus and Peter Maleiappen from the Tranquebar mission.[18] As a young man, he witnessed the visit of the Greenlanders Pooq and Qiperoq to Copenhagen.[19] In general, dark-skinned servants were a common element of the baroque culture of representation that was not restricted to aristocratic courts; merchants, investors, mariners, and many others with access to Atlantic or East Asian slave trading networks acquired slave servants.[20] Zinzendorf was eager to buy slaves while travelling

---

17 On Inuit, see Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 11–12, 27–28, 30–31, 34.

18 Kurt Liebau, "Die ersten Tamilen aus der Dänisch-Halleschen Mission in Europa: Vom Objekt zum Subjekt kultureller Interaktion," in *Fremde Erfahrungen: Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945*, ed. Gerhard Höpp (Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 1996), 15–20.

19 Michael Harbsmeier, "Invented Explorations: Inuit Experiences of Denmark (1605–1932)," in *Cross-Cultural Encounters and Constructions of Knowledge in the 18th and 19th Century: Non-European and European Travel of Exploration in Comparative Perspective*, ed. Philippe Despoix and Justus Fetscher (Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2004), 88, 96–98.

20 Rebekka v. Mallinckrodt, "Verschleppte Kinder im Heiligen Römischen Reich," in *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als kulturhistorisches Phänomen: Räume – Materialitäten – Erinnerungen*, ed. Dagmar Freist, Sabine Kyora, and Melanie Unseld (Bielefeld: transcript, 2019), 19–27; Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich: Handel, Migration, Hof* (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2013), 170–183, 219–224.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 502

to St. Thomas in 1738–1739.[21] His and other Moravians' purchases of slaves in this early period satisfied different but mutually reinforcing desires: The ambition for aristocratic representation, the wish to demonstrate missionary success, and the longing for a direct and personal connection to the evangelization of the "heathens" by incorporating converts (or prospective converts) into one's household. Sending a slave to Europe might have seemed much easier than sending a (free) servant or convert: Where an Inuit would perhaps need to be convinced or cajoled, a slave could simply be ordered.

The transfer of converts from the mission areas to European communal settlements largely ceased after 1750, with Zinzendorf and the Brethren having apparently lost their zeal for this practice of representing their missionary endeavors. The reasons may have been manifold; Paul Peucker has hypothesized that it was due to the sad fact that many of the individuals brought to Germany died within a few years after their arrival.[22] This is supported by a statement by August Gottlieb Spangenberg in a memorandum from 1752.[23] Furthermore, the high-flying expectations of the Moravians may have been disappointed when none of the "Moors" brought to Europe developed into the type of global indigenous missionary envisioned by Zinzendorf. Financial considerations may have been a motivation as well: None of the men and women brought from the West Indies had been trained in a trade, so they had to be provided for or, if they were unmarried, help in the choir houses for single brothers or sisters.[24] Non-European children received schooling and training in crafts like European children.

Of Things Unsaid: Semantics of Slavery and Dependency in Moravian Sources

In the colonial setting of the Danish West Indies, British North America, or Suriname, slaves were clearly classified as such by the Moravians. Their names appear on lists of slaves or on bills of sale, and they are frequently mentioned in correspondences and congregational diaries. As has been pointed out, once enslaved individuals left the colonial context and entered Europe, they acquired a new significance and function by becoming representatives of missionary success and playing a part in Moravian eschatological imagery. Since slavery was not a prerequisite for this function, it

21 UA, R.15.B.a.2.a.3, Zinzendorf's diary of his journey to St. Thomas and back 1738–1739, 39.

22 Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 16–17.

23 UA, R.14.A.19.18, Memorandum by Spangenberg, February 2, 1752.

24 Moravian communal settlements were organized into so-called choirs: one for married couples, one each for the single sisters and brothers, and one for children. Cf. Katherine M. Faull (ed.), *Speaking to Body and Soul: Instructions for the Moravian Choir Helper 1785–1785* (University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 4–6, 171.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 503

was apparently elided in the records. Source types like slave lists or sale receipts do not exist for European congregations. Instead, the traces of enslaved individuals are dispersed across different sources like communal diaries, correspondences, memoirs, letters and reports, conference protocols, or church registers. There is only the most circumstantial information on whether and how a possible slave status or slave past was perceived within the community, and conclusions on how the affected individuals perceived it themselves can only be drawn by inference.

This leads to a fundamental methodological problem posed by eighteenth-century Moravian records: They were produced within a media system communicating narratives of community, spirituality, and missionary success.[25] Communal diaries, for instance, meticulously reported the coming and going of brothers and sisters and informed about meetings and festivities. They were sent to congregations around the globe and read aloud during meetings, thus fostering a sense of community and intimacy that transcended space and time. But biographical information and reflections on personal experience and emotion were only of interest as far as they related to a person's spiritual awakening or communal life. Essentially, the story offered by the Moravian archives is one of movement, work, and spirituality; it tells little of subjection or dependency, especially as far as non-Europeans are concerned. Where voices of the enslaved are present in sources, they are transformed by the rhetoric and topoi of Moravian discourse.

The religious bias pervading Moravian records thus served to obscure slavery in European contexts. Never is anyone explicitly referred to as a slave, though individuals from Africa, the Americas, or Asia are unfailingly singled out using the adjective "Black" or labels like "Moor," or by way of more specific geographic and ethnic designations like "from St. Thomas." And never is the (from our perspective) fundamental ambiguity of communal religious equality and slave status reflected upon. As a result, the enslaved persons living in Europe remain mere shadows to us, rendered two-dimensional in the narrow perspective afforded by the sources.

This silence in the records should not be construed as evidence that the shackles of slavery somehow fell off a person when they set foot on European soil. Neither was there any form of German "free soil principle" at work, nor did membership in the Moravian church translate into automatic manumission. Therefore, in the cases where records report that a person was bought or was a slave in a colonial slaving zone, one can sensibly assume this status to have remained with them.[26] And although life in the close-knit community of Moravian settlements along with the symbolic prestige accorded to converts may have rendered this legal relationship dormant (for lack of a better word), it was by no means resolved.

---

25 Gisela Mettele, *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich: Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als globale Gemeinschaft 1727–1857* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009).

26 This view is shared by Paul Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 17, and Hüsgen, *Mission und Sklaverei*, 96.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 504

Consequently, researching the traces of slavery in Moravian communities in eighteenth-century Germany is very much concerned with things left unsaid. It is a description of lacunae and a matter of informed speculation or conjecture. One approach to resolving this conundrum lies in careful semantic analysis of the language employed by the Moravians in individual cases and connecting it to the available historical details on the specific circumstances.

Case Studies

To exemplify this approach, I will delve into the only two cases in which individuals already in Germany were explicitly labeled as slaves and proprietorial rights were claimed by Moravians. They serve to prove that community members were willing to claim authority over individuals that went beyond church discipline, domestic servitude, or serfdom and was in fact rooted in slavery. Both cases also show slavery assuming multiple forms and changing significance as a result of chance and circumstance. Having thus established that while the slave status of individuals may have been concealed, it was not necessarily rescinded, I will look at the remaining cases of enslaved individuals whose slave status has to be deduced from a more oblique terminology used in the records.

Cecilia: Slavery, Gender, Age, and Representation

A young woman referred to simply as Cecilia in the sources was part of the small retinue of servants accompanying eminent Danish Creole planter Johan Lorentz Carstens and his pregnant wife Jacoba, née van Holten, when they left St. Thomas to resettle in Denmark in the summer of 1739. As it is the only identification available, I am forced to use this name as well. But it must be kept in mind that like other enslaved people, Cecilia probably identified with several names, each tied to specific contexts and/or stages of her life. Her story also provided the citation in the introduction to this article.[27]

The company arrived in the Netherlands in July 1739 and travelled on to Copenhagen after a short visit to Marienborn. Carstens brought with him a group of slaves who had been bought by Count Zinzendorf a few months earlier during his visit to St. Thomas.[28] They are mentioned in Carstens' letters ("three blacks for the dear brother Count Sinsendorff [sic],"[29] but there is no reference to Cecilia, which makes it very likely that she was a regular part of the Carstens household and there was no

27 An overview over the case is also provided in Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 8–10.

28 UA, R.15.B.a.2.a.3, Zinzendorf's diary, 39.

29 UA, R.15.B.a.11.39, Carstens to LeLong, July 5, 1739.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 505

intention at the time to send or sell her to the Moravians. A 1740 census entry for the Carstens household in Copenhagen lists (among others) three maids and one "Negresse [sic] without pay."[30] One may assume the latter was Cecilia. Why was she not listed as a slave? Presumably because what was of interest in the census was taxes, and taxes had to be paid for servants. The designation may thus have been a qualifying statement resulting from an uncertainty whether Cecilia, who was not party to a service contract, classified as a taxable servant or not. The Carstens family's entourage included at least one other slave: Carstens' trusted servant and Moravian helper Domingo Gesoe.[31]

The first mention of Cecilia by name appears in a letter dated April 11, 1740 – although judging from its content, other letters had been exchanged before.[32] Zinzendorf wrote of the wish of his wife, Countess Erdmuthe Dorothea, to have Cecilia. How this came about remains unknown. Perhaps the Countess had met Cecilia and resolved to obtain her when the Carstens family had visited Marienborn. It also seems plausible that Zinzendorf himself wanted to add Cecilia to the circle of recently acquired young women, men, and children from St. Thomas. In this case, the Countess may have come into play only because Cecilia was to be provided for in her household.

Whatever the specific circumstances, Carstens initially agreed to sell Cecilia, placing her price at 250 *Rigsdaler*.[33] But shortly thereafter, his relationship with the Moravians began to deteriorate. Zinzendorf had ordered a Moravian couple named Peter to Carstens with the intention of sister Peter taking over Cecilia's position as nurse to the children.[34] This emphasizes that Cecilia held the position of a trusted servant. After a falling-out between Carstens and brother Peter, however, the latter left in a huff taking his wife with him. Carstens subsequently retracted his consent to the sale, citing his wife's need for Cecilia's continued service as she had just given birth to a son.[35] This may have been a stopgap measure at first, as a further slave woman was scheduled to arrive from St. Thomas.[36] But it soon became evident that Jacoba Carstens had decided to completely renege on the deal and keep Cecilia in her service. A bitter dispute ensued during which Erdmuthe Dorothea von Zinzendorf unsuccessfully tried to present the case to the Danish king and the Count issued

30 Cited according to Thorkild Hansen, *Islands of Slaves* (Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, 2005), (Slavernes øer), 82.

31 Gesoe remained in Copenhagen until the end of May UA, R.15.B.a.11.89, Carstens to Zinzendorf, May 31, 1740.

32 UA, R.15.B.a.1.IV.2.d, Zinzendorf to Carstens, April 11, 1740. I would like to thank Julia Holzman for kindly helping me with the translation of correspondence written in Dutch.

33 UA, R.11.A.9.2, Carstens to Zinzendorf, April 23, 1740.

34 I was unable to identify the first names.

35 UA, R.15.B.a.11.89, Carstens to Zinzendorf, May 31, 1740; UA, R.11.a.9.6.b, Böhner to Zinzendorf, July 9, 1740.

36 UA, R.11.a.9.6.h, Böhner to Zinzendorf, September 13, 1740.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 506

empty ultimatums.[37] It was all to no avail, however, and Cecilia ultimately remained with the Carstens. Even sister Peter's return to her position did not change the situation. Visiting Moravians were no longer allowed to speak with Cecilia, and to their chagrin she received religious instruction at Copenhagen's Lutheran Church.[38]

The correspondence generated in this case distinctly illustrates perceptions and practices of slavery. Significantly, the status of the young woman seems to have been clear to all involved parties: She was a slave imported from the colonies, and her stay in the Netherlands, Germany, or Denmark did not change that fact in any way. The straightforward financial character of the intended transaction makes this quite evident. Even more to the point, when confronted with reports that Cecilia herself did not want to live in Marienborn, Zinzendorf outright refuted her having a say in the matter: "What sort of will does an unconverted girl and slave have" ("ein unbekehrtes Mensch und eine Sclavin")?[39] The Count was obviously very much aware of the young woman's slave status and expected her to readily and unquestioningly obey her masters' orders.

But it was not solely about slavery. An additional three aspects that profoundly affected Cecilia's position intersected in Zinzendorf's curt statement: She was a heathen, a woman, and a young one at that. The patriarchal sentiment exhibited by Zinzendorf associated a marked inferiority of rank, limited autonomy of action, and an obligation of obedience with each of these qualities.

Furthermore, the Count's desire to obtain Cecilia must also be seen in the context of his strategy for representing his missionary and eschatological vision. In a letter from 1742, Zinzendorf wrote that Cecilia had been considered as a wife for "Andreas, the Moor," a brother from St. Thomas living in Marienborn and Herrnhaag. Undoubtedly, two "Moorish" converts, united with each other according to Moravian custom as a missionary couple, promised significant representational value.[40]

Cecilia's case also offers glimpses of how position and personal relationships framed actual practices of slavery and influenced the scope of action of enslaved individuals. It is evident from the letters that the young woman was asked by her master

37 UA, R.11.a.9.4, Erdmuthe Dorothea Zinzendorf to the King of Denmark, August 11, 1740; UA, R.15.B.a.1.IV,2.i, Zinzendorf to Carstens, June 30, 1741; UA, R.11.a.9.10, Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf to the King of Denmark, June 30, 1741.

38 UA, R.11.a.9.6.k, Böhner to Zinzendorf, Sept. 24, 1740; UA, R.11.a.9.6.l, Böhner to Zinzendorf, October 1, 1740; UA, R.11.a.9.6.o, Böhner to Erdmuthe Dorothea von Zinzendorf, November 5, 1740.

39 UA, R.15.B.a.1.IV.2.c, Zinzendorf to Br. Peter, June 27, 1740. Peucker also presents this as significant evidence.

40 Andreas was eventually married to Maria, a vice-elder of the St. Thomas congregation, in 1743. See Josef Köstlbauer, "Ambiguous Passages: Non-Europeans Brought to Europe by the Moravian Brethren during the Eighteenth Century," in *Globalized Peripheries: Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860*, ed. Jutta Wimmler and Klaus Weber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 176–178; Paul Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen: Nichteuropäer in den deutschen Brüdergemeinden des 18. Jahrhunderts," *Unitas Fratrum* 59/60 (2007): 1–2.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 507

and mistress whether she wanted to move to Marienborn, and that she apparently agreed to do so at first.[41] Perhaps she wanted to become part of the religious community there, or she was attracted by the fact that there was a small group of people from St. Thomas living in Marienborn and Herrnhaag, at least some of whom she already knew. Soon thereafter, however, Cecilia reversed her position – at least according to what Johan Lorentz Carstens' letters tell us – and decided to remain in his wife's service. It is unclear whether her wish was the sole determining factor for Carstens' refusal to sell her. Undoubtedly, Jacoba Carstens' wishes were of central importance in the matter: Having just given birth to a child in a newly established home in a new country, she attached great importance to having a trusted female servant and nurse for her children. After the trouble with the Peters, and the overbearing demeanor of Zinzendorf and his envoys, she had had enough. Furthermore, while sister Peter was apparently regarded favorably, Cecilia had been with the family much longer – and she was the sole remaining servant from Jacoba Carstens' former household on St. Thomas.[42] This placed the young woman in a position of trust and intimacy not easily replicated by someone else. Moravian reports also indicate that Cecilia had asked to be allowed to return to St. Thomas, probably after her service was deemed fulfilled. This was likely tied to an agreement regarding her manumission.[43] Again, this points to a special position held by Cecilia as a valued member of the household and a resultant ability to negotiate certain aspects of her situation.

Cecilia remained a slave even though her masters were willing to listen to her wishes and valued her according to a patriarchal sense of mutual obligation between higher and lower rank. To Zinzendorf, on the other hand, Cecilia's slave status seems to have primarily meant increased availability. There was no need to convince her – though this could perhaps be achieved later – as she could simply be bought. And since she was already in Europe, she could be acquired with much less effort than other individuals from the West Indies, who had to be purchased overseas and sent on a costly journey across the Atlantic.

Samuel Johannes: Runaway, Slave, Serf, or Servant

The second case of an individual explicitly labelled a slave involved a young man described as being of Malabar origin.[44] He had been bought in 1739 as a twelve-year-old by VOC employee Christian Dober in the Southern Indian port of Tuticoryn

41 UA, R.11.A.9.2, Carstens to Zinzendorf, April 23, 1740.

42 Carstens said as much: UA, R.15.B.a.11.89, Carstens to Zinzendorf, May 31, 1740.

43 This is mentioned in two letters from Moravian envoy Böhner to Zinzendorf: UA, R.11.a.9.6.h, Böhner to Zinzendorf, September 13, 1740; UA, R.11.a.9.6.l, Böhner to Zinzendorf, October 1, 1740.

44 The case is also detailed in Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 21–23, 33–34.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 508

(Thoothukudi).[45] Years later, former Moravian Johan Jacob Sutor reported that Samuel Johannes had told him personally that he had been abducted from his father.[46] The document certifying the sale gives his name as Maden of the Sanas family. Dober renamed him Felix, and on January 10, 1746 in Marienborn, he was baptized Samuel Johannes by Zinzendorf himself.[47]

Dober returned to Europe in 1742 because he wanted to join the Moravian Church and live in the Moravian community. He took young Maden/Felix with him, and Moravian missionary David Nitschman wrote in his travel diary that Dober had promised him the child as a gift.[48] It remains unclear, however, whether Dober brought the boy along with the intention of handing him over to the Brethren or whether he actually planned to present him as a prestigious gift to Zinzendorf. As we will see, Countess Erdmuthe Dorothea von Zinzendorf later claimed that Dober had given Maden/Felix to her immediately after his arrival. While no written records of this transaction can be identified (and may have never existed), it would seem a viable strategy for Dober to facilitate his own admission into the Moravian community and increase his reputation with church leaders. Countess Zinzendorf probably became the recipient of this peculiar present because her husband was travelling through British North America at the time.

Dober left Maden/Felix with the Moravians in s'Heerendiek after arriving in the Netherlands on July 20, 1742.[49] From there the boy was sent to the children's home in Marienborn together with another boy named Andrew from South Carolina.[50] Maden/Felix was formally admitted into the community and baptized Samuel Johannes in 1746. He received training as a tailor and later attended the seminary in Barby.[51]

---

45 UA, R.21.A.28.47, Certificate of sale of the slave boy Maden to Christian Dober, June 1, 1739. The age of twelve is given in Samuel Johannes' obituary in the Bethlehem diary. Cf. Moravian Archives Bethlehem (MAB), Diary of the Bethlehem congregation, vol. 26, 1763–1764, 93–95. Acquiring slave servants was quite common for Europeans in East India. Cf. Linda Mbeki and Matthias van Rossum, "Private Slave Trade in the Dutch Indian Ocean World: A Study into the Networks and Backgrounds of the Slavers and the Enslaved in South Asia and South Africa," *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 1 (2017): 95–116; Marina Carter and Nira Wickramasinghe, "Forcing the Archive: Involuntary Migrants 'of Ceylon' in the Indian Ocean World of the 18–19th Centuries," *South Asian History and Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 194–206; Richard B. Allen, "Children and the European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries," in *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, ed. Gwyn Campbell et al. (2009), 35–54; Gerhard Koch, ed., *Imhoff Indienfahrer: Ein Reisebericht aus dem 18. Jahrhundert in Briefen und Bildern* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001).

46 Alexander Volck, *Das entdeckte Geheimniss der Bosheit der Herrnhutischen Secte zu Errettung vieler unschuldigen Seelen [. . .] in sechs Gesprächen dargelegt* (Frankfurt: Heinrich Ludwig Brönner, 1750), 561.

47 Peucker, "*Aus allen Nationen*," 33.

48 UA, R.15.S.2, Diary of David Nitschmann's (the Syndic) and August Christian Friedrich Ellert's journey to Ceylon. Vol. 2. August 17, 1740–November 24, 1741.

49 Dutch National Archives, 1.04.02 Dutch East India Company (VOC), 6035, fol. 31, Christiaan Tober.

50 UA, R.8.33.b.3, Wetterau diary, August 2, 1742; UA, R.4.B.V.b.3.8., Catalog Lindheim 1744.

51 UA, R.27.291.13, Register of seminarists, Barby 1750.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 509

In March 1754, he was suddenly ordered to Herrnhut. While there are no sources detailing the reasons for this summons, Paul Peucker has pointed to some evidence for growing dissatisfaction with the young man's conduct.[52] Once in Herrnhut, Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes was placed in the service of Baron von Schell, from where he fled after fourteen days. The Berthelsdorf seigniorial court immediately ordered his apprehension.[53]

On the first leg of his flight, Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes found refuge on the nearby estate Unwürde of Chamberlain Karl Gotthelf von Hund and Altengrotkau, an active Freemason, who refused to hand him over to the Moravian search parties. Upon hearing of his whereabouts, Countess Zinzendorf had a letter sent to von Hund requesting Samuel Johannes' return.[54] This document contains the semantic ambiguities and intersecting concepts of societal hierarchy and servitude in condensed form. Its terminology hints at a significant uncertainty regarding the legal status of Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes. To the Countess and the Berthelsdorf seigniorial court, everything in the absconded man's biography indicated that he was not free, but this knowledge had to be translated into a legally applicable category. In the very first sentence he is designated a "runaway black Malabar" and "born slave" who had been "gifted" to the Countess. Mentioning his slave origin emphasized a condition of legal subordination, though he was not directly specified as a slave belonging to the Countess. Instead, the document attempts to assert the fundamental rightfulness of her claim by piling on a multitude of mutually reinforcing categories of dependence and servitude.

In the same vein, the letter relates how Christian Dober consigned the youth to Countess Zinzendorf's care and "free disposition," and proceeds to justify her authority over "the runaway black Malabar" through the obligations she assumed as a Christian and patron. This is further emphasized by detailing the sums she spent on the Christian education, baptism, and training of the "wild slave." In short, she did everything a "master, parent, guardian could do for a serf (*Leibeigener*) and ward." Here the mutually related positions of the Countess and the runaway are construed on two separate levels: mistress and slave/serf as well as guardian and ward. From the former arises an obligation of obedience and deference, from the latter an obligation of loyalty and gratitude. Therefore, the Countess had the sole right "besides God" to claim "possession" and "usage" of the described man. Samuel Johannes, on the other hand, was not "suis iuris" since he was a "a true born serf" ("würklich leibeigen gebohrener")

52 Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 21.

53 UA, R.6.a.A.74.4, Requisition for the apprehension of a Black Malabar named Samuel Johannes, March 27, 1754.

54 UA, R.6.a.A.74.4, Erdmuthe Dorothea von Zinzendorf to Chamberlain von Hund at Unwürde, March 27, 1754; Heike Raphael-Hernandez has used this document to illustrate the importance of class in Moravian attitudes regarding slavery. Cf. Raphael-Hernandez, "The Right to Freedom," 463.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 510

to the Countess, and as such was bound to remain in subservience until he received a letter of release.

Equating slavery with serfdom (*Leibeigenschaft*) was common in German language usage of the era and tied to polemic debates about serfdom.[55] Yet the various (and diverging) legal relationships labelled *Leibeigenschaft* in Central Europe were hardly slavery.[56] In Upper Lusatia, for example, a form of serfdom officially called *Erbuntertänigkeit* and colloquially referred to as *Leibeigenschaft* by contemporaries was common. But the *Erbuntertanen* were bound to the land they lived and worked on, not to a lord.[57] Such serfs were also part of the Countess' estate at Berthelsdorf. Since the Moravians were well-informed about West Indian slavery as well as feudal labor regimes, they would not have confused the status of Lusatian serfs with that of slaves. Instead, the synonymous use of slavery and serfdom conforms to an abstract usage of the terms employed by contemporaries to denote a condition of marked dependency and subservience.

Interestingly enough, in the Countess' letter to Hund, the term slave is in fact used solely in connection with the colonial origins of Samuel Johannes, while later on he is designated a serf. The document refrains from explicitly claiming that he was being held in perpetual slavery since arriving in Germany based on the laws of the colonies. This hints at doubts regarding the legal applicability in a German principality.

Other documents produced in the context of this case exhibit an equally carefree synonymous use of the terms "serf" and "slave." After remaining hidden on the estates of Chamberlain von Hund for some time, Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes made his way to Barby in April 1754 and surrendered himself. An order to keep him under arrest sent on behalf of Countess Zinzendorf to the court at Barby speaks of a "serf bought in East India."[58] At the same time, the royal superintendent and the bailiff in Barby laconically claimed that there were no serfs in Germany. This seems an unlikely statement, since serfdom was obviously known to exist in German

55 Cf. David M. Luebke, "Erfahrungen von Leibeigenschaft: Konturen eines Diskurses im Südschwarzwald, 1660–1745," in *Leibeigenschaft: Bäuerliche Unfreiheit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jan Klussmann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 187–197. Research on Southern Germany has demonstrated that after 1660, *Leibeigenschaft* turned into a common synonym for arbitrary tyranny. Cf. Renate Blickle, "Frei von fremder Willkür: Zu den gesellschaftlichen Ursprüngen der frühen Menschenrechte. Das Beispiel Altbayern," in *Leibeigenschaft: Bäuerliche Unfreiheit in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Jan Klussmann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 157–174. Especially in debates about the injustices of demesne lordship, such as excessive labour obligations, the equation to slavery was used with obvious polemical intent.

56 Markus Cerman, *Villagers and Lords in Eastern Europe, 1300–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

57 Hermann Knothe, "Die Stellung der Gutsunterthanen in der Oberlausitz zu ihren Gutsherrschaften von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Ablösung der Zinsen und Dienste," *Neues lausitzisches Magazin* 61 (1885).

58 UA, R.6.a.A.74, Order by Siegmund August von Gersdorf on behalf of Countess Zinzendorf, Herrnhut, May 4, 1754.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 511

principalities. Either both of these officials had very limited judicial knowledge, or – more likely – they were actually referring to slavery, using the term in the abstract sense described above.[59]

Part of the uncertainty regarding Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes' status may have been due to a lack of documentation. The letters written by the Countess or at her behest repeatedly specify the wrong year for his arrival in Europe (1740 instead of 1742). This indicates that the circumstances of his arrival were reported from memory and not after consultation of relevant documents – which may not even have been available in Berthelsdorf.

Samuel Johannes was eventually transported from Barby to Herrnhut based on legal provisions pertaining to servants.[60] As if to prove the Countess' authority, he was then sent to the Moravian town of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania within a few months, where he spent the remainder of his life.[61] Nothing in the sources tells us whether he was considered a slave there and if so, how it influenced his position. By crossing the Atlantic, he entered a colonial slaving zone where slavery was widespread and obvious. This included Bethlehem, where several enslaved Africans were employed at the time. In contrast to them, however, Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes was not designated a slave in the Bethlehem records, nor was he labeled a "Negro," a term used synonymously with slave in the colonies. Instead, he is repeatedly referenced as a "Malabar."[62] This specific ethnic label suggests that he was regarded to be in a separate category of sorts. Furthermore, his childhood and education in Marienborn and Barby may have trumped the stigma of his slavery background – an assumption reinforced by his marriage to Magdalena Mingo, a free woman of African Creole and Danish ancestry who had likewise lived in Marienborn and Herrnhaag for several years. Marriages among Moravians were mostly arranged, and the two "Moors" from Germany were perhaps considered an obvious match.[63]

Given the constant communication and movement between Bethlehem and Germany, it seems likely that Countess Zinzendorf's claim to Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes was known. But since she was far away, this may not have impacted his daily

59 UA, R.6.a.A.74, Pro nota regarding the extradition request from May 11, 1754.

60 UA, R.6.a.A.74, Pro nota regarding the extradition request from May 11, 1754; UA, R.6.a.A.74, Passport by the bailiff of Barby, May 18, 1754.

61 He died on May 24, 1763. MAB, Diary of the Bethlehem congregation, vol. 26, 93–95; MAB, ChReg 11, Bethlehem church register, May 24, 1763, 283.

62 Cf. MAB, Diary of the Bethlehem congregation, vol. 26, 93.

63 They were married in a mass ceremony together with thirteen other couples (all of them European). Cf. MAB, Diary of the Bethlehem congregation, vol. 17, April 20, 1757, 99–101. I would like to thank Paul Peucker and Tom McCullough for kindly aiding me in my research on Magdalena Mingo. Her father was the abovementioned Domingo Gesoe. Cf. Louise Sebro, "Freedom, Autonomy, and Independence: Exceptional African Caribbean Life Experiences in St. Thomas, the Danish West Indies, in the Middle of the 18th Century," in *Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. Holger Weiss (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 226–229.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 512

life in Bethlehem. Absconding from Bethlehem like he did from Herrnhut might have been a different matter, however: Outside Bethlehem, most colonists would have readily regarded the color of his skin as a marker of slavery.[64]

The case of Maden/Felix/Samuel Johannes is especially striking because it shows slavery changing from a dormant state into an actively invoked claim of legal proprietorship, thereby fraying into several and partly overlapping categories of dependency. Both his and Cecilia's case are relatively well-documented owing to the conflicts they were involved in, which led to several unusual statements in the context of Moravian sources that reveal mundane perceptions of slavery. Nevertheless, both cases also evidence the persistent difficulty of pinning down the meanings and consequences of slavery in specific circumstances and for different participants. This assessment is reinforced by examining sources pertaining to the remaining verifiably enslaved individuals.

Bought: Oly/Carmel/Josua, Jupiter/Immanuel, Gratia/Anna, Andres/David, Anna Maria, Bartel/Immanuel/Andreas, Mientje/Hanna, Fortune/Johann Friedrich

There were seven other verifiably enslaved individuals brought to Germany, all but one of whom came from St. Thomas. Their slave status is evident from sources confirming that they were, in fact, bought. Typically, enslaved individuals were purchased in the colonies – Cecilia would have been the only slave acquired by Moravians in Europe. It is noticeable that buying slaves in the colonies was reported quite unabashedly in the Moravian records, suggesting that this was regarded a trivial matter.

The very first individual ever brought to Germany from St. Thomas in 1735 was an enslaved child known as Oly or Carmel.[65] A year later, Bishop Nitschmann happily reported that he had purchased "a little Moor, a bright boy of eight years" named Jupiter in New York and taken him along to Herrnhut.[66] Similarly, the minutes of the Ebersdorf synod of 1739 stated matter-of-factly that Zinzendorf had bought six individuals during his journey to St. Thomas: "Two little Moors" as well as "2 bought from St. Jan. 1 wild

64 On provisions regarding slaves, see "An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in this Province, March 25, 1725," in *The Statutes At Large of Pennsylvania From 1682–1801*, vol. 4. (Philadelphia: Clarence M. Busch, 1897), 59–64.

65 C. G. Marche, ed., *Der freywilligen Nachlese, bey den bißherigen gelehrten und erbaulichen Monaths-Schrifften* (Frankfurt: Marche, 1740), 579–580. Oly/Carmel was baptized Josua in 1735 and died in Herrnhut on March 23, 1736. He was buried in the God's Acre there. For more information, see Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 29–30; for sources regarding the baptism of Oly/Carmel/Josua, see Kröger, *Johann Leonhard Dober*, 99–106.

66 MAB, David Nitschmann Papers 11, Letter by David Nitschmann [the Bishop], August 3, 1736. Jupiter, baptized Immanuel, died in 1739; see Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 27.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 513

man from New England, who is totally red [sic]. 1 man-eater. Together they did cost 700 thalers."[67] Remarkably, it was not buying human beings but rather New World clichés that seemed worth noting here: wild men, red skin, and cannibalism.

The "two little Moors" were five-year-old Gratia and two-year-old Andres, who were intended as representative companions/servants for Zinzendorf's children.[68] They were brought to Europe by Johann Lorentz Carstens together with Cecilia and Anna Maria, a "maiden helper" of the St. Thomas congregation who had been bought by its members in 1738.[69] The "wild man" was a Native American known as Sam, an "Anakunkas Indian from Boston" according to a receipt.[70] The "man-eater" was a Native American boy whose name is unknown; he is also described as a "garcon indien insulaire."[71] Apparently, Zinzendorf originally wanted the latter two brought to Europe, but they were taken to St. Thomas instead, where both of them died within a year.[72]

The two persons "from St. Jan" were the abovementioned Andreas "the Moor" and his brother Johannes, both congregation members who had been sold off by their master from St. Thomas to neighboring St. John in 1738. Zinzendorf himself initiated their purchase to return them to the congregation, and Andreas eventually accompanied the Count to Europe. At first, he was intended as a sort of envoy of the slaves of St. Thomas to the King of Denmark, but instead he became a permanent member of Zinzendorf's retinue.[73] Like Anna Maria, he is an example of enslaved adult brothers or sisters sent to Europe to represent the mission. This group also includes Mientje, later baptized Hanna, who had been acquired by the Brethren on St. Thomas in 1739 or 1740. She is named in a list of slave baptisms from St. Thomas[74]

67 UA, R.2.A.2, Ebersdorf synod, June 1739.

68 UA, R.15.B.a.2.a.3, Zinzendorf's diary, 39. Gratia, baptized Anna, died on October 22, 1742; Andres, baptized David, died on September 8, 1741.

69 UA, R.15.B.a.3.31, Relation of the purchase of the first plantation. Copy of the original from 1738. 1755. Before her baptism Anna Maria was known as Anna.

70 UA, R.15.B.a.11.19, Money order for purchase of Indian Sam (copy), February 27, 1739; UA, Zinzendorf's diary, 39. A Native American nation named Anakunkas cannot be verified. UA, R.15.b. a.3.79, letter by Jan Meyer regarding the purchase of the "wild Indian Sam," June 2, 1739.

71 UA, R.15.B.a.11.18, Money order for purchase of a "garcon indien insulaire," February 27, 1739. For a discussion of both Native Americans' origins, see Köstlbauer, "Ambiguous Passages," 180.

72 Christian Georg Andreas Oldendorp, *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den caraibischen Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan*, ed. Johann Jakob Bossart, 2 vols. (Barby: Christian Friedrich Laur, 1777), 600. Both cases are discussed in Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 8.

73 Oldendorp, *Historie*, 2: 272–277, 376; UA, R.15.B.a.2.a.3, Zinzendorf's diary 21, 39. Prior to his baptism, Andreas was known as Bartel or as Immanuel; UA, R.15.B.a.11.3, Receipt for sale of the enslaved men Bertel and Peter (copy), February 10, 1739; Rigsarkivet, 446, The West India and Guinea Company. Accounts from St. Thomas and St. Jan: The Bookkeeper. Land lists for St. Thomas, 1738, fol. 125; see also Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 23–24.

74 UA, R.15.B.b.24.2, Catalog of congregation on St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John, 1736–1759, 6.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 514

and mentioned in a letter by Friedrich Martin.[75] She was sent to Germany in 1741, where she lived and worked in Lindheim and Herrnhaag until her death in 1747.[76]

The final case of an enslaved individual taken to Europe was that of a nine-year-old African boy called Fortune. Nicholas Garrison, a prominent Moravian ship captain, brought him to Herrnhut from Suriname in 1757. According to Fortune's memoir, Garrison had bought him because "he recognized his pleasant, cheerful, and honest character, which was very different from the character of the other Negroes, and thought he might come to love the Savior; and therefore, he felt a great affection for him."[77] Again we can infer the same convergence of missionary motivation and the availability of enslaved persons that also characterized Zinzendorf's purchases of "Moors." And here too, the act of buying a slave seems to have been considered trivial enough to merit no further comment. Fortune was eventually sent to nearby Niesky, where he died in 1763 after having been baptized Johann Friedrich.

Given or Gifted: Guley, Christian Zedmann, Quaquu/Coffe/Peter/Johannes, Andrew/Johannes, Jupiter/Johannes, Janke/Johannes Renatus

There are an additional six individuals reported to have been given or gifted to Moravians. Such terminology is obviously rife with ambiguity, and it therefore makes sense to look closely at the semantics employed in describing how these persons came into the European congregations.

A Persian woman named Guley and an Armenian named Christian Zedmann had been sent to or given to Zinzendorf in Riga in 1737 ("geschickt,"[78] "bekommen"[79]). They were presumably captives taken in the conflicts playing out in the Black Sea region at the time. In Guley's case, this assumption is corroborated by the report that she had been forcibly baptized in the Orthodox faith. Such forced baptisms were practiced in Russia at the time since they allowed repatriation laws for captives to be circumvented.[80] Little is known about Zedmann except that he died in Pilgerruh in 1739; it is possible that he had no slavery background.

---

75 "Hanna, the negress, who was bought with the gifted money." UA, R.15.B.a.11.195, Friedrich Martin to Isaac Le Long, February 23, 1742.

76 UA, KB032, Herrnhaag church register, May 1, 1747; Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 27–28.

77 Gemeinarchiv Niesky, Memoir Fortune, 1763.

78 UA, R.15.A.2.1, Explanation of the painting of the first fruits, 1747.

79 UA, Congregational accounts, June 26, 1748, 379.

80 Alessandro Stanziani, "Serfs, Slaves, or Wage Earners? The Legal Status of Labour in Russia from a Comparative Perspective, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Global History* 3, no. 2 (2008): 187. Paul Peucker has pointed out the theological dispute caused by Zinzendorf's wish to have her baptized a second time: Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 10, 26.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 515

There were also four children "given" ("gegeben") or "gifted" ("geschenkt") to Moravians. In 1742, missionary Friedrich Martin reported in a letter that a boy named Coffe had been "given to him as a present by the child's mother to keep as my own child" six years earlier.[81] Coffe was a widely used slave name. According to the Herrnhaag church register, the boy's original name was Quaquu; the Moravians renamed him Peter.[82] His parents' names are known, but neither seems to have been among the men and women baptized by the missionaries respectively among the church members proper.[83] Quaquu/Coffe/Peter was sent to Marienborn in 1742 in the same group as Mientje/Hanna.[84] Shortly before his death on December 18, 1743, he was baptized, thus acquiring a fourth name: Johannes.[85]

Since slaves were usually not in a position to freely dispose of their own children, there are several possibilities for how Quaquu/Coffe/Peter/Johannes could have arrived in the Moravian community. Firstly, his mother may have been manumitted. This seems unlikely, however, since the number of free people of color on St. Thomas was small.[86] Secondly, his mother may have been a slave owned by the Brethren and could therefore give her son into Martin's care. Thirdly, the mother could have given her son to the Moravians with her master's consent.

The "giving" of children was presumably a strategy employed by parents to ensure their children were provided for. In 1738, the missionaries were already running an active school on St. Thomas. According to Oldendorp, they were asked to take on many more children than they could accept – not only African children but European ones as well.[87] This makes it likely that some sort of understanding regarding the tutoring of slave children (and the children of freedmen) existed between the missionaries and planters.

A further child, the South Carolinian Andrew (later baptized Johannes), was given to the Moravians in London. He had been brought to the British capital from

81 UA, Friedrich Martin to Isaac Le Long, Feb. 23, 1742. Oldendorp seems to have relied on the same source, cf. Oldendorp, *Historie*, 2: 195.

82 Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 28–29.

83 The parents' names were Aba and Jem. Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 28, citing UA, R.8.33.b, Wetterau diary, June 3, 1742. I have searched in vain for the parents in the various catalogs contained in UA, R.15.B.b.24 and in MAB, West Indies Papers, General, Papers Regarding Membership, 179, 180, 181, 185.

84 UA, R.8.33.b.2.b, Herrnhaag diary, June 3 and June 5, 1742. The group was led by the free African Creole woman Rebecca Freundlichin and her husband Matthäus Freundlich.

85 UA, R.22.12.15, Memoir Johannes, "sonst Peter genannt." Remarkably, the memoir contains no information on his African origins.

86 Neville A. T. Hall, *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix*, ed. B. W. Higman (Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1992), 139–156.

87 Oldendorp, *Historie*, 2: 274–275.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 516

North America by George Whitefield.[88] Whitefield had a close relationship with the Moravians at the time, and in May 1742 he gave Andrew to them "to bring him up for the Lord and dispose of him as they shall find fit."[89] How Whitefield had acquired the child remains unknown; his journals contain no mention of it.[90] In the register of the children's home in Lindheim, Andrew's father is listed as a slave and his mother – somewhat cryptically – as baptized.[91] This provides no valuable information on how Andrew came into Whitefield's possession, but it is notable that the Moravians in Germany documented his roots in slavery. Whether they felt this gave them more authority over the boy remains a matter of speculation.

While Quaquu/Coffe/Peter/Johannes and Andrew clearly came from a slavery context, the last two examples from Berbice highlight the fact that "being given" did not necessarily relate to slavery. "Gifted" by an "Indian woman" are the words used to describe how a barely one-year old boy named Jupiter (baptized Johannes) came to the missionaries, with no further details provided.[92] Interpreting the status of this Arawak child is complicated by the fact that enslavement of the indigenous population was not generally practiced by the Dutch in Berbice in the mid-eighteenth century. Nevertheless, so-called "red slaves" did exist, as Caribs and Arawak would sometimes bring captives taken from other indigenous nations to Paramaribo.[93]

Janke (baptized Johannes Renatus) was the son of an Arawak mother and a European father. After his mother's death, he was initially raised by his maternal family, but in 1741 his father "gifted" the five-year-old child "to the Brothers to do with him as they saw fit."[94] Considering these circumstances, Jancke/Johannes Renatus would hardly have been a slave. Nevertheless, the phrasing of the memoir and other sources shows that Moravians assumed far-reaching authority over him.[95] Its scope and possible expiration remain indeterminate, as the boy died in Hennersdorf in 1751.

---

88 David Bentham, *Memoirs of James Hutton: Comprising the Annals of his Life, and Connection with the United Brethren* (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1856); Stephen J. Stein, "George Whitefield on Slavery: Some New Evidence," *Church History* 42, no. 2 (1973).

89 Cited in Colin Podmore, *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998), 83.

90 George Whitefield, *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, after his Arrival at Georgia, to a Few Days After His Second Return Thither from Philadelphia* (London: James Hutton, 1741).

91 UA, R.4.B.V.b.3.8., Register of children's home at Lindheim, 1744. Both Andrew and Quaquu/Coffe/Peter/Johannes died in Marienborn in 1743. Cf. Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 28–29.

92 He was brought to Herrnhaag in 1747, UA, R.22.01.a.69, Memoir Ludwig Christoph Dehne, 1769; UA, Congregational accounts, July 19 and August 12, 1747, 287 and 365–366. He died around a month after his arrival, UA, KB032, Herrnhaag church register, September 18, 1747.

93 Wim S. Hoogbergen, *The Boni Maroon Wars in Suriname* (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 24.

94 Cf. UA, SHAHt 162.210, Memoir Johannes Renatus, 1751.

95 MAB, Bethlehem diary, vol. 7, April 16, 1748, 228; UA, R.22.05.28, Memoir Johannes Renatus, 1751.

Conclusion

Slavery is one of the major undercurrents integrating the histories of Africa, America, Asia, and Europe. To this day, its repercussions are felt on the societal as well as the individual level. This article assembles documentary evidence for the fact that the trade in humans reached far into territories of the Holy Roman Empire during the eighteenth century. Both enslaved and formerly enslaved individuals were brought into German principalities; orders for human beings intended for service in Europe were placed; human beings were held in bondage, fled, and were searched for, found, and returned. What is more, the conceptual frame of colonial slavery entered German discourse during the eighteenth century as well. Intermingling with established concepts of serfdom and servitude, it produced heterogenous and sometimes contradictory terminology. The Moravians of the Zinzendorf era, with their global reach but strong German element, are in many ways exemplary for this period of discursive change, when old and new semantics were used side by side and the colonial discourse with its emergent racist foundation had not yet established itself in German societies. The Brethren bought West Indian "Negroes" to bring them to Germany, where they designated them as "Moors" and assigned them positions as symbols of missionary success, as eschatological signs of a world about to witness the savior revealed, and as prestigious servants in aristocratic households – in short, they employed these men, women, and children in the labor of representation.

On the preceding pages, I have discussed slavery in Moravian Germany by analyzing the semantics used in the records – especially the terminology used to describe how these men, women, and children came into the German congregations. Nevertheless, much remains opaque to the gaze of the inquiring historian: We can still only guess, for example, what the knowledge of slavery meant to the enslaved or formerly enslaved individuals living in Moravian settlements in Germany. Their European brothers and sisters seem to have regarded the matter as unimportant once a "Moor" had been integrated into the community. Furthermore, as buyers of enslaved individuals, Zinzendorf and the Brethren maneuvered within well-established practices, which goes some way towards explaining the lack of attention accorded to the actual acts of purchasing slaves. But the individuals concerned would have had a different and very distinct knowledge of bondage. How did their slavery past inform the way they regarded their positions and options within the community? Did they fear alienating the Brethren because of the specter of being relegated back to the slavery they had known in the West Indies? What message did the case of Samuel Johannes and his apprehension and exile to America send to them? We do not know, since Moravian media practices did not provide a means of communicating such concerns. Then again, the status of slavery may have been less important in early Moravian thinking than the mobility and obedience expected from all congregation members. The multiple forms or practices of power and hierarchy intersecting in such cases may effectively be impossible to disentangle.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 518

Paul Peucker has suggested a model of two spheres inhabited by eighteenth-century Moravians: one worldly, the other the religious community.[96] Existing side by side, the former knew social hierarchy including masters and servants, while the latter knew neither rank nor race, only brothers and sisters. Peucker questions whether Moravians could reliably separate these two worlds. Slightly off-centering this heuristic model, I would argue that the power asymmetries and

Fig. 4.1: The First Fruits, oil on canvas by Johann Valentin Haidt, Bethlehem, probably soon after 1754. Courtesy of The Moravian Archives, Bethlehem, PA, Painting Collection 19. The painting depicts a group of Moravian converts from different nations, known as the "first fruits," gathered around the throne of Christ (Rev. 7:9, Rev. 14:4). Some of the portrayed individuals are mentioned in the text: Guley, first from left; Sam, "an Anakunkas," fourth from left; Christian Zedmann, fifth from left; Gratia/Anna Gratia, sixth from left; Oly/Carmel/Josua and Jupiter/Immanuel, center in runners' liveries; Mientje/Hanna, center, kissing the feet of Christ; Bartel/Immanuel/Andreas, "the Moor," ninth from right in blue coat; Anna/Anna Maria, seventh from right, sitting; Andrew/Johannes, sixth from right, kneeling in the background; Maria Andressen, fifth from right; Jupiter/Johannes, third from right (on the arm of an Arawak man); for further information, see Rüdiger Kröger, "Die Erstlingsbilder in der Brüdergemeine," *Unitas Fratrum* 67/68 (2012): 135–163.

96 Peucker, "Aus allen Nationen," 19.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 519

societal hierarchy remained ever-present in Moravian life, even if this fact may have been partly obscured by communal rhetoric and organization. The examples of Cecilia and Samuel Johannes show that slavery was part of the practices of governing and disciplining that existed in Moravian communities in eighteenth-century Germany. Whether it was invoked was not a matter of principle but rather of context and circumstance – and the Brethren's egalitarian rhetoric notwithstanding, power was distributed very unequally in such situations.

References

Archival Sources

Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet)
446. The West India and Guinea Company. Accounts from St. Thomas and St. Jan: The Bookkeeper. Land lists for St. Thomas.
Dutch National Archives
1.04.02 Dutch East India Company (VOC), 6035.
Gemeinarchiv Niesky
Memoir Fortune. March 27, 1763.
Moravian Archives Bethlehem
Bethlehem church register. 1756–1789.
Diary of the Bethlehem congregation. Vols. 7, 17, 26.
David Nitschman Papers 11.
West Indies Papers.
Unity Archives Herrnhut
Collection of memoirs.
Congregational accounts (*Gemeinnachrichten*).
KB032. Herrnhaag church register.
R.4.B. Children's homes and schools.
R.6.a.A.74. Personnel files from Herrnhut.
R.8.33.b. Diaries of the Herrnhaag congregation.
R.11.a.9. Acta Publica Danica.
R.15.A.2.1. Explanation of the painting of the first fruits. 1747.
R.15.B.a.1.IV. Miscellanea St. Thomas.
R.15.B.a.2.a. Varia concerning the beginnings of the mission on St. Thomas.
R.15.B.a.3–4. Acta Publica St. Thomas, St. Croix, St. John.
R.15.B.a.11. Reports and letters from St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John.
R.15.B.b.24. Catalogs of congregations on St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John.
R.15.S.1–2, Diary of David Nitschmann's and August Christian Friedrich Ellert's journey to Ceylon.
R.21.A.28 Estate Christian Dober.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 520

Printed Sources

"An Act for the Better Regulating of Negroes in this Province, March 25, 1725." In *The Statutes At Large of Pennsylvania From 1682–1801*. Vol. 4. 59–64. Philadelphia: Clarence M. Busch, 1897.

"Bericht David Nitschmanns über seine Reise mit Dober. Ca. 1733." In *Johann Leonhard Dober und der Beginn der Herrnhuter Mission*, edited by Rüdiger Kröger, 62–63. Herrnhut: Comenius-Buchhandlung, 2006.

Koch, Gerhard, ed. *Imhoff Indienfahrer: Ein Reisebericht aus dem 18. Jahrhundert in Briefen und Bildern*. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2001.

Kröger, Rüdiger, ed. *Johann Leonhard Dober und der Beginn der Herrnhuter Mission*. Herrnhut: Comenius-Buchhandlung, 2006.

Marche, C. G., ed. *Der freywilligen Nachlese, bey den bißherigen gelehrten und erbaulichen Monaths-Schrifften*. Vol. 13. Frankfurt: Marche, 1740.

Oldendorp, Christian Georg Andreas. *Geschichte der Mission der evangelischen Brüder auf den caraibischen Inseln S. Thomas, S. Croix und S. Jan*, edited by Johann Jakob Bossart. Barby: Christian Friedrich Laur, 1777.

Oldendorp, Christian Georg Andreas. *Historie der caribischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan: Kommentierte Ausgabe des vollständigen Manuskripts aus dem Archiv der Evangelischen Brüder-Unität*, edited by Gudrun Meier, Hartmut Beck, Stephan Palmié, Aart H. van Soest, Peter Setin, and Horst Ulbricht. 2 vols. Berlin: VWB, 2000.

Reynier, Jean Francois. "Das Geheimnis der Zinzendorfischen Secte Oder eine Lebens-Beschreibung Johann Franz Regnier, woraus zu ersehen was vor ein schädlich Ding es sey, sich von Menschen führen zu lassen." In *Bewährte Nachrichten von Herrnhutischen Sachen. Worin die erste und zweyte Samlung, nebst einem Register enthalten, Nebst einem nöthigen Vorbericht von den Prüfungs-Regeln welche die Herrnhuter in der Untersuchung ihrer Secte müssen gelten lassen*, edited by Johann Philipp Fresenius, 327–479. Frankfurt: Buchner, 1747.

Spangenberg, August Gottlieb. *Idea fidei Fratrum, od. kurzer Begriff der christl. Lehre in den evangelischen Brüdergemeinen*. Barby, Unitas Fratrum, 1779.

Spangenberg, August Gottlieb. *Von der Arbeit der evangelischen Brüder unter den Heiden*. Barby: Christian Friedrich Laux, 1782.

Volck, Alexander. *Das entdeckte Geheimniss der Bosheit der Herrnhutischen Secte zu Errettung vieler unschuldigen Seelen [. . .] in sechs Gesprächen dargelegt*. Frankfurt: Heinrich Ludwig Brönner, 1750.

Whitefield, George. *A Continuation of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's Journal, After His Arrival at Georgia, to a Few Days After His Second Return Thither From Philadelphia*. London: James Hutton, 1741.

Literature

Allen, Richard B. "Children and the European Slave Trading in the Indian Ocean during the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries." In *Children in Slavery through the Ages*, edited by Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, 35–54. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009.

Atwood, Craig D. "Apologizing for the Moravians: Spangenberg's Idea fidei fratrum." *Journal of Moravian History* 8, no. 1 (2010): 53–88.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 521

Baldauf, Ingeborg. "Christan Georg Andreas Oldendorp als Historiker: Freiheit und Grenzen eines Autors in der Brüderkirche." In *Christan Georg Andreas Oldendorp: Historie der caraibischen Inseln Sanct Thomas, Sanct Crux und Sanct Jan. Kommentarband*, edited by Gudrun Meier, Peter Stein, Stephan Palmié, and Horst Ulbricht, 53–142. Herrnhut: Herrnhuter Verlag, 2010.

Bentham, David. *Memoirs of James Hutton: Comprising the Annals of his Life, and Connection with the United Brethren*. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1856.

Beyreuther, Erich, "Mission und Kirche," in *Studien zur Theologie Zinzendorfs: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, edited by Erich Beyreuther, 2nd ed. Hildesheim: Olms, 2000.

Blickle, Renate. "Frei von fremder Willkür: Zu den gesellschaftlichen Ursprüngen der frühen Menschenrechte. Das Beispiel Altbayern." In *Leibeigenschaft: Bäuerliche Unfreiheit in der frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Jan Klussmann, 157–174. Cologne: Böhlau, 2003.

Böß, Stephanie. *Gottesacker-Geschichten als Gedächtnis, Eine Ethnographie zur Herrnhuter Erinnerungskultur am Beispiel von Neudietendorfer Lebensläufen*. Münster: Waxmann, 2015.

Carter, Marina, and Nira Wickramasinghe. "Forcing the Archive: Involuntary Migrants 'of Ceylon' in the Indian Ocean World of the 18–19th Centuries." *South Asian History and Culture* 9, no. 2 (2017): 194–206.

Cerman, Markus. *Villagers and Lords in Eastern Europe, 1300–1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012.

Dunn, Richard S. *A Tale of Two Plantations: Slave Life and Labor in Jamaica and Virginia*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Faull, Katherine M., ed. *Speaking to Body and Soul: Instructions for the Moravian Choir Helper 1785–1785*. University Park: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017.

Gerbner, Katharine. *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.

Hall, Neville A. T. *Slave Society in the Danish West Indies: St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix*, edited by B. W. Higman. Mona: University of the West Indies Press, 1992.

Harbsmeier, Michael. "Invented Explorations: Inuit Experiences of Denmark (1605–1932)." In *Cross-Cultural Encounters and Constructions of Knowledge in the 18th and 19th Century: Non-European and European Travel of Exploration in Comparative Perspective*, edited by Philippe Despoix and Justus Fetscher, 77–106. Kassel: Kassel University Press, 2004.

Hoogbergen, Wim S. *The Boni Maroon Wars in Suriname*. Leiden: Brill, 1990.

Hüsgen, Jan. *Mission und Sklaverei: Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine und die Sklavenemanzipation in Britisch- und Dänisch-Westindien*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2016.

Kaplan, M. Lindsay, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.

Klussmann, Jan, ed. *Leibeigenschaft: Bäuerliche Unfreiheit in der frühen Neuzeit*. Cologne: Böhlau, 2003.

Knothe, Hermann. "Die Stellung der Gutsunterthanen in der Oberlausitz zu ihren Gutsherrschaften von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Ablösung der Zinsen und Dienste." *Neues lausitzisches Magazin* 61 (1885): 159–308.

Köstlbauer, Josef. "Ambiguous Passages: Non-Europeans Brought to Europe by the Moravian Brethren during the Eighteenth Century." In *Globalized Peripheries: Central Europe and the Atlantic World, 1680–1860*, edited by Jutta Wimmler and Klaus Weber, 214–236. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020.

Kuhlmann, Anne. "Ambiguous Duty: Black Servants at German Ancien Régime Courts." In *Germany and the Black Diaspora: Points of Contact, 1250–1914*, edited by Mischa Honeck, Martin Klimke, and Anne Kuhlmann-Smirnov, 57–73. New York: Berghahn Books, 2013.

Kuhlmann-Smirnov, Anne. *Schwarze Europäer im Alten Reich: Handel, Migration, Hof*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2013.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 522

Liebau, Kurt. "Die ersten Tamilen aus der Dänisch-Halleschen Mission in Europa: Vom Objekt zum Subjekt kultureller Interaktion." In *Fremde Erfahrungen: Asiaten und Afrikaner in Deutschland, Österreich und in der Schweiz bis 1945*, edited by Gerhard Höpp, 9–28. Berlin: Verlag Das Arabische Buch, 1996.

Luebke, David M. "Erfahrungen von Leibeigenschaft: Konturen eines Diskurses im Südschwarzwald, 1660–1745." In *Leibeigenschaft: Bäuerliche Unfreiheit in der frühen Neuzeit*, edited by Jan Klussmann, 175–198. Cologne: Böhlau, 2003.

Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von. "There are no Slaves in Prussia?" In *Slavery Hinterland: Transatlantic Slavery and Continental Europe, 1680–1850*, edited by Felix Brahm and Eve Rosenhaft, 109–131. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2016.

Mallinckrodt, Rebekka von. "Trafficked Children in the Holy Roman Empire/ Verschleppte Kinder im Heiligen Römischen Reich." In *Transkulturelle Mehrfachzugehörigkeit als kulturhistorisches Phänomen: Räume – Materialitäten – Erinnerungen*, edited by Dagmar Freist, Sabine Kyora, and Melanie Unseld, 15–36. Bielefeld: transcript, 2019.

Mbeki, Linda, and Matthias van Rossum. "Private Slave Trade in the Dutch Indian Ocean World: A Study into the Networks and Backgrounds of the Slavers and the Enslaved in South Asia and South Africa." *Slavery & Abolition* 38, no. 1 (2017): 95–116.

Mettele, Gisela. *Weltbürgertum oder Gottesreich: Die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine als globale Gemeinschaft 1727–1857*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009.

Meyer, Dietrich. "Chiliastische Hoffnung und eschatologische Erwartung innerhalb der Brüdergemeine und der Mission bei Zinzendorf und Spangenberg." In *Geschichtsbewusstsein und Zukunftserwartung in Pietismus und Erweckungsbewegung*, edited by Wolfgang Breul and Jan Carsten Schnurr, 129–140. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013.

Meyer, Dietrich. *Zinzendorf und die Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine: 1700–2000*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009.

Peucker, Paul. "Aus allen Nationen: Nichteuropäer in den deutschen Brüdergemeinden des 18. Jahrhunderts." *Unitas Fratrum* 59/60 (2007): 1–35.

Peucker, Paul. "The 1727 Statutes of Herrnhut." *Journal of Moravian History* 20, no. 1 (2020): 73–113.

Podmore, Colin. *The Moravian Church in England, 1728–1760*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1998.

Raphael-Hernandez, Heike. "The Right to Freedom: Eighteenth-Century Slave Resistance and Early Moravian Missions in the Danish West Indies and Dutch Suriname." *Atlantic Studies* 14, no. 4 (2017): 457–475.

Sebro, Louise. "Mellem afrikaner og kreol: etnisk identitet og social navigation i Dansk Vestindien 1730–1770." PhD Diss, Lund University, 2010.

Sebro, Louise. "Freedom, Autonomy, and Independence: Exceptional African Caribbean Life Experiences in St. Thomas, the Danish West Indies, in the Middle of the 18th Century." In *Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade*, edited by Holger Weiss. Leiden: Brill, 2015.

Sensbach, Jon F. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763–1840*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Sensbach, Jon F. *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Sommer Elisabeth W. *Serving Two Masters: Moravian Brethren in Germany and North Carolina, 1727–1801*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 2015.

Stanziani, Alessandro. "Serfs, Slaves, or Wage Earners? The Legal Status of Labour in Russia from a Comparative Perspective, from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century." *Journal of Global History* 3, no. 2 (2008): 183–202.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 523

Stein, Stephen J. “George Whitefield on Slavery: Some New Evidence.” *Church History* 42, no. 2 (1973): 243–256.

Vogt, Peter. “Die Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeinde und ihre Bedeutung für den Neubeginn der protestantischen Missionen am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts.” *Pietismus und Neuzeit* 35 (2009): 204–236.

Wollstadt, Hanns-Joachim. *Geordnetes Dienen in der christlichen Gemeinde*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966.

Rebekka von Mallinckrodt

5 Slavery and the Law in Eighteenth-Century Germany

Among the many definitions of slavery, the legal definition is neither the only one nor even the one most commonly encountered in current research. As stated by Orlando Patterson in his classic *Slavery and Social Death*, legally defined systems of slavery represent exceptions in global history, and the legal situation is insufficient to describe the social, cultural, and mental dimensions of the state of enslavement adequately and without contradictions.[1] Instead, Patterson cites violent domination, natal alienation, and dishonor as the three defining elements of slavery that differentiate it clearly from other forms of unfreedom.[2] Michael Zeuske, on the other hand, uses the term "capitalization of bodies" to emphasize the aspect of economic exploitation even without legally existing slavery.[3] According to Zeuske, focusing on the legally established institution obstructs the view onto the many concealed and smaller-scale forms of abduction and exploitation as well as onto the mutability and thus the continuity of enslavement practices from prehistory to the present. Other researchers highlight the transformation and overlapping of the status of enslavement with other forms of unfreedom and dependence such as war captivity, bondage, or servantship – but also aspects such as young age, female gender, extraneous religion, or dark skin color. They stress that only interdependent consideration of all these factors enables a thorough evaluation of the historical situation.[4]

All of these approaches highlight important facets. Against the background of the state of research on the Old Empire, however, which is characterized by noticeable restraint in employing the term "slavery" in connection with early modern Germany,

1 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), especially 21–22. According to Patterson, slaves were regularly legally called to account and punished for offenses even though they were assumed to have no legal capacity (ibid.).

2 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*, 10.

3 Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), especially 1–26.

4 Cf. the contribution by Josef Köstlbauer in this volume as well as Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel, "Semantiken, Praktiken und transkulturelle Perspektiven," in *Mediterranean Slavery Revisited 500–1800*, ed. Stefan Hanß and Juliane Schiel (Zurich: Chronos, 2014), 25–43, here 29, 31–32, 36.

Notes: This project is funded by the European Research Council (ERC) within the framework of the EU research and innovation program "Horizon 2020" (ERC Consolidator Grant Agreement No. 641110: "The Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation and Its Slaves," 2015–2022). Nevertheless, this contribution exclusively expresses the author's opinion, and the ERC is not responsible for its contents or use.

Translation: Stephan Stockinger

Open Access. © 2021 Rebekka von Mallinckrodt, published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110748833-006

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Semantics, Lexical Fields

Martin Schermaier. “Familia and Dependency in Roman Law Texts,” in *Slavery and other Forms of Strong Asymmetrical Dependencies. Semantics and Lexical Fields*, eds. Jeannine Bischoff and Stephan Conermann (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022): 127-150.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-005

Martin Schermaier

Familia and Dependency in Roman Law Texts

1 Changing Concepts and Unchanging Terms?

Some terms for institutionalized forms of dependency originally developed in Roman law still dominate today's terminology. When we read *servus*, we think of a slave; when we read *dominus*, we think of a slave's owner; and when we read *libertas* we think of freedom. Such terms determine our perceptions when talking about dependency. But in using these terms, do we really mean the same things?

Words are indispensable for conceptualizing social phenomena. We can conceptualize only what we can express in language. If we agree that a specific word depicts a complex of meaning, we should be sure that the relationship between word and meaning is stable. Otherwise, communication is impossible, or at least rather difficult. This is even more true with legal terms. Most legal terms are abbreviations of complex social phenomena. If we are not able to rely on their specific meaning, we are forced to negotiate our assessment of such phenomena in each individual case. This is time-consuming and creates uncertainty. Therefore, we should expect legal terms not to change much over time. Of course, we do not use Latin anymore. But the English translations of the terms that denote dependency seem to be undisputed and as stable as their Latin counterparts. The constant use of the terms suggests their continuous meaning.

Such convictions are challenged by the fact that terminological borrowings like the word "family" had a different meaning in Latin. *Familia* in Roman law texts might also denote the slaves or freedmen in the household.[1] Someone who is not aware of that terminological difference might easily misconceive the relevant texts. On the other hand, the term *familia* also tells us something about Roman conditions of slavery. It does not describe an anonymous group of people oppressed by its owner but had, even in Roman times, a somewhat personal touch. *Familia*, that is something like "my people," those living with me. This example offers two insights: Meanings can be more ephemeral than we would suppose. However, a shift in meaning might indicate a shift in the associated social phenomena. "Slaves as part of the family" is a concept that challenges our modern perception of slavery. Is there, maybe, a difference between Roman slavery and that which we usually conceive of as "slavery"?

Such interrelations are familiar to all historians: Words we use today might have had a different meaning in past centuries. Terminological continuity is an illusion. Synonymous terms might conceal differences in concept. This makes it difficult

1 An overview on the different meanings of *familia* in classical Latin is provided by Richard Paul Saller, "Familia, Domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38 (1984): 336–55, here 4. More detailed Rudolf Leonhard, "familia," in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 6/2, ed. August Friedrich Pauly and Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1909): 1980–84.

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110786989-005

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 527

to understand past worlds. To provide an insight into the legal terminology of dependency in Ancient Rome, I would like to concentrate on the term *familia* and explain its legal and colloquial meaning. We have to bear in mind that Roman law did not create terms of dependency as artificial constructs. It simply employed those which were already in use in everyday language. Over time, though, judicial practice and the activities of jurists, the *iurisprudentes*, infused these terms with particular meanings. In some cases, these were further determined by set definitions. Thus, these words became terms with clear connotations and clear limits in legal discourse. But not every word we trace in the legal sources was a legal term. The history of words is etymology, while the history of terms reflects social practices. And the history of law is not a history of words but of terms with specific meanings.

2 A Classical Text on *familia*: D. 50.16.195 (Ulpian 46 AD edictum)

As we are told by Domitius Ulpianus, a jurist who lived around 200 AC, *familia* has a threefold meaning:

D. 50.16.195.1 (Ulpian 46 AD edictum): "Familiae" appellatio qualiter accipiatur, videamus. et quidem varie accepta est: nam et in res et in personas deducitur. in res, ut puta in lege duodecim tabularum his verbis "adgnatus proximus familiam habeto". ad personas autem refertur familiae significatio ita, cum de patrono et liberto loquitur lex: "ex ea familia", inquit, "in eam familiam": et hic de singularibus personis legem loqui constat.

D. 50.16.195.1 (Ulpian, Edict, book 46): Let us consider how the designation of "household" is understood. And indeed it is understood in various ways; for it relates both to things and to persons: to things, as, for instance, in the *Law of the Twelve Tables* in the words "let the nearest agnate have the household." The designation of household, however, refers to persons when the law speaks of patron and freedman: "from that household" or "to that household"; and here it is agreed that the law is talking of individual persons.[2]

2 All English translations of texts from the Digests are taken from Alan Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985); this specific translation is on page 949.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 528

(4) Item appellatur familia plurium personarum, quae ab eiusdem ultimi genitoris sanguine proficiscuntur (sicuti dicimus familiam Iuliam), quasi a fonte quodam memoriae.

(4) Likewise, the name of household is also used for several people who descend by blood from the same original founder, as we talk of the Julian household, going back as it were to the origin of records. (Watson, vol. IV, 950)

Familia can mean the whole "property" of a *pater familias*, but also only the group of slaves he holds. Furthermore, it can depict all free persons within a family – more or less the same meaning which the word "family" has today. But if we look to all available law texts, we find that only the first two meanings were condensed into a specific legal concept. In those instances, we can say that *familia* was not only a word, but a legal term. This is attested by various institutions which we repeatedly encounter in laws, legal literature, or court decisions, such as the *familiae emptor* (property) or the *familia publicanorum* (slaves owned by *publicani*).[3]

Already Ulpian was aware of the different meanings, and he tried to separate them by pointing to their specific applications. Some of these descriptions are set definitions. For Ulpian and other jurists, this was neither a question of practicability nor of aesthetics. Defining or at least describing legal terms is a prerequisite of legal science, or of *ars iuris*, as Cicero[4] would have called it.[5] Justinian's compilers

3 Cfr. D. 50.16.195.3 (Ulp. 46 AD ed.).

4 Cicero in his *de oratore* (1.190) announced his intention to write a book on *ius civile in artem redigere*, how knowledge and practice of civil law can be transformed to scholarship. Gellius (1.22.7) reports about such a book written by Cicero. This book is lost. On this topic Emilio Costa, *Cicerone giureconsulto* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1927); Ulrich von Lübtow, "Cicero und die Methode der römischen Jurisprudenz," in *Festschrift L. Wenger*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Koschaker (Munich: Beck, 1944): 224–35.; Fritz Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946): 69; Aldo Schiavone, *Nascita della giurisprudenza: cultura aristocratica e pensiero giuridico nella Roma tardorepubblicana* (Bari: Laterza, 1976): 101; Ferdinando Bona, "L'ideale retorico ciceroniano ed il 'ius civile in artem redigere'," *Studia et Documenta Historiae Iuris* 46 (1980): 282–382; Franz Wieacker, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1989): 628–29.

5 In Cic. de orat. 1.188 he writes: *Sit ergo in iure civili finis hic: legitimae atque usitatae in rebus causisque civium aequabilitatis conservatio.* [189] *Tum sunt notanda genera et ad certum numerum paucitatemque revocanda. Genus autem id est, quod sui similis communione quadam, specie autem differentis, duas aut pluris complectitur partis; partes autem sunt, quae generibus eis, ex quibus manant, subiciuntur; omniaque, quae sunt vel generum vel partium nomina, definitionibus, quam vim habeant, est exprimendum; est enim definitio rerum earum, quae sunt eius rei propriae, quam definire volumus, brevis et circumscripta quaedam explicatio.* ("Let the goal then of the common law be defined as the preservation, in the concerns and disputes of citizens, of an impartiality founded on statute and custom. We must next designate the general classes of cases, restricting these to a small fixed number. Now a general class is that which embraces two or more species, resembling one another in some common property while differing in some peculiarity. And species are subdivisions, ranged under those general classes from which they spring; while all names, whether of general classes or species, must be so defined as to show the significance of each. A definition of

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 529

inserted the text into the Digest, in title 50.16, dedicated to *de verborum significatione*, the signification of words. The method applied by Ulpian originates in Platonic dialectics.[6] It divides meanings by marking their differences (*diairésis*). In identifying legal terms of dependency, we can even use the help of Roman jurists. They themselves already reflected on the terms they were using in normative contexts.

Having identified words as legal terms, we are able to investigate their fate, their history. When did they emerge as terms? Which social practice or which legal normativity do they represent? Did the terms change their meanings, or not? Interestingly, many terms of dependency underwent a significant change during the mid-Republican expansion of Roman territory. This expansion glutted the Roman slave market and diminished the value of slaves and – as a further consequence – their legal status. But at the same time, the legal terms preserved older social orders, like the proverbial fly in amber.

3 *Familia Pecuniaque*: From Ulpian to the Twelve Tables

Ulpian first refers to the XII tables in D. 50.16.195, in order to explain the meaning of *familia*. Despite the quotation from the old law, Ulpian's text has no historical ambitions. He looks at the XII tables as an authority for the contemporary use of *familia* as a legal term. His aim is to show that the ambiguity of *familia* is not a result of imprecise usage, but goes back to the very foundations of Roman law. Already the XII tables, he says, applied *familia* to things and to persons alike. In order to uncover the original meaning, his text requires a *duplex interpretatio*: We have to distinguish Ulpian's own comprehension of *familia* from that of the Twelve Tables, which were composed almost 650 years earlier.

Unfortunately, it is rather unclear what the original wording in the XII tables really was. The categorical division between things (*res*) and persons (*personae*) does not go back to the times of the Twelve Tables, even though it appears to be self-evident. But the extant text is of classical origin only. Gaius in his *institutiones* may have been the first jurist who used the concept of things (understood as objects of rights) and persons (understood as entitled subjects) to establish opposite legal

course I may describe as a concise and accurate statement of the attributes belonging to the thing we would define," trans. Edward William Sutton, *Cicero De Oratore, in Two Volumes*, vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Harvard University Press, 1948): 131, 133).

6 On this subject see Fritz Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946): 62–69.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 530

categories.[7] The texts of the Twelve Tables referred to by Ulpian do not even give a hint of that distinction. The short rule *adgnatus proximus familiam habeto* to which Ulpian refers first was part of XII Tab. 5.4. It stated that if a *pater familias* died without having made a will and without leaving any heirs of his own, the inheritance should go to the *adgnatus proximus*.[8] *Adgnati* (agnates) are those who had the same *pater familias* as the deceased. The other texts cited by Ulpian, which should refer to *liberti* (freedmen) by calling them *familia*,[9] cannot be assigned to a specific context. In XII Tab. 5.4 we would translate *familia* as "estate," thus describing goods and persons alike. There is no reason to doubt that Ulpian in his 46th book *ad edictum* (D. 50.16.195.1) quoted correctly. But it is interesting that he relates *familia* in XII Tab. 5.4 to things only.

The original text of the XII tables is unknown to us. We only have some fragments which have been handed down by other authors. They help to explain the context of Ulpian's citation in D. 50.16.195.1 and to disclose their different interpretation in the history of Roman law. We start with XII Tab. 5.4–5, which is referred to by Ulpian (twice), as well as by Cicero:

Cic. inv. 2.148: [. . .] SI PATERFAMILIAS INTESTATE MORITUR, FAMILIA PECUNIAQUE EIUS AGNATUM GENTILIUMQUE ESTO.

Cic. inv. 2.148: [. . .] If a head of a household dies intestate, his household and property shall go to the agnates and gentiles.[10]

Coll. 16.4.1 (= Ulp. reg.): Id enim cautum est lege duodecim tabularum hac: SI INTESTATUS MORITUR, CUI SUUS HERES NEC ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO. 2. Si agnatus defuncti non sit, eadem lex duodecim tabularum gentiles ad hereditatem vocat his verbis: SI AGNATUS NEC ESCIT, GENTILES FAMILIAM HABENTO.

Coll. 16.4.1 (= Ulp. reg.): For thus is it laid down in the following law of the Twelve Tables: "If one dies intestate and has left no self-successor, let the nearest agnate have his estate." 2. If the deceased has no agnate, the same law of the Twelve Tables calls Gentiles of the deceased to the succession in the following terms: "If there is no agnate, let the Gentiles have the estate."[11]

7 Cf. Gai. inst. 1.8: *Omne autem ius, quo utimur, vel ad personas pertinet vel ad res vel ad actiones*. ("The whole of the law observed by us relates either to persons or to things or to actions," trans. Francis de Zulueta, *The Institutes of Gaius*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946): vol. 1, 5).

8 XII Tab. 5.4 (= Coll. 16.4.1): *Si intestatus moritur, cui suus heres nec escit, agnatus proximus familiam habeto*. ("If he dies without a testament and has no own heirs, the next agnate should have the familia"). Slightly different is Cic. inv. 1.248.

9 In D. 50.16.195.1: *ex ea familia* and *in eam familiam*.

10 Harry Mortimer Hubbel, *Cicero De Inventione*, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann London; Harvard University Press, 1949): 317.

11 Moses Hyamson, *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913): 145–47.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 531

Ulp. 46 AD ed. (D. 50.16.195.1): [. . .] in res, ut puta in lege duodecim tabularum his verbis ADGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO.

D. 50.16.195.1 (Ulpian, Edict, book 46): [. . .] to things, as, for instance, in the *Law of the Twelve Tables* in the words "let the nearest agnate have the household." (Watson, vol. IV, 949)

It is again Ulpian in his book *regularum* ("on rules"), conserved in the *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*,[12] who handed down to us the most probable wording. Here, too, *familia* designates the estate as a whole: If there is neither a will nor an heir apparent, the nearest agnate receives the inheritance; if there is no agnate, it goes to the *gens*. Cicero's account of the same passage distinguishes between *familia* and *pecunia*. This is striking, because elsewhere Cicero tells us that in his boyhood, he still had to learn the Twelve Tables by heart.[13] But in this instance, his excerpt from the XII tables is a summary rather than a quote. This is made clear by the fact that he does not rank agnates and *gens*. The dualism of *familia* and *pecunia* indicates a distinction between persons who belonged to the deceased and his other assets. *Pecunia* originally meant livestock and later money, and in Cicero's time may already have signified tangible assets in general.[14] That is a preliminary stage of what Ulpian in D. 50.16.195.1 calls the division between *res* (things) and *personae*. But there is a big difference: Whereas Ulpian interprets *familia* in that instance (XII Tab. 5.4) as an entity of things, Cicero seems to make a difference between property in humans (*familia*) and in things (*pecunia*). But maybe the relation between *familia* and *pecunia* is even more complicated.[15]

A similar difference might have been alluded to by another provision of the Twelve Tables, XII Tab. 5.3:

12 On this late antique collection of biblical and Roman law texts see for example Detlef Liebs, *Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien (260–640 n.Chr.)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987): 162–74; Giorgio Barone-Adesi, *L'età della Lex Dei* (Napoli: Jovene Editore, 1992); Robert M. Frakes: *Compiling the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

13 Cic. leg. 2.59.

14 In later times this is undisputed, cf. D. 50.16.178 pr. (Ulp. 49 AD Sab.): *'Pecuniae' verbum non solum numeratam pecuniam complectitur, verum omnem omnino pecuniam, hoc est omnia corpora: nam corpora quoque pecuniae appellatione contineri nemo est qui ambiget* ("The designation 'money' does not only include coinage but absolutely every kind of money, that is, every substance; for there is no one who doubts that substances are also included in the designation of money"; trans. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 4, 948). Similarly D. 50.16.97 (Celsus 32 dig.); D. 50.16.222 (Hermog. 2 iur. epit.); D. 35.2.1 pr. (Paul. sing. ad leg. Falc.); cf. e.g. Leonhard, "familia": 1980–81.

15 See below, at 4.1.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 532

Cic. inv. 2.148: [. . .] PATERFAMILIAS UTI SUPER FAMILIA PECUNIAQUE SUA LEGASSIT, ITA IUS ESTO.

Cic. inv. 2.148: [. . .] In whatever way a head of a household has made a will concerning his household and property, so let it be.[16]

Ulp. reg. 11.14: Testamento quoque nominatim tutores dati confirmantur eadem lege duodecim tabularum, his verbis: UTI LEGASSIT SUPER PECUNIA TUTELAVE SUAE REI, ITA IUS ESTO: qui tutores dativi appellantur.

Ulp. reg. 11.14: That the elected tutors can be confirmed by name in the testament is provided by the Twelve Tables in this words: "As he disposed over estates and tutelages of his own, so let the law be." They are therefore called given tutors.

Gai. inst. 2.224: [. . .] idque lex XII tabularum permittere videbatur, qua cavetur, ut, quod quisque de re sua testatus esset, id ratum habetur, his verbis: UTI LEGASSIT SUAE REI, ITA IUS ESTO.

Gai. inst. 2.224: [. . .] That was thought to be permitted by the Twelve Tables, which provide that whatever will a man has made of his estate, it should be ratified, by its words: "As a man bequeaths his own, so let the law be."[17]

All three texts,[18] reconstructed as XII Tab. 5.3,[19] obviously refer to the same original, but they are different. Only one quote can be right, or at least closer to the original wording. Most authors[20] prefer the text of Ulpians' *liber singularis regularum* (Ulp. reg.),[21] a text

16 Harry Mortimer Hubbel, trans., *Cicero De Inventione*, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann London; Harvard University Press, 1949): 317.

17 William M. Gordon and Olivia F. Robinson, *The Institutes Of Gaius* (London: Duckworth, 1988): 235.

18 These three texts represent the most precise quotations, but there are numerous other texts that quote XII Tab. 5.3. A conclusive enumeration of the sources is provided by Daniela di Ottavio, *Uti legassit . . . ita ius esto. Alle radici della successione testamentaria in diritto romano* (Naples: Jovene editore, 2016): 4–5.

19 See Salvatore Riccobono et al., eds., *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani in usum scholarum*, part 1: *leges* (Florence: Barbèra, 1968): 37–38.

20 An overview is given by Maria Floriana Cursi, "La mancipatio e la mancipatio familiae," in *XI Tabulae. Testo e commento*, vol. 1, ed. Maria Floriani Cursi (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2018): 357–58; see also di Ottavio, *Uti legassit*: 60, who is not sure if the original text had *suae rei* or *familia*. Pasquale Voci, *Diritto ereditario romano*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Milano: Giuffrè, 1967): 4 insisted on *suae rei*.

21 Cf. Martin Avenarius, *Der pseudo-ulpianische liber singularis regularum. Entstehung, Eigenart und Überlieferung einer hochklassischen Juristenschrift* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005) and Martin Avenarius, ed. and trans., *Die pseudo-Ulpianische Einzelschrift über die Rechtsregeln (liber singularis regularum)* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 533

handed down to us by an early medieval[22] manuscript.[23] Cicero's version, as we have already seen, is a summary of what the Twelve Tables said. According to Ulpian, the XII tables did not mention *familia* but referred to *pecunia* and *tutela*. Ulpian interprets *tutela* as pointing to the fact that the testator appoints a *tutor*, a legal guardian, for his wife and children. But the genitive *suae rei* sounds odd. Literally translated, it would be "guardianship over things." Maybe the Twelve Tables had *suae rei* only and did not mention either *pecunia*, *tutela* or *familia*. In that case, we should prefer the version in Gai. inst. 2.224 or D. 50.15.120 (Pomp. 5 ad Quintum Mucium). As we know from other fragments, the Twelve Tables used the term *res* on several occasions.[24] But in most of these cases, *res* signifies the object of a trial – not the wealth of a testator. On the other hand, as di Ottavio argues, with only the phrase *suae rei*, the meter of the provision would be irregular.[25]

Older scholars agreed[26] that the expression *pecunia tutelave suae rei* is a bracket term, similar to a chiasmus: In the technical sense, *legare suae rei* means "disposing of one's possessions": cattle (or money?) and the legal guardianship are added right in the middle of this construction in order to clarify that they are part of the overall *res sua*. Behrends argued differently. According to him, *tutela* means the "Verwaltungszuständigkeit" (competence to administrate) of the *pater familias* in general.[27] But even in that case, the occurrence of *res* is strange. We would expect *familia* only, because this is the central term in the following provision (XII Tab. 5.4). Beyond that, it is the *mancipatio familiae* which enacted the oldest form of a will (the *testamentum per aes et libram*[28]).

---

22 Vat. reg. lat. 1128. On that manuscript see, for example, Wolfgang Kaiser, "Review: Der pseudoulpianische liber singularis regularum. Entstehung, Eigenart und Überlieferung einer hochklassischen Juristenschrift, by Martin Avenarius," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Romanistische Abteilung* 127 (2010): 560–607.

23 The manuscript is accessible on https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1128 [accessed 17.05.2022].

24 Cf. di Ottavio, *Uti legassit*: 66–72.

25 Di Ottavio, *Uti legassit*: 79–86. We must bear in mind that the XII tables are described as *carmen*, a song (Cic. leg. 2.59). For a discussion see, for example, Marie Theres Fögen, *Das Lied vom Gesetz* (Munich: Carl-Friedrich-von-Siemens-Stiftung, 2007).

26 Cf. already Friedrich Adolph Schilling, *Bemerkungen über römische Rechtsgeschichte: Eine Kritik über Hugo's Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Römischen Rechts bis auf Justinian* (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth Verlag, 1829): 97–98; Christian Friedrich von Glück, *Ausführliche Erläuterung der Pandecten nach Hellfeld, ein Commentar*, vol. 34, part 1 (Erlangen: Palm, 1830): 100, n. 17.

27 Okko Behrends, "Das Vindikationsmodell als 'grundrechtliches' System der ältesten römischen Siedlungsorganisation. Zugleich ein Beitrag zu den ältesten Grundlagen des römischen Personen-, Sachen- und Obligationenrechts," in *Libertas. Grundrechtliche und rechtsstaatliche Gewährungen in Antike und Gegenwart. Symposion aus Anlaß des 80. Geburtstages von Franz Wieacker*, ed. Okko Behrends and Malte Disselhorst (Ebelsbach: Verlag Rolf Greimer, 1991): 1–59, 42.

28 On that Eduard Hölder, "Das testamentum per aes et libram," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Romanistische Abteilung* 1 (1880): 67–87.; Francesca Terranova, *Ricerche sul testamentum per aes et libram*, vol. 1 (Turin: Giappichelli, 2011); a shorter presentation (in English) is

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 534

This is what Crawford might have had in mind when he reconstructed the provision as, *uti legassit super familia pecuniave tutelave sua, ita ius esto*.[29] This reconstruction sounds logical, because slaves and freedmen formed neither part of the *pecunia* nor did they come under *tutela*. As we already mentioned, only wife and children were in need of a tutor if the *pater familias* died. Cicero's version (*pecunia*/*familia*) excludes testamentary provisions for wife and children, unless we accept that they were implied in the term *familia*. Anyway, Cicero himself seems to have made such a division, thus including free and unfree members of the household in the term *familia*. What the original wording of XII Tab. 5.3 really was will probably remain a mystery.

4 A Change in Meaning: From the Twelve Tables to Ulpian

The different reports on the wording of the Twelve Tables suggest that *familia* underwent a terminological change from the early (XII Tables) to the late Republic (Cicero) and, finally, to the late Empire (Ulpian).[30] If we trust the text referred to by Ulpian (Coll. 16.4.1 and reg. 14.11), the Twelve Tables registered persons and goods in the household as *familia*, whereas Cicero classed slaves and freedmen as *familia* and goods as *pecunia*. Most significant is XII Tab. 5.4–5 (Coll. 16.4.1): A deceased without legal heirs has no children and no wife in his power. Thus, there was no need to arrange for tutors but only for slaves, freedmen and goods. The Twelve Tables comprised all that under *familia*. Cicero distinguished between persons (*familia*) and goods (*pecunia*). Conversely, Ulpian states explicitly that *familia* in that context only means goods.[31] At first glance, that seems to come close to what the Twelve Tables meant, but Cicero's wording suggests a shift: Other than the Twelve Tables, Cicero separates persons and goods into two different categories, and Ulpian's interpretation builds on that. According to his view, the *familia* in XII Tab. 5.4–5 denotes *res* (things) only and thus, the slaves and freedmen which are part of

provided by Alan Watson, *The Law of Succession in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971): 11.

29 Michael Hewson Crawford, ed., *Roman Statutes*, vol. 2 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1996): 637–38.

30 This has already be outlined by Mayer-Maly, Theo. "familia," in: Drei Vorträge zum Privatrecht, ed. Franz Bydlinski, Theo Mayer-Maly, Fritz Sturm (Graz: Leykam, 2001): 25–29.

31 D. 50.16.195.1: [. . .] *et quidem varie accepta est: nam et in res et in personas deducitur. in res, ut puta in lege duodecim tabularum his verbis 'adgnatus proximus familiam habeto'* ("And indeed it is understood in various ways; for it relates both to things and to persons: to things, as, for instance, in the Law of the Twelve Tables in the words 'let the nearest agnate have the household'"; tansl. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 4: 949).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 535

the inheritance are not *personae* but *res*. As said before, the Twelve Tables did not distinguish between persons and goods. They focus on the power of the *pater familias* and not on what is subjected to this power.

4.1 Persons and Things under the Control of the *Pater Familias*

This meaning of *familia* is underpinned by some old figures or regulations which similarly go back to the Twelve Tables, or at least to the time of the early Republic. It is the term of *pater familias* itself, which – as Ulpian explains correctly – refers to the power in the household (*domus*) and does not presuppose a biological "father":

D. 50.16.195.2 (Ulp. 46 AD edictum): [. . .] pater autem familias appellatur, qui in domo dominium habet, recteque hoc 7ominee appellatur, quamvis filium non habeat: non enim solam personam eius, sed et ius demonstramus:

D. 50.16.195.2 (Ulpian, Edict, book 46): [. . .] Someone is called the head of a household if he holds sway in a house, and he is rightly called by this name even if he does not have a son; for we do not only mean his person but also his legal status. (Watson, vol. IV, 950)

Non personam sed ius demonstramus, we specify not a person, but a right when we speak of a *pater familias*. It is his prerogative, his *ius*, to be the only person in a household with property rights over people and things. To have *dominium in domo* ("ownership on the house") is Ulpian's contemporary interpretation. At his time, jurists distinguished ownership (*dominium*) of things including slaves from *potestas* over children and *manus* over a wife. In order to make clear that the existence of a wife and children are not a precondition for being *pater familias*, Ulpian concentrates on the "house" owned by him. But the original meaning was that the *pater familias* owns everything in his household, things as well as persons, regardless of their status.

This original meaning of *familia* is present even in the *actio familiae erciscundae*, an action that every heir could employ in order to divide up the community of heirs.[32] This action did not aim at separating heirs but at ascribing a certain part of the heritage to each. So *familia* denoted the heritage, not the group of heirs. The same connotation is present in the *familiae emptor*, a fiduciary to whom the *pater familias* transferred his assets in a formal way and instructed him to distribute them

32 For this subject see, for example, Hein L.W. Nelson, "Zur Terminologie der römischen Erbschaftsteilung. Ercto non cito, familia erciscunda," *Glotta* 44 (1966): 41–60; Geoffrey MacCormack, "The actio communi dividundo in Roman and Scots law," in *The Roman Law Tradition*, ed. Andrew D.E. Lewis and David J. Ibbetson (Cambridge: University Press, 1994): 159–81.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 536

to the nominated heirs after the *pater familias*' death.[33] Interestingly, the formula which established such a trust, according to the testimony of Gaius, mentions *familia* and *pecunia* side by side:

Gai. inst. 2.104: [. . .] FAMILIAM PECUNIAMQUE TUAM ENDO MANDATELA TUA CUSTODELAQUE MEA ESSE AIO, EAQUE QUO TU IURE TESTAMENTUM FACERE POSSIS SECUNDUM LEGEM PUBLICAM, HOC AERE – et ut quidam adiciunt – AENEAQUE LIBRA, ESTO MIHI EMPTA. [. . .]

Gai. inst. 2.104: [. . .] "I declare that your family and property are in my administration and custody; let them be bought to me with this bronze and (as some add) the bronze scales, so that you can lawfully make a will according to the public statute."[34]

The archaic style indicates an early period of Roman law, maybe contemporary with the Twelve Tables or slightly later. The terms *familia* and *pecunia* seem to allude to the classical contrast pair of persons v. things, but it is most likely that they have another meaning. Scholars have suggested three explanations: Most believe that the terms are used synonymously;[35] some think that *familia* means the household as an entity, *pecunia* the single things in it.[36] Others, especially in older literature, believe that *familia* means *res mancipi* only, that is slaves, cattle, Italian land, and some easements on land, with *pecunia* referring to all other things.[37] This would have enormous consequences for the interpretation of the provisions of the Twelve Tables on testaments. XII Tab. 5.3, which – according to Ulp. reg. 11.14 – allows the writing of a will on *pecunia* and *tutela* only[38] would leave the more important things (the *res mancipi*) to the legal heirs.

Our focal point is different: The use of *familia* in the formula of the *emptio familiae* by the executer of the will indicates that *familia* comprises persons and things alike. *Familia* at that early stage is a collective term for the objects under the control of the *pater familias*. In later times, the technical term for such objects is *res*. This is

33 By way of the *testamentum per aes et libram*, cf. Hölder, "Das testamentum per aes et libram"; Terranova, *Ricerche sul testamentum per aes et libram*.

34 William M. Gordon and Olivia F. Robinson, *The Institutes of Gaius* (London: Duckworth, 1988): 171, 173.

35 Cf. Max Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht, Erster Abschnitt: Das altrömische, das vorklassische und klassische Recht*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1971): 97 (with older literature).

36 So, for example, Joseph Bonnet, *Des mots familia et pecunia dans la loi des Douze Tables* (Paris: L. Larose et Forcel, 1900): 43–54, esp. 51.

37 Rudolf von Jhering, *Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Rechts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894): 81–91; Otto Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Veit, 1901): 76. A somewhat similar interpretation is given by János Zlinszky, "Familia pecuniaque," *Index* 16 (1988): 31–42: The pair of terms combined reflects the agricultural origins of Rome: *Familia* represents the persons and goods involved in farming, *pecunia* the wealth of nomadic herders.

38 On this subject see Riccobono et al., *Fontes iuris romani*: 37–38.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 537

what Gaius tells us in his institutes when distinguishing between corporeal and incorporeal things or human and divine things.[39] And Pomponius, a contemporary of Gaius, replaces *familia* by *res* in his record on XII Tab. 5.3:

D. 50.16.120 (Pomp. 5 AD Quintum Mucium): Verbis legis duodecim tabularum his "uti legassit suae rei, ita ius esto" latissima potestas tributa videtur et heredis instituendi et legata et libertates dandi, tutelas quoque constituendi. sed id interpretatione coangustatum est vel legum vel auctoritate iura constituentium

D. 50.16.120 (Pomponius, Quintus Musicus, book 5): In these words of the *Law of the Twelve Tables*, "uti legassit suae rei, ita jus esto," the widest possible power seems to be conferred of naming an heir and granting legacies and establishing tutelages; but this has been narrowed by interpretation or the authority of laws or those who establish law. (Watson, vol. IV, 943)

By that it becomes clear why Ulpian understood *familia* in XII Tab. 5.4[40] as *res*, even though he was convinced that it should include slaves and freedmen. The division between things and persons, unknown to the Twelve Tables, led the classical jurists to understand *familia* as "things" (*res*) when it referred to the inheritance. I stress this point because in other contexts some jurists insist that slaves are persons.[41]

4.2 *Familia* as Collective Name for Slaves

All these observations allow us to reconstruct different meanings of *familia* over the course of time: In the old provisions which originated in the early Republic, *familia* designated the household, all people living and all things existing under the power of a *pater familias*. It therefore comprised free people as well as slaves and freedmen. Later, this power of the *pater familias* was differentiated into *manus* (over a wife) and *potestas* (over children and freedmen) on the one hand, and *dominium* on the other. We have to bear in mind that even *dominium* originally had a wider connotation, comprising the *domus* and all its persons and things.[42] But in legal texts from the late Republic and the Empire, *dominium* is reserved for objects of property. This implicates a clear distinction between free persons on the one hand, and slaves and things on the other. This changed the meaning of *familia* as well: Already Plautus

39 Gai. inst. 2.1–14 = D. 1.8.1 (Gai. 2 inst.).

40 D. 50.16.195.1, as he cites: *adgnatus proximus familiam habeto*.

41 Gai. inst. 1.9 (= D. 1.5.3): *Et quidem summa divisio de iure personarum haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi* ("And the most important division in the law of persons is that there all people are either free or slaves.").

42 Saller, "'Familia, Domus'": 342–49.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 538

used the word to refer to the slaves in a household,[43] and this signification became most frequent in legal texts. An infamous example is the *senatus consultum Silanianum*, according to which the *familia*[44] of a *dominus* who had been killed at home could be tortured to death in order to find out who murdered him.[45]

But even in other and less sanguinary contexts we encounter *familia* as a legal term for a group of slaves, for example in the *familia publicanorum* or, later on, in the *familia Caesaris*. The *familia publicanorum* are the slaves and wage workers[46] of a group of contractors who had taken on a public task (and were therefore called *publicani*), for example the collection of taxes.[47] Such tax farming could be enormously expensive, and therefore a number of people invested together and formed a company. Their slaves were called *familia publicanorum*, which hints at the modern construct of the society itself (the *societas publicanorum*[48]) having a corporate personality;[49] as such, it was the owner of those slaves. The *familia publicanorum* is therefore described

43 Plaut. Capt. 307–8: *et quidem si, proinde ut ipse fui imperator familiae / habeam dominum, non verear ne iniuste aut graviter mi imperet* ("And indeed, if I might have such a master as I myself was when I was the head of a household, I should have no fear of being treated unjustly or harshly." Trans. Paul Nixon, *Plautus, in Five Volumes*, vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Harvard University Press; Heinemann London, 1956): 491); Poen. 181–86: *Rogato, servos veneritne ad eum tuos. / Ille me censebit quaeri: continuo tibi / negabit. Quid tu dubitas quin exempulo / dupli tibi, auri et hominis, fur leno siet? / Neque is unde efficiat, habet. Ubi in ius venerit, addicet praetor familiam totam tibi* ("Then you ask him if your slave is at his house. He'll suppose it's me you're after: so he'll promptly say no. Can you doubt he will forthwith be liable to you for twice the value of the money and the slave he stole? And he hasn't the wherewithal to settle. When he comes to court the praetor will adjudge his entire establishment to you"; trans. Paul Nixon, *Plautus*, vol. 4: 19). For this latter text see di Ottavio, *Uti legassit*: 63–64.

44 Cf. D. 29.5.1 pr. and 15 (Ulp. 50 AD ed.); Paul. sent. 3.5.1; for further sources see Leonhard, "familia": 1982.

45 On the SC Silanianum see for example Danilo Dalla, *Senatus consultum Silanianum* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1980); Alan Watson, *Roman Slave Law* (Baltimore and London: Hopkins University Press, 1987): 134–38; Joseph Georg Wolf, *Das Senatusconsultum Silanianum und die Senatsrede des C. Cassius Longinus aus dem Jahre 61 n. Chr.* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1988); Jill Harries, "The Senatus Consultum Silanianum: Court Decisions and Judicial Severity in the Early Roman Empire," in *New Frontiers. Law and Society in the Roman World*, ed. Paul J. du Plessis (Edinburgh: University Press, 2013): 51–72.

46 Cf. D. 39.4.1.5 (Ulp. 55 AD ed.): [. . .] *sive igitur liberi sind sive servi alieni* [. . .] ("[. . .] might they be free or slaves of another [. . .]").

47 On the *familia publicanorum* cf. Robert Röhle, "Zum Wortlaut des Edikts 'Quod publicanus vi ademerit'," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 46 (1978): 137–40; María-Eva Fernández Baquero, "Familia publicanorum," in *Fundamenta iuris: terminología, principios e interpretatio*, ed. Pedro Resina Sola (Almería: Universidad de Almería, 2012): 101–10.

48 Cf. Ulrike Malmendier, *Societas publicanorum. Staatliche Wirtschaftsaktivitäten in den Händen privater Unternehmer* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002); Ulrike Malmendier, "Roman shares," in *The Origins of Value. The Financial Innovations that Created Modern Capital Markets*, ed. William Goetzmann and Geert Rouwenhorst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 31–42.

49 Cf. Andreas M. Fleckner, *Antike Kapitalvereinigungen. Ein Beitrag zu den konzeptionellen und historischen Grundlagen der Aktiengesellschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010): 145–215, 372–420 (esp.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 539

as *corpus servorum vectigalis causa paratorum* by Ulpian (D. 50.16.195.3), "a certain body of slaves collected for one purpose, namely in order to collect taxes." (trans. Watson). But as Ulpian himself stated elsewhere,[50] the individual slaves do not belong to the community of *publicani*, but to the individual members of the *societas*.

The *familia Caesaris* were the private slaves of a *princeps* who were engaged with public tasks.[51] The concept of private slaves working for the public did not emerge in the Empire. We find it already in the Republican administration, sometimes even in the shape of a *familia publica*,[52] that is a number of slaves owned by a municipal community.[53] The *familia Caesaris* thus imitates and replaces the Republican model – as in so many other instances.[54]

In addition to these well-known examples, Ulpian mentions some actions included in the *edictum praetoris* in which *familia* comprises the entity of slaves in a household. In most cases, such actions amplify the responsibility of the *dominus* for the behavior of their slaves. The *interdictum unde vi*, for example, states explicitly that a person who has been expelled from his land by force may claim restitution from the intruder, because he or his *familia* expelled him.[55] Such formula makes it

391–411); Geoffrey Poitras and Frederick Willeboordse, "The societas publicanorum and corporate personality in Roman private law," *Business History* 16 (2019): 1–24.

50 D. 39.4.1.5 (Ulp. 55 AD ed.): *Familiae nomen hic non tantum ad servos publicanorum referemus, verum et ad eos, qui in numero familiarium sunt publicani* ("The word '*familia*' in this context we take as referring not only to the slaves of tax farmers but to anyone who is one of their *familiars*," trans. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 3: 405).

51 On *familia Caesaris* Paul Richard Carey Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972); Leonhard Schumacher, "Hausgesinde – Hofgesinde: terminologische Überlegungen zur Funktion der familia Caesaris im 1. Jh. n. Chr.," in *Fünfzig Jahre Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie 1950–2000*, ed. Heinz Bellen and Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 331–52; Sabine Müller, "Familia Caesaris," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, October 26, 2012, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah22109 [accessed 17.05.2022].

52 Cf. D. 1.15.1 (Paul. sing. de officio praefecti vigilium).

53 On *servus publici* cf. William Warwick Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery. The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: University Press, 1908): 318–30; Norbert Rouland, "A propos des 'servi publici populi romani'," *Chiron* 7 (1977): 261–78; Walter Eder, *Servitus publica. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktion der öffentlichen Sklaverei in Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980); János Zlinszky, "Gemeineigentum am Beispiel der servi publici," in *Sklaverei und Freilassung im römischen Recht. Symposium für Hans Josef Wieling zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Finkenauer (Berlin: Springer, 2006): 317–26; Franco Luciani, "Public Slaves in Rome and in the Cities of the Latin West: New Additions to the Epigraphic Corpus," in *From Document to History. Epigraphic insights into the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Carlos F. Noreña and Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 279–305.

54 Cf. Aloys Winterling, *Aula Caesaris. Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofs in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v. Chr. – 192 n. Chr.)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1999).

55 Cf. Otto Lenel, *Das Edictum perpetuum, ein Versuch zu seiner Wiederherstellung*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1927; Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1985): 461–69, esp. 465.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 540

obvious that in classical legal sources, unlike those from the Republican era, *familia* usually points to the group of slaves (and/or freedmen) living in the household.

D. 50.16.195.3: [. . .] alia autem parte edicti omnes servi continentur: ut de hominibus coactis et vi bonorum raptorum, item redhibitoria, si deterior res reddatur emptoris opera aut familiae eius, et interdicto unde vi familiae appellatio omnes servos comprehendit. sed et filii continentur.

D. 50.16.195.3: [. . .] But in another part of the edict, all slaves are included as in the part dealing with gangs of men or force used to seize property or in the action for recovery if something is returned damaged by the activity of the purchaser or his household and in the interdict on the use of force the designation of household covers all slaves. (Watson, vol. IV, 950)

Most interesting in this context is the short note at the end: *sed et filii continentur* ("sons and daughters are as well included"). This is only true for the formula of the actions and interdicts mentioned by Ulpian, not for the *familia publicanorum* or similar contexts. As far as the responsibility of persons is concerned, law usually does not differentiate between slaves and children: both are under control of their master or their father, both can act or contract for the benefit of master or father, and both can be equipped with a *peculium*. Therefore, free persons are responsible both for their children and for their slaves.

4.3 *Familia* as "Family"

The division of *familia* into different forms of power relations paved the way for a third meaning, which however failed to establish itself as a legal term in the classical texts.[56] It is referred to by Ulpian in D. 50.16.195.2:

Familiae appellatio refertur et ad corporis cuiusdam significationem, quod aut iure proprio ipsorum aut communi universae cognationis continetur. iure proprio familiam dicimus plures personas, quae sunt sub unius potestate aut natura aut iure subiectae, ut puta patrem

The designation of households relates to any kind of body which is covered by a legal status peculiar to its members or common to an entire related group. We talk of several persons as a household under a peculiar legal status if they are naturally or legally subjected to the power

56 This is not sufficiently taken into account by Gardner who, in investigating classical family law, departs from the agnatic *familia*; Jane F. Gardner, *Family and familia in Roman Law and Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998): 1–2.

familias, matrem familias, filium familias, filiam familias quique deinceps vicem eorum sequuntur, ut puta nepotes et neptes et deinceps.

of a single person as in the case of a head of a household, the wife of a head of a household, a son-in-power, a daughter-in-power, and those who thereafter follow them in turn, as, for instance, grandsons and granddaughters, and so on. (Watson, vol. IV, 949–950)

This part of Ulpian's text delineates the *familia* of the agnates, i.e. all free persons under the same *pater familias*. This designation could be classified as a vestige of the original meaning in the Twelve Tables, where *familia* denoted all people and things under the control of the *pater familias*. During the middle Republic two specific legal meanings were separated: *familia* as *inheritance*, and *familia* as a group of slaves or freedmen. The rest describes the power of the *pater familias* over his free people, i.e. the *patria potestas* over his born or adopted children[57] and the *manus* over his wife which, in Ulpian's text, is not mentioned anymore because by his time it had lost its significance.[58] Already in Cicero's time, a woman who did not come under her husband's *manus* could be included in the term *familia*.[59] This reflects its untechnical and somewhat blurred meaning – at least from the late Republic onwards. The increasing social and legal importance of blood ties gradually replaced the agnatic concept, and thus diminished its relevance as a kinship group. Saller lists a series of texts from the Empire which use *familia* in our modern connotation as group of cognates.[60]

This is also reflected by the law of the early Empire: The order of legal heirs based on agnatic relations is impaired by the praetor's measures to favor cognates in the legal order of succession[61] and by special laws which promoted legal succession between mother and children.[62] We may readily suppose that these alterations in the

57 Cf. also D. 40.16.40.2 (Ulp. 56 AD ed.).

58 Similar Saller, "'Familia, Domus'": 338–39; for a more general overview (oder perspective?) see Gardner, *Family and familia*: 29–42.

59 For example, in Cic. pro Caelio 33; cf. Saller, "'Familia, Domus'": 339.

60 Saller, "'Familia, Domus'": 340–42, such as Fronto 1,12; Suet. Tib. 3; Tac. ann. 6,51.

61 On the *bonorum possessio intestati* ("praetorian order of intestate succession") and its different ranks (i.e. *unde cognati*) Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*: 697–701; Pasquale Voci, *Diritto ereditario romano*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Milano: Giuffrè, 1967): 177–201; Martin Schermaier and Helge Dedek, "Bonorum possessio," in *Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, October 26, 2012, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah13030 [accessed 17.05.2022].

62 Esp. the Senatusconsultum Tertullianum (from the time of Hadrian) and the Senatusconsultum Orfitianum (around AD 178); on both Marianne Meinhart, *Die Senatusconsulta Tertullianum und Orfitianum in ihrer Bedeutung für das klassische römische Recht* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1967); Pasquale Voci, *Diritto ereditario Romano*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Milano: Giuffrè, 1963): 17–25.; Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*: 701–2; Kimberley Czajkowski, "Senatus consultum Tertullianum," in *Oxford*

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 542

law of succession are not the cause, but the effect of the diminishing importance of agnatic relationships in Roman society.[63] Nevertheless, we have a good deal of legal texts in which only the context decides whether *familia* relates to agnates or cognates. Cod. Theod. 7.20.8, a decree of the emperors Valentinian I and Valens, concerns the tax immunity of veterans for the land they are endowed with. If the veterans bring their *servulos familiasve* ("slaves and children") to live on the land, they are to be exempt from land tax forever. The wording reflects a clear distinction between the slaves and the free persons around the veteran, but it is unclear if *familia* points to those under power of the *pater familias* (agnates) or to those related by blood (cognates). But maybe this is the wrong question. From the point of view of the decree, what matters is not who is part of the family of the veteran, but who is his heir. At the time of Valentinian, the agnatic basis of the law of succession has fallen into abeyance, so *familia* means those free persons who will succeed him after his death. The *servuli* are mentioned because even they, if manumitted, might become heirs.

5 The Permanence of Legal Terms . . .

If we focus on the social construct behind *familia*, we become aware of fundamental changes to the meaning of the term. In the time of the Twelve Tables, *familia* denotes all persons and objects under the power of the *pater familias*. In the course of the middle Republic, the term develops two principal meanings: on the one hand, it is applied to the group of slaves in a household; on the other it embraces the members of the agnate family. And finally, during the Empire, *familia* is more and more often used to delineate the cognate family and so comes close to our modern connotation. In Ulpian's explanatory text (D. 50.16.195) all these meanings are listed side by side, as if they had evolved at the same time. But this interpretation is misleading: Ulpian reports all meanings because in his time they are still present in legal concepts and institutions. Norms and procedural instruments conserved the term in particular connotations. As long as these institutions are observed, the signification in question is frozen and so survives the shifts that the living language undergoes. Therefore, *familia* is a good example for the permanence of legal terms. Its main significations can be reproduced as follows (Fig. 1):

What does this mean for the study of historical forms of dependency? It will not change our admonition not to take any terms at face value in any form of historical inquiry. But we have to formulate an exception for legal studies: As long as certain

Classical Dictionary, February 25, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.8275 [accessed 17.05.2022]; eadem, "Senatus consultum Orfitianum," in *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, January 25, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.8276 [accessed 17.05.2022].

63 See, as well, Gardner, *Family and familia*: 212–20.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 543

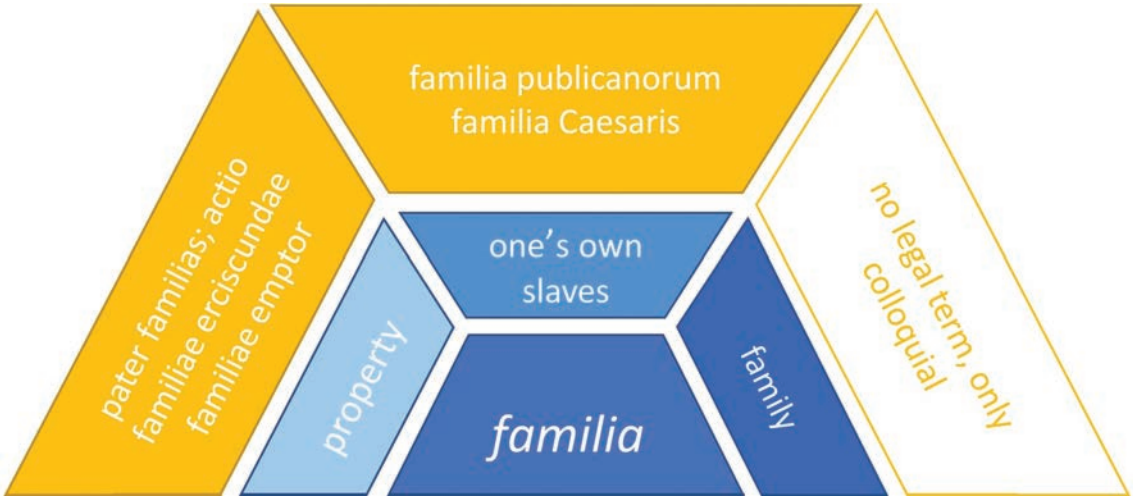


Fig. 1: Meanings of *familia* in Ulpian, D. 50.16.195.

institutions remain valid and rules are observed, the terms to which they refer usually keep their meaning and significance. Normativity fosters relevancy and thus stabilizes the acceptance of terms. The validity of early Republican norms and institutions was rarely challenged throughout Roman history. Many of the old rules contained in the Twelve Tables (ca. 450 BC) remained valid until Justinian's collection (529–534 AC) of classical law. Others were overruled by new provisions but only in a few cases[64] abrogated formally. This is why legal terms covering different concepts coexisted side by side and forced jurists (like Ulpian) to judge their meaning on a case-by-case basis.

This is one side of the coin. The other shows the coherence of institutions and social settings, even in cases of social or economic disruptions. It is a striking phenomenon that in Western societies, the same conflicts have been solved by the same – or at least similar – rules over long stretches of time. This continuity or recurrence of norms[65] and institutions is sometimes indicated by the terminology employed, but it goes even further. This can also be observed in the case of *familia*: In early Roman times, *familia* was the collective term for persons and goods under the power of a *pater familias*. From the point of view of the Twelve Tables, wife, children, slaves, and cattle were his property. This implied that he could reclaim persons and things from any other possessor. If, for example, someone robbed his slave or his children, the *pater familias* could recover them just as he would an ox or a sheep when it appeared to be in the possession of his neighbor. The action used was the so-called *rei vindicatio*, the standard action for an owner to claim his property. The ability to bring this action determined who was the owner. In Rome, ownership was not defined as an abstract power, but as possibility to claim restitution by way of *rei vindicatio*. From this

64 As, for example, most of the old *legis actiones* in the *lex Iulia iudiciorum privatorum* (17 BC).
65 Cf. Theo Mayer-Maly, "Die Wiederkehr von Rechtsfiguren," *Juristenzeitung* 26, no. 1 (1971): 1–3.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 544

perspective, the legal position of slaves and children vis à vis the *pater familias* was similar or even, at least during the early period, the same.

Section 1632 of the German Civil Code provides for exactly the same thing: The guardian (typically one or both parents) can require the return of a child from any person who is unlawfully withholding it from the parent(s). In terms of the underlying concept, this is an owner's claim for restitution. But today, we would of course not consider a guardian or parent the owner of their child. Regarding a child as property would reduce it to the status of a mere thing, because according to section 903 of the German Civil Code, ownership manifests itself in the fact that one can "deal with the object at will." But a child is not an object, and we cannot do with it as we will. But the legal remedy provided in an identical situation (withholding of children) is the same in Roman and in modern civil law. Clearly, the concept of what constitutes property has significantly changed since Roman times, as have ideas of what parents and children are, what family is. These changes have caused a rupture in the system of claiming restitution. One claim became many, expressed in similar ways but conceptualized differently.

But though we now have a different idea of what property means or what family is, we use the same remedy as the Romans to help a father or a mother to claim back their child. From this we can draw an important lesson for evaluating Roman law: The mere fact that Roman *domini* were able to reclaim their slaves with the help of the *rei vindicatio* does not make them "owners of their slaves"[66] in the modern sense, and says little, if anything, about their legal relationship. Therefore, the well-known definition of slavery formulated by Moses I. Finley, which mentions three criteria: "the slave's property status, the totality of the power over him, and his kinlessness,"[67] is inaccurate in one point. What "property status" means depends on the concept of property applied. To reclaim a person from the possession of others does not make this person the property of the claimant. The strange consequence would be that even today, because of section 1632 BGB, children would be considered the property of their parents.[68] This again shows us that when we judge historical texts with modern terms and standards, we fall short of what these texts really contain.

66 Therefore, it is useless to say that in the time of the XII tables "slaves were fully owned by their masters," as Alan Watson does in *Rome of the XII tables: Persons and Property* (Princeton: University Press, 1975): 85. Similarly, but with a focus on classical law, Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*: 10–38.

67 Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980): 77.

68 A similar example is given by Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study with a New Preface* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018): 21–22.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 545

6 . . . and the Conceptual Changes Behind Them

Only a contextual analysis sheds light on the meaning of *familia* in Roman law texts. In Ulpian's time, the term's different meanings exist side by side and can only be grasped correctly in the context in which *familia* is used. Our inquiry, which analyzed the signification of *familia* over the course of time, suggests a fundamental change in the legal assessment of slaves. When Ulpian speaks of *familia* as an entity of slaves, he thinks of things (*res*). This may be correct for his time, but his synchronic interpretation does not do justice to the meaning of *familia* in the Twelve Tables. We already mentioned the fact that the categorical distinction between persons and things arose at a later stage of Roman history. Rather, the different provisions of the Twelve Tables hinge on whether someone is an object or a subject of rights and powers. Slaves could be either, or both.[69] In the provision on inheritance, they are objects of the power of the *pater familias*, just like his wife or children. But in the law of delict, slaves are protected like free persons. If, for example, a slave suffers a broken bone, the offender must pay half the amount that would be due if a free person suffered an injury.[70] While an enslaved person (*servus*) is worth less than a free one (*liber*), they are equal in terms of their entitlement to legal protection. This would significantly change about 150 years later: The *lex Aquilia*, a plebiscite from 286 BC, considers a slave not in the category of persons at all, but in the category of large livestock. In the case of injury or death of slaves or cattle, the guilty party owes compensation to the owner who has suffered a financial loss. This rule was applied to free persons only in exceptional cases, because *libertas inaestimabilis res est* – freedom cannot be valued in money.[71]

The different meanings of *familia* in Ulpian's text not only reflect the great variety of meanings, but also the conceptual change that slavery underwent during the Republic. The division of objects into things and persons and the development of the *status*-theory, which separated the *status familiae* from the *status libertatis*,[72] reflect the diminishing value und standing of slaves. On the other hand, we must not

69 This is expressed even by Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery*: 10–38 and 73–97, but using the classic division of *res* and "man"; following his example Watson, *Roman Slave Law*: 46–66 and 67–89.

70 XII Tab. 5.3 (passed down to us in Coll. 2.5.5): *Manu fustive si os fregit libero CCC si servo CL poenam subit* ("If a limb is broken by the force of a hand or a club there is a penalty of 300; if it occurs to a slave, 150").

71 D. 50.17.106 (Paulus 2 AD ed.).

72 As, for example, in Gaius (D. 1.5.3 = Gai. inst. 1.9): *Summa itaque de iure personarum divisio haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi* ("Certainly, the great divide in the law of persons is this: all men are either free men or slaves," trans. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 1: 16); on that Giovanni Negri, "Libertà e status libertatis. Nozioni generali introduttive." in *Homo, caput, persona. La costruzione giuridica dell'identità nell'esperienza romana*, ed. Alessandro Corbino, Michel Humbert, and Giovanni Negri (Pavia: Pavia University Press, 2010): 115–38.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 546

underestimate the dependency of slaves even in the law of the Twelve Tables. Children and slaves alike, as objects under the power of the *pater familias,* were subject to his *ius vitae necisque* – his right over their life and death.[73] The divergent developments of the legal position of slaves and children respectively during the Republic is paralleled by the diminishing importance of the *ius vitae necisque*. But whereas the *pater familias'* "right to kill" or at least "to sit in judgement over" his children was already restricted during the early Republic,[74] we only know of legislation to curtail a master's power over his slaves under the Empire.[75] Obviously, dependencies within the private sphere did not receive the same amount of public attention. This accounts for the close correlation between the legal status of slaves and the social and political developments of the time.

The changing meaning of *familia* reflects such developments. We must be careful not to overlook them when reading texts like that of Ulpian, D. 50.16.195. He wants to give a synchronic account of what *familia* might mean in special contexts. But from the historian's point of view, it tells us a lot about the history of Roman slavery.

Bibliography

Avenarius, Martin. *Der pseudo-ulpianische liber singularis regularum: Entstehung, Eigenart und Überlieferung einer hochklassischen Juristenschrift* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).

Avenarius, Martin. ed. and trans. *Die pseudo-ulpianische Einzelschrift über die Rechtsregeln (liber singularis regularum)* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005).

Barone-Adesi, Giorgio. *L'età della Lex Dei* (Napoli: Jovene Editore, 1992).

Behrends, Okko. "Das Vindikationsmodell als 'grundrechtliches' System der ältesten römischen Siedlungsorganisation. Zugleich ein Beitrag zu den ältesten Grundlagen des römischen Personen-, Sachen- und Obligationenrechts", in *Libertas. Grundrechtliche und rechtsstaatliche Gewährungen in Antike und Gegenwart. Symposion aus Anlaß des 80.*

73 Cf. Wolfgang Kunkel, "Das Konsilium im Hausgericht," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Romanistische Abteilung* 83 (1966): 219–51, esp. 241–46; Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*: 60–63; Gaius (D. 1.5.3 = Gai. inst. 1.9): *Summa itaque de iure personarum divisio haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi* ("Certainly, the great divide in the law of persons is this: all men are either free men or slaves," trans. Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 1: 98; William V. Harris, "The Roman Father's Power of Life and Death," in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall and William V. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 1986): 81–95; Yan Thomas, "Remarques sur la jurisdiction domestique à Rome," in *Parenté et strategies familiales dans l'antiquité romaine*, ed. Jean Andreau and Hinnerk Bruhns (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1990): 449–74; Nikolaus Benke, "On the Roman father's right to kill his adulterous children," *History of the Family* 17 (2012): 284–308; John Curran, "Ius vitae necisque: The Politics of Killing Children," *Journal of Ancient History* 6, no. 1 (2018): 111–35.

74 Tentatively, Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*: 62; Curran's thesis that the *ius vitae necisque* was never exercised on children has good arguments, cf. Curran, "Ius vitae necisque": 129–31.

75 Kaser, *Das Römische Privatrecht*: 285–86.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 547

Geburtstages von Franz Wieacker, ed. Okko Behrends and Malte Disselhorst (Ebelsbach: Verlag Rolf Greimer, 1991): 1–59.

Benke, Nikolaus. "On the Roman father's right to kill his adulterous children", *History of the Family* 17 (2012): 284–308.

Bona, Ferdinando. "L'ideale retorico ciceroniano ed il 'ius civile in artem redigere'", *Studia et Documenta Historiae Iuris* 46 (1980): 282–382.

Bonnet, Joseph. *Des mots familia et pecunia dans la loi des Douze Tables* (Paris: L. Larose et Forcel, 1900).

Buckland, William Warwick. *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

Costa, Emilio. *Cicerone giureconsulto* (Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli Editore, 1927).

Crawford, Michael Hewson, ed. *Roman Statutes*, vol. 2 (London: Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, 1996).

Curran, John. "Ius vitae necisque: The Politics of Killing Children", *Journal of Ancient History* 6, no. 1 (2018): 111–35.

Cursi, Maria Floriana. "La mancipatio e la mancipatio familiae", in *XI Tabulae. Testo e comment*, vol. 1, ed. Maria Floriani Cursi (Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 2018): 339–80.

Dalla, Danilo. *Senatus consultum Silanianum* (Milano: Giuffrè, 1980).

di Ottavio, Daniela. *Uti legassit . . . ita ius esto. Alle radici della successione testamentaria in diritto romano* (Naples: Jovene editore, 2016).

Eder, Walter. *Servitus publica: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktion der öffentlichen Sklaverei in Rom* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980).

Fernández Baquero, María-Eva. "Familia publicanorum", in *Fundamenta iuris: terminología, principios e interpretatio*, ed. Pedro Resina Sola (Almería: Universidad de Almería, 2012): 101–10.

Finley, Moses I. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1980).

Fleckner, Andreas M. *Antike Kapitalvereinigungen. Ein Beitrag zu den konzeptionellen und historischen Grundlagen der Aktiengesellschaft* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2010).

Fögen, Marie Theres. *Das Lied vom Gesetz* (Munich: Carl-Friedrich-von-Siemens-Stiftung, 2007).

Frakes, Robert M. *Compiling the Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Gardner, Jane F. *Family and familia in Roman Law and Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

Glück, Christian Friedrich. *Ausführliche Erläuterung der Pandecten nach Hellfeld, ein Commentar*, vol. 34, part 1 (Erlangen: Palm, 1830).

Gordon, William M., and Olivia F. Robinson. *The Institutes of Gaius* (London: Duckworth, 1988).

Harries, Jill. "The Senatus Consultum Silanianum: Court Decisions and Judicial Severity in the Early Roman Empire", in *New Frontiers. Law and Society in the Roman World*, ed. Paul J. du Plessis (Edinburgh: University Press, 2013): 51–72.

Harris, William V. "The Roman Father's Power of Life and Death", in *Studies in Roman Law in Memory of A. Arthur Schiller*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall and William V. Harris (Leiden: Brill, 1986): 81–95.

Hölder, Eduard. "Das testamentum per aes et libram", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte Romanistische Abteilung* 1 (= 1880): 67–87.

Hubbel, Harry Mortimer. *Cicero De Inventione*, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Heinemann London; Harvard University Press, 1949).

Hyamson, Moses. *Mosaicarum et Romanarum Legum Collatio* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913).

Von Jhering, Rudolf. *Entwicklungsgeschichte des römischen Rechts* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894).

Kaiser, Wolfgang. "Review: Der pseudo-ulpianische liber singularis regularum. Entstehung, Eigenart und Überlieferung einer hochklassischen Juristenschrift, by Martin Avenarius",

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 548

Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung 127 (2010): 560–607.

Karlowa, Otto. *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Veit, 1901).

Kaser, Max. *Das Römische Privatrecht, Erster Abschnitt: Das altrömische, das vorklassische und klassische Recht*, 2nd ed. (Munich: Beck, 1971).

Kunkel, Wolfgang. "Das Konsilium im Hausgericht", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 83 (1966): 219–51.

Lenel, Otto. *Das Edictum perpetuum: Ein Versuch zu seiner Wiederherstellung*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1927; Aalen: Scientia-Verlag, 1985).

Leonhard, Rudolf. "familia", in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 6/2, ed. August Friedrich Pauly and Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1909): 1980–84.

Liebs, Detlef. *Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien (260–640 n.Chr.)* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1987).

von Lübtow, Ulrich. "Cicero und die Methode der römischen Jurisprudenz", in *Festschrift L. Wenger*, vol. 1, ed. Paul Koschaker (Munich: Beck, 1944): 224–35.

Luciani, Franco. "Public Slaves in Rome and in the Cities of the Latin West: New Additions to the Epigraphic Corpus", in *From Document to History. Epigraphic insights into the Greco-Roman World*, ed. Carlos F. Noreña and Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Leiden: Brill, 2019): 279–305.

MacCormack, Geoffrey. "The actio communi dividundo in Roman and Scots law", in *The Roman Law Tradition*, ed. Andrew D.E. Lewis and David J. Ibbetson (Cambridge: University Press, 1994): 159–81.

Malmendier, Ulrike. *Societas publicanorum. Staatliche Wirtschaftsaktivitäten in den Händen privater Unternehmer* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2002).

Malmendier, Ulrike. "Roman shares", in *The Origins of Value. The Financial Innovations that Created Modern Capital Markets*, ed. William Goetzmann and Geert Rouwenhorst (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 31–42.

Mayer-Maly, Theo. "familia", Drei Vorträge zum Privatrecht, ed. Franz Bydlinski, Theo Mayer-Maly, and Fritz Sturm (Graz: Leykam, 2001): 25–29.

Mayer-Maly, Theo. "Die Wiederkehr von Rechtsfiguren", *Juristenzeitung* 26, no. 1 (1971): 1–3.

Meinhart, Marianne. *Die Senatusconsulta Tertullianum und Orfitianum in ihrer Bedeutung für das klassische römische Recht* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1967).

Müller, Sabine. "Familia Caesaris", in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, October 26, 2012, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah22109 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Negri, Giovanni. "Libertà e status libertatis. Nozioni generali introduttive", in *Homo, caput, persona. La costruzione giuridica dell'identià nell'esperienza romana*, ed. Alessandro Corbino, Michel Humbert and Giovanni Negri (Pavia: Pavia University Press, 2010): 115–38.

Nelson, Hein L.W. "Zur Terminologie der römischen Erbschaftsteilung. Ercto non cito, familia erciscunda", *Glotta* 44 (1966): 41–60.

Nixon, Paul. *Plautus*, *in Five Volumes*, vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Harvard University Press; Heinemann, 1956).

Nixon, Paul. *Plautus*, *in Five Volumes*, vol. 4, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Harvard University Press; Heinemann, 1959).

Patterson, Orlando: *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study with a New Preface* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

Poitras, Geoffrey, and Frederick Willeboordse. "The societas publicanorum and corporate personality in roman private law", *Business History* 16 (2019), https://doi.org/10.1080/00076791.2019.1656719 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Riccobono, Salvatore, Johannes Baviera, Contardo Ferrini, Giussepe Furlani, and Vincenzo Aragio-Ruiz, eds. *Fontes iuris romani antejustiniani in usum scholarum*, part 1, *Leges* (Florence: Barbèra, 1968).

Röhle, Robert. "Zum Wortlaut des Edikts 'Quod publicanus vi ademerit'", *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 46 (1978): 137–40.

Rouland, Norbert. "A propos des 'servi publici populi romani'", *Chiron* 7 (1977): 261–78.

Saller, Richard Paul. "'Familia, Domus', and the Roman Conception of the Family", *Phoenix* 38 (1984): 336–55.

Schermaier, Martin, and Helge Dedek, "Bonorum possessio", in *Encyclopaedia of Ancient History*, October 26, 2012, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah13030 [accessed 17.05.2022].

Schiavone, Aldo. *Nascita della giurisprudenza: cultura aristocratica e pensiero giuridico nella Roma tardorepubblicana* (Bari: Laterza, 1976).

Schilling, Friedrich Adolph. *Bemerkungen über römische Rechtsgeschichte: Eine Kritik über Hugo's Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Römischen Rechts bis auf Justinian* (Leipzig: Johann Ambrosius Barth Verlag, 1829).

Schulz, Fritz. *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

Schumacher, Leonhard. "Hausgesinde – Hofgesinde: terminologische Überlegungen zur Funktion der familia Caesaris im 1. Jh. n. Chr", in *Fünfzig Jahre Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie 1950 – 2000*, ed. Heinz Bellen and Heinz Heinen (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001): 331–52.

Sutton, Edward William. *Cicero De Oratore*, *in Two Volumes*, vol. 1, The Loeb Classical Library (London: Harvard University Press, 1948).

Terranova, Francesca. *Ricerche sul testamentum per aes et libram*, vol. 1 (Turin: Giappichelli, 2011).

Thomas, Yan. "Remarques sur la jurisdiction domestique à Rome", in *Parenté et strategies familiales dans l'antiquité romaine*, ed. Jean Andreau and Hinnerk Bruhns (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1990): 449–74.

Voci, Pasquale. *Diritto ereditario romano*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Milano: Giuffrè, 1967).

Voci, Pasquale. *Diritto ereditario romano*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Milano: Giuffrè, 1963).

Watson, Alan. *Roman Slave Law* (Baltimore: Hopkins University Press, 1987).

Watson, Alan. *Rome of the XII tables: Persons and Property* (Princeton: University Press, 1975).

Watson, Alan. *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

Watson, Alan. *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

Watson, Alan. *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

Watson, Alan. *The Law of Succession in the Later Roman Republic* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

Weaver, Paul Richard Carey. *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: University Press, 1972).

Wieacker, Franz. *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 1 (Munich: Beck, 1989).

Winterling, Aloys. *Aula Caesaris. Studien zur Institutionalisierung des römischen Kaiserhofs in der Zeit von Augustus bis Commodus (31 v. Chr. – 192 n. Chr.)* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1999).

Wolf, Joseph Georg. *Das Senatusconsultum Silanianum und die Senatsrede des C. Cassius Longinus aus dem Jahre 61 n. Chr.* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 1988).

Zlinszky, János. "Familia pecuniaque", *Index* 16 (1988): 31–42.

Zlinszky, János. "Gemeineigentum am Beispiel der servi publici", in *Sklaverei und Freilassung im römischen Recht. Symposium für Hans Josef Wieling zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Finkenauer (Berlin: Springer, 2006): 317–26.

De Zulueta, Francis. *The Institutes of Gaius*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1946).

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Narratives

Zeynep Gökçe. “Reading Asymmetrical Dependencies in the Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Women Travelers in Ottoman Lands,” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 301-324.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-014

Zeynep Yeşim Gökçe

Reading Asymmetrical Dependencies in the Narratives of Nineteenth-Century Women Travelers in Ottoman Lands

1 Introduction

Historical travel writing provides a unique domain from which a very significant amount of information on social and urban history can be deduced. While the authenticity of the reported facts may be open to debate, what is valuable in travel writing is not only *what* was related, but *how* this was done. Reading different forms of asymmetrical dependencies through the eyes of outsiders, who themselves are part of profound dependency relations, may offer us much information about the microcosms they were produced in. Employing nineteenth-century British women's travel writing as my main sources, in this article I will portray the narrative representations of slavery and asymmetrical dependencies in Ottoman lands.

This article aims to challenge and go beyond the dichotomy of 'east' and 'west', and beyond Orientalist discourses, and will consider female authors not only as agents of Orientalism and shadows of their male counterparts, but as producers of narratives themselves. In considering them as 'narrative makers', and in analyzing their narration, I aim to situate the female authors and their writings in their own historical contexts: the long nineteenth century of the European and Ottoman empires. After all, travel literature not only demonstrates the various forms of modern identity, "but it is also one of the principal cultural mechanisms, even a key cause, for the development of modern identity."[1] By historicizing the aspects of nineteenth-century western female authors' identities that thus developed in the 'Orient', this study will interpret the narratives of slavery and other forms of asymmetrical dependencies in the context of Anglo-Ottoman relations in the nineteenth century.

The first part of my paper examines the historical developments during that period in the Ottoman world and demonstrates that western influence and British expansionist politics led to the signing of formal conventions for the abolition of slavery in the Ottoman Empire. It also provides a brief history of the authors as dependent individuals, whose dependency was shaped by a modernizing state. The second part will then focus on the genre of travel writing in general, and on British women's travel writing in particular. It also problematizes the authorship as well as the dependency of those writers. Finally, the concluding part illustrates the various narrative

1 Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, "Introduction," in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999): 4.

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-014

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 552

techniques employed by them to present slavery and different forms of asymmetrical dependencies.

2 Historical Background

"Great Britain, being completely disinterested in the question of the East, has pursued one sole object: the independence and integrity of the Ottoman empire. This was the object proposed by her to all the courts, adopted by them, pursued by them all, and by France as well as by the other powers,"[2] states the "Dispatch Addressed by M. Thiers, President of the Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French ambassador in London" of 1840. Thiers' words summarize official British policy towards the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century: supporting Ottoman sovereignty and independence at the expense of making it dependent on British economic and political power. The years between 1830 and 1926 can be classified as the climax of European imperialism in the Middle East. The impact of imperialism started with the decline of Ottoman power, which reached its final stage at the end of World War I, which caused the dissolution of the Empire.[3] The process that culminated in the dissolution and disintegration of the Ottoman Empire itself was a turning point in nineteenth-century history, particularly for 'Europe' and the 'Middle East'. During this long process, the European powers sought for a steady and strong administration of the Ottoman Empire, since it would be easier and more profitable for them to dominate the Empire's markets through the privileges and concessions granted by a single, centralized Ottoman administration. Over the course of the century, the central state became more powerful and functional, and more authoritative in terms of imposing its power on its subjects. This was a shared goal of the ruling elite and the European powers.[4]

The nineteenth century witnessed notable changes in Ottoman social, economic, and political life. The international position and territorial possessions of the former great power steadily declined.[5] During the long nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire became increasingly dependent on foreign aid and trade and accumulated significant levels of foreign debt.[6] The Empire during this period went through dramatic

2 "Copy of a Despatch Addressed by M. Thiers, President of the Council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador in London," *The Manchester Guardian (1828–1900)*, 14.10.1840.

3 Geoffrey Nash, *From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East 1830–1926* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005): 13.

4 Halil İnalcık and Donald Quataert, eds., *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 762.

5 İnalcık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*: 761.

6 Michael Ferguson and Ehud Toledano, "Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge World History of* Slavery, vol. 4, *AD 1804–AD 2016*, ed. David Eltis et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 199.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 553

shifts, which were mostly prompted by global political transformations. The international relations between the British and Ottoman Empires that stimulated British expansionist policies in the Ottoman Empire constitute the focal point of this study. The most significant event with respect to Anglo-Ottoman relations was the famous Anglo-Ottoman convention of 1838. It was signed under pressure in order to secure British support for the struggle in Egypt, and the treaty paved the way for the elimination of state monopolies and removed "many of the barriers in the way of European merchants."[7] The 1838 treaty is one of the most extensively debated events in relation to the decline of Ottoman industry in the nineteenth century. Britain's objective was to secure free trade agreements, and the Anglo-Ottoman convention became the basis of all concessions Britain acquired.[8]

In response to the instability in international politics, the free trade treaty signed with the British Empire, and the loss of territories resulting from nationalist uprisings, the Ottoman reformists began to undertake a number of critical steps. Internal reforms were carried out as a response to western – mostly British – pressure. The structure of the Ottoman state had to survive and to accommodate itself to the new European order. The political and social reform agenda of the Ottoman Empire eventually resulted in the proclamation of the *Tanzimat* edict in 1839. As the Ottoman Empire continued to lose very significant swathes of territory, the reformists nurtured a new social and political order; and they themselves came to be seen as unavoidable.[9] The established historiography argues that most of these internal reforms were associated with external pressure applied by European nations. As Frank Edgar Bailey states in his 1942 study, "internal reform was the best means of insuring the favor of western nations, particularly Britain."[10] These reforms, which began under Sultan Mahmud II and which became established during the reigns of his sons, resulted in new measures that increased levels of centralized control through the use of a restructured army and the development of a large central bureaucracy.

The state began to take an interest in many areas of its subjects' lives, including their education and social habits, as it aimed at "civilizing" them. These areas had previously been left to non-territorial autonomous systems. The new reforms in education, institutions, law, and religious orders also meant that the state developed a keen interest in how women should be regulated. The state started drawing clear boundaries for social relations, especially those of women. For the first time in its history, the state had a new image of women. The dependency of women was controlled

7 İnalcık and Quataert, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914*: 764.

8 Şevket Pamuk and Jeffrey G. Williamson, "Ottoman De-Industrialization, 1800–1913: Assessing the Magnitude, Impact, and Response," *The Economic History Review* 64, no. S1 (2011): 161.

9 Akın Sefer, "British Workers and Ottoman Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 99 (2021): 148.

10 Frank Edgar Bailey, *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement: A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1826–1853* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942): 179.

through different means. According to Yasemin Avcı, the question of women's emancipation was vital to discussions during the *Tanzimat* period. She classifies the reform period as a state-driven authoritarian modernization period where the situation of women was a key issue. The pressure on women increased as the intellectual elites put the Ottoman family at the core of reforms.[11] As with other nations, the state was going through a period where reforms with respect to women's lives were seen as part of a more general modernization. This new social order, which was both directly and indirectly related to British politics, was a topic of interest for both writers and visitors.

The Anglo-Ottoman convention, followed by the reorganization measures and *Tanzimat* proclamation of 1839, was one of a number of critical events as far as the British Empire's hegemonic power in relation to the Ottoman Empire was concerned. British abolitionist practices in the Ottoman Empire have commonly been regarded in recent scholarship as another manifestation of British hegemonic power over the Ottoman Empire. "Western European (chiefly British) pressure was the main force acting on the Ottoman Empire to take part in the suppression of the slave trade, after efforts to have the government abolish slavery failed in the early 1840s."[12] By the 1850s, the Ottoman Empire's economic dependence on the British, French and other European powers was so extensive that the Ottomans had no choice but to listen to British warnings in relation to the slave trade.[13] Finally, another edict was issued banning the African slave trade into the Empire in 1857. And the next major step taken in the abolition of slavery was the Anglo-Ottoman Convention for the Suppression of the Black Slave Trade in 1880. Even though the Ottoman Empire was never under British rule, "Britain pondered the question of what to do with this failing power in much the same way as it discussed its colonies: the Ottoman Empire was perceived to be both in need of civilizing and as strategically and economically important to Britain."[14]

In parallel with these internal and external political changes, the situation of 'Oriental' women and enslaved concubines occupied British female authors, feminists, and missionaries of the nineteenth century. The newly westernizing eastern women, slaves and polygamy, the differences and similarities of Ottoman social life became a source of increasing interest for travelers to the 'east' from the 1830s onward. I will analyze the representations of different forms of asymmetrical dependencies through the eyes of these female authors, who, given the legal situation of women in Britain at the time, were dependents themselves and who came from a place that was politically

11 Yasemin Avcı, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tanzimat Döneminde 'Otoriter Modernleşme' ve Kadının Özgürleşmesi Meselesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 21 (2007): 11.

12 Ferguson and Toledano, "Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century": 210.

13 Ferguson and Toledano, "Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century": 210.

14 Teresa Heffernan, *Veiled Figures: Women, Modernity, and the Spectres of Orientalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016): 50.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 555

and economically oppressing the land they were visiting; such an approach offers a potentially fertile multi-layered domain of research.

3 Travel Writing: Female Travels to Ottoman Lands – The Genre in Context

"The facilities in traveling to very distant corners of the earth have transferred the pen, which was heretofore only held by male tourists into adventurous female hands; and a lady, nowadays, thinks little of trusting herself among Magyars, Turks, Barbarians, Pagans, or Cannibals."[15] The London-based *Literary Gazette* stated in 1840 that 'ladies' had started braving the perils of traveling among various people that were commonly denigrated as the 'other'. It is hardly surprising that the magazine was founded by Henry Colburn, the publisher of several women's travel books in Britain.

The nineteenth century was an age in which mobility was significantly enhanced, and it offered increasing opportunities for travel. While imperial expansion created the basis for modern forms of globalization and forced the merging of former regionalized economies, it also brought different cultures into more regular contact. Simultaneously, new, faster modes of transport came to the fore. During the nineteenth century, railways, telegraphy, bicycles, and other forms of mobilization emerged.[16] In the mid-nineteenth century, technological advances, mainly in the British Empire and France, created new modes of travel to the Middle East, including steamships, which made it possible to travel via the Mediterranean. The development of the railroad also enabled western tourists to reach the east.[17] As the new trend for continental travel became increasingly popular, travel writing also witnessed a very important change: it was not only the 'male pen' that traveled and wrote, female travelers had also started to travel and publish.

Travel writing had conjured up imaginative geographies, constructed and reconstructed them *continuously for centuries.* Before global mass communication technologies were developed, travel writing had been the only means through which images of the 'other' were dispersed and, more generally, political discourses about 'the east' were created and disseminated. According to Paul Smethurst, travel writing played a crucial role in the discursive formation of empires. The discourse that was reproduced and reconstructed by both travel and travel writing itself contributed to the formation

15 *The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, Arts, Sciences*, 21.11.1840: 747.

16 Carl Thompson, "Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 108.

17 Ali Behdad, "The Politics of Adventure: Theories of Travel, Discourses of Power," in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, Routledge Research in Travel Writing 1 (New York: Routledge, 2009): 90.

of the west defining itself vis-à-vis the east. It was built on a system of ideologically charged asymmetrical relationships.[18] Filiz Turhan argues that during the years that the British Empire expanded its power in the East, the Ottoman Empire's position as a decaying empire was both familiar and yet still foreign, and this made it a popular topic for authors who wanted to understand and situate the British Empire's policies within a global context.[19]

While travel writing offers indispensable insights into discourse and ideology, travel writing by women offers an even more fruitful politically loaded domain due to the fact women were allowed to travel much later and the number of women who got the chance to travel was much limited. I suggest that travel writing by women should not only be analyzed in order to deconstruct the Orientalist gaze or imperialist desires, but that the female gaze itself should also be evaluated by taking into consideration an author's own vulnerabilities and asymmetrical dependency relations. Travel and cultural contacts were crucial means of narrating cultural exchanges. Through the negotiation between these two, travel narratives by Western women recreated different types of social and sexual norms, especially through a comparison of the supposed *wild sexuality* of the local women with the writers' own, tamer European sexuality.[20] The sexuality of European women has been restructured through the images of the women in the lands they traveled to. The female subjects, mostly slaves but also free women, of the Ottoman Lands, are sometimes represented as wild, untamed sexual objects of desire, while the European other is portrayed as educated and more sexually restrained.

According to Susan Bassnett, the nineteenth century witnessed a marked increase in travel accounts, especially by male writers, that boldly sexualized some parts of the world, "contrasting the 'masculine' northern regions with the softer, eroticized, feminine Orient."[21] She claims that this distinction is less apparent in women travel writers. Even though they echoed what their male counterparts did to some extent, they affirmed femininity by including accounts of domestic life.[22] Descriptions of the domestic sphere in the travel books mentioned above are mainly of the inside of the 'harems'. Harem here does not necessarily signify the imperial harem, inhabited by the Sultan, his wife or wives and slaves, but elite households that could afford such harems. Reina Lewis's take on this is that harem literature was based on the presenta-

18 Paul Smethurst, "Introduction," in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, Routledge Research in Travel Writing 1 (New York: Routledge, 2009): 1.

19 Filiz Turhan, *The Other Empire: British Romantic Writings about the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003): 161.

20 Durba Ghosh, "Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?" *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004): 740.

21 Susan Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 239.

22 Bassnett, "Travel Writing and Gender": 239.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 557

tion of Ottoman domestic life and that harem literature contributed to the political discourse created around harem and women's life. The women writers' political stances differed and were historically specific, informed by western debates about foreign policy, and in the late Victorian era foreign policy commentary became more popular.[23] Billie Melman argues that travel books are "reconstructions by a narrative 'I'", which can be very personal or impersonal, "of a slice of life, or lives,"[24] but that when it comes to women's autobiographical writing, women's sense of the past is collective rather than individualist, as they emphasize relations to others.[25]

Travel writing by women in the British Empire became popular in the nineteenth century, due to the developments listed above. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, who was one of the best-known female authors, traveled to Istanbul in the eighteenth century, long before the genre and tourism had become fashionable. Her notorious book Turkish Embassy Letters was published in 1763 and was considered to be pioneering in female travel writing about the east. Since then, according to Lewis, western women did their best to satisfy the appetite of a western readership curious about domestic life and harems. What gave them their unique selling point was the fact that they had actually seen the harems, places that were inaccessible to men.[26]

> The increase in the social mobility of middle-class British women, many of whom travelled as nurses, teachers, nannies and missionaries, combined with an expanding market for harem literature, had generated an impressive number of nineteenth-century women's travel narratives about the Ottoman world.[27]

Some 75 books were written and published during the nineteenth century by British female authors who had travelled to the Middle East as tourists, or accompanying male relatives (fathers or husbands) who went there for professional reasons or as missionaries.

Most of those authors who had been to or lived for a longer period of time in Ottoman lands, were 'dependents'. By this I mean they were either wives or daughters, or sometimes sisters, of officials traveling to Ottoman lands, or of someone appointed there. Domestic aspects of the households, mostly the lives of women, were the main interest of these authors; it was a matter of both personal interest to them and conferred on them a unique advantage, since male travelers were not allowed inside the harems. Nineteenth-century women's travel writing is full of non-descriptive elements

---

23 Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, Library of Ottoman Studies 4 (London: Tauris, 2004): 15.

24 Billie Melman, *Women's Orients, English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918: Sexuality, Religion, and Work* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992): 27.

25 Melman, *Women's Orients, English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918*: 27.

26 Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*: 13.

27 Heffernan, *Veiled Figures*: 48.

that aim to inform readers about the legal status of women, their economic position, multiple marriages, concubinage, and culinary habits.[28]

I argue that there are three primary reasons why western women's travel writing is ideal for identifying different forms of asymmetrical relationships: 1) The female subjects from Europe/the West are part of a modernization project who are commodified and presented as figures of freedom, development, and civilization; 2) although the authenticity of their reports may be questioned, only female authors had access to female-only places such as harems, which their male counterparts were not allowed to visit; 3) the majority of female authors were in relations of dependency with the men whom they accompanied; therefore the patterns and symbols of asymmetrical dependencies they chose to include in their writings are apt to be particularly self-revelatory.

3.1 Two Travelers: Julia Pardoe and Lady Hornby

There are many metaphors and analogies through which female travel writers represent asymmetrical dependencies. I mainly focus on two different categories – the asymmetrical dependency of female slaves, mostly in a domestic context, and of the free women whom the authors represent as dependents. As previously noted, the authors of the texts, Julia Pardoe and Lady Hornby, in the following examples, are dependents themselves. Both accompanied a male relative and had limited freedom of choice. By implicitly comparing their own levels of freedom with that of the enslaved women of the households, and that of the wives and mistresses, they stress their own spaces of freedom. The recounting of these dependency relations by a dependent makes these narratives special. Moreover, given the historical and political background, I also focus on a third layer of dependency, namely the economic dependency relation between the Ottoman Empire, a former superpower, and the principal European states, primarily the British Empire. By reflecting the values of British invasive politics in their accounts, Western women authors also give expression to their conception of their own liberty.

3.1.1 Julia Pardoe

Julia Pardoe is the author of *The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks, in 1836*, which was published in 1837. Although there is some debate over her birth date, she was born sometime between 1804 and 1806. Pardoe's father, Major Thomas Pardoe, was assigned to Istanbul and she accompanied him, arriving in the

28 Melman, *Women's Orients, English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918*: 101.

city in December 1835.[29] As stated in the British literary magazine *Athenaeum* in 1837, "Miss Pardoe arrived in Constantinople on the 30th of December, 1835, and at once plunged into the female society of that capital, if society that may be called, which consists of mingling with the gaily dressed uneducated and gentle creatures of the harems."[30] The condescending tone in the British magazine suggests a widespread trivialization of the Ottoman women the female travelers encountered. She spent three months in Istanbul, where she had the chance to visit the houses of some elite inhabitants whom she met thanks to her father's high-ranking position. Her descriptive narrative is based on observations, and she includes lengthy descriptions of how women lived in Istanbul and how the elite household harems functioned. According to the *Literary Gazette* of London in 1837, "Coming from the pen of a lady who enjoyed opportunities for observing her sex in Constantinople, such as male writers could not attain, we shall chiefly direct our attention to sketches connected therewith."[31]

The principal reason for choosing Julia Pardoe's book for this paper is that it was written shortly before the closure of the slave markets in Ottoman Turkey, in a period where the country was going through 'westernizing' reforms. It was a time of political and economic transformation. As stated in *The Literary Gazett*e, "[s]ince Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, we have had nothing of female observation upon the manners of Turkey; and were therefore prepared to welcome these volumes as agreeable accessions to our information upon a subject always of considerable interest, and now much enhanced by the curious transition state through which the Ottoman Empire is at present passing."[32]

> I am quite conscious that more than one lady reader will lay down my volume without regret, when she discovers how matter-of-fact are many of its contents. The very term 'Oriental' implies to European ears the concentration of romance; and I was long in the East ere I could divest myself of the same feeling. It would have been easy for me to have continued the illusion, for Oriental habits lend themselves greatly to the deceit when the looker-on is satisfied with glancing over the surface of things; but with a conscientious chronicler this does not suffice; and, consequently, I rather sought to be instructed than to be amused, and preferred the veracious to the entertaining.[33] [. . .]
>
> I would not remove one fold of the graceful drapery which veils the time-hallowed statue of Eastern power and beauty, but I cannot refrain from plucking away the trash and tinsel that ignorance and bad taste have hung about it.[34]

29 Julia Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan, and, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* (London: H. Colburn, 1837): 1.

30 "The City of the Sultan, and the Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836," *The Athenaeum* 501, 03.06.1837: 394.

31 William Jerdan, "The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836," *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 1063, 03.06.1837: 345.

32 Jerdan, "The City of the Sultan": 345.

33 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 106.

34 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 108.

These words of Julia Pardoe encompass the main elements employed by the narrator in her book. 1) Women are Pardoe's principal target audience – she addresses her words to female readers. She aims to inform her female readers about Ottoman domestic life, especially as it pertains to the lives of women within the household; 2) she claims that her information is evidence-based; 3) she often uses analogies and metaphors for 'veiled'; and 4) the descriptions of the beauties of the 'east' are usually followed by depictions of negative characteristics that are attributed to the 'Orient' such as superstitiousness or ignorance.

The book opens with depictions of a snow-covered Istanbul, and Pardoe describes some beautiful Istanbul scenes. One of the first sections of the first chapter is called *Romance versus Reason*. Pardoe visits the city during Ramadan and is charmed by the Ramadan decorations and lights that hang between the minarets of the mosques and illuminate the city. She reflects on the illuminated, magical view of the city, and compares reason and science-obsessed Europe with the colorful, illuminated East. She concludes that the obsession with science blinds the individual to the possibility of fully perceiving and enjoying the beauties and colors of life, something that easterners enjoy: "I detest the spirit, which reduces everything to plain reason, and pleases itself by tracing effect to causes where the only result of the research must be the utter annihilation of all romance, and the extinction of all wonder."[35] Pardoe equates the "ignorant, vulgar, uneducated beauties" of the east with "romance", and the "education, civilization, and development" of the West with "reason".

Western women provide varied and complex discourses on the female social space in Ottoman society. They were received as guests in harems, and British women had the chance to enter the harems where free Muslim women had brought and trained their female slaves. During their visits, they discussed slavery, marriage, divorce, and various topics in relation to the harem and women's lives.[36] Julia Pardoe provides lengthy descriptions of how free women and slaves lived in Istanbul, what they wore, and how they spent their time. She considers herself privileged, as she easily obtains permission to visit an elite household harem. "My first anxiety was to pass a day of Fast in the interior of a Turkish family. This difficult, and in most cases, impossible, achievement for a European was rendered easy to me by the fact that, shortly after our landing, I procured an introduction to a respectable Turkish merchant, and I had no sooner written to propose a visit to his harem than I received the most frank and cordial assurances of welcome."[37] Once she enters the harem for the first time, she mentions that she was struck by the beauty of the young daughter and surprised by her blue eyes and golden brown hair – physical features which she prob-

35 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 9.

36 Irene Kamberidou, "Interacting, Sharing and Bonding: 'Notes of Personal Experience' by Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers," *Gender, Place & Culture* 23, no. 3 (2016): 386.

37 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 16.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 561

ably attributes to western origin.[38] She describes the beauty of the female dresses, the silk veils, ornaments, and garments; items which she considers to be luxurious.

Pardoe is impressed by the 'veils' that cover these women: the word 'veil' is repetitively used, both in a literal and metaphorical sense. These ornamented, beautifully fabricated veils cover the women. "Their time is spent in dressing themselves, and varying the position of their ornaments."[39] Pardoe describes the women as uneducated idlers, who are unable to pass the time in any meaningful way: "Their habits are, generally speaking, most luxurious and indolent, if I except their custom of early rising, which, did they occupy themselves in any useful manner, would be undoubtedly very commendable; but, as they only add, by these means, two or three hours of ennui to each day, I am at a loss how to classify it."[40] The women, being lazy and idle, according to Pardoe, even "not unfrequently engage their guests to take a nap with the same *sang-froid* with which a European lady would invite her friends to take a walk."[41] She compares European women to Ottoman women and portrays the latter as lazy and idle, while the former are seen as educated and having an active social life.

Following her harem visit, she comments on the habits of Turkish women. She elaborates on their shopping habits and marks the degree to which they prepare themselves for these trips. "Nor are women of high rank exempt from this indelicate fancy, which can only be accounted for by the belief that, like caged birds occasionally set free, they do not know how to use their liberty."[42] In underlining the fact that the women have no meaningful way to spend their time except for shopping and spending money, she employs the "caged bird" metaphor. The words "freedom" and "liberty" are used frequently when she refers to the lives of the women, and these words and metaphors have symbolic meaning. In the case of Pardoe, they represent the different forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies, but they also act as agents by means of which the superiority and liberty of western women are attested.

> If, as we are all prone to believe, freedom be happiness, then are the Turkish women the happiest, for they are certainly the freest individuals in the Empire. It is the fashion in Europe to pity the women of the East; but it is ignorance of their real position alone which can engender so misplaced an exhibition of sentiment.[43]

Here, Pardoe states that in Europe, women are deceiving themselves by pitying the women of the east. This passage may, at first glance, seem to praise the Turkish women by comparison. The author, however, looks down on these Turkish women,

38 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 19.
39 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 20.
40 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 20.
41 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 21.
42 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 33.
43 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 100.

who, while they have freedom to go shopping if they cover themselves,[44] are in her view uneducated and ignorant, and have no interests other than buying clothes and dressing up. Pardoe's portrayal serves to negatively highlight and contrast the dependencies of these women with what she wants to underline, her alleged freedom and independence.

> The almost total absence of education among Turkish women, and the consequently limited range of their ideas, is another cause of that quiet, careless, indolent happiness that they enjoy; their sensibilities have never been awakened, and their feelings and habits are comparatively unexacting; they have no factitious wants, growing out of excessive mental refinement; and they do not, therefore, torment themselves with the myriad anxieties, and doubts, and chimeras which would darken and depress the spirit of more highly-gifted females.[45]

The author of this text is however a dependent herself. She is there to accompany her father and she does not enjoy full freedom, though the amount of freedom she enjoys is higher in comparison with what she observes in the east. In presenting the deficiencies of Turkish women, she seeks to create her own space of liberty and to assume a position of superiority.

Throughout Julia Pardoe's book *The City of the Sultan and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836*, there are numerous references to slaves and slavery. Pardoe discusses two forms of female slavery in her book: (a) slaves in the households, responsible for serving and other domestic tasks, and (b) *odaliks* or concubines, with accounts of the latter generally held to have generated the greatest interest. Although she does not comment on the possible existence of a hierarchical structure among the slaves, her choice of words and expressions of amazement clearly communicate her views on the matter. The first group of slaves are not described in detail, but are referred to by their number or skin color. During her visit to a Turkish merchant's household harem, she mentions a slave announcing dinner: "and, as a slave announced dinner, we all followed her to a smaller apartment, where the table, if such I may call it, was already laid."[46] During the same dinner her observations are as follows: "the room was literally filled with slaves, 'black, white, and gray' from nine years old to fifty."[47] She does not furnish elaborate descriptions but rather refers to the number of slaves or describes their menial tasks. Invited to sleep at the merchant's house after the dinner, she relates how her bed was made: "At the lower end of every Turkish room are large closets for the reception of the bedding and the slaves no sooner ascertain that you have risen, than a half a dozen of them enter the apartment, and in five minutes every vestige of your couch has disappeared."[48] The absence of any real descriptive

44 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 101.
45 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 103.
46 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 21.
47 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 23.
48 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 32.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 563

detail with respect to slaves and her not providing further detail do tell the reader about her position. "The instant that you have eaten, a slave stands before you with water and a napkin to cleanse your hands."[49] These descriptions, devoid as they are of any humanizing detail, speak to the presence of these asymmetrical relations.

With regard to the first group of slaves that Pardoe mentions in her accounts, i.e. the household slaves, she usually underlines their skin color. She usually calls the black slaves "negroes" and refrains from giving much information about their clothes or habits. Pardoe for instance refers to a young slave girl with black skin as "a negro slave girl of twelve or thirteen years of age."[50] As Bernard Lewis mentions in his pioneering work on race and slavery in the Middle East, race plays a role in shaping attitudes and perceptions in society. He notes that in descriptions of the black slaves' physical appearance, many authors employ pejorative adjectives such as "ugly," "dull," or even "monstrous."[51]

When Pardoe visits the principal of a military school to talk about education, "during the conversation, tea was handed to us in the Russian fashion by his dragoman, attended by two negro slaves and after partaking of it we commenced our survey of the establishment."[52] Likewise, when she goes to visit the harem of Mustafa Pasha, a high-ranking officer, they were welcomed in front of the entrance by "half a dozen servants, several of them negroes, [who] were lounging in listless idleness at the entrance, which our arrival instantly changed into ready and officious bustle."[53] Pardoe chooses to explicitly mention the skin color of the slaves. "A couple of the negroes accompanied us upstairs, and, leading us across a very handsome saloon, whose recesses were filled with cushions, and whose open gallery and commanded the court beneath, showed us into a smaller apartment, and seated us on a sofa."[54] She continues: "At the extremity of the dais a pile of cushions were heaped upon the floor; and at the upper end of the sofa squatted the Pasha, with a negro slave on each side of him, busied in arranging his pipe which had been just replenished."[55] Pardoe gives special attention to the descriptions of the interior spaces of the houses, and in her narration it seems as if the black slaves are no more than a part of these interior design descriptions. Similar to how she describes menial black slaves in harems, she chooses to use pejorative words to depict black eunuchs as "hideous"[56] or "the most unwieldly person".[57]

---

49 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 106.

50 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 131.

51 Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990): 92.

52 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 196.

53 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 229.

54 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 230.

55 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 249.

56 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 274

57 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 274

Pardoe is mostly interested in the Circassian female slaves, as was the case with most of the authors of her time, and gives special attention to odalisques. She talks about Circassian parents selling their own children into slavery, "no assertion of mine can, however, so satisfactorily prove the fact which I have here advanced, as the circumstance that almost all the youth of both sexes in Circassia insist upon being conveyed by their parents to Constantinople where the road to honour and advancement is open to everyone."[58] While such accounts tended to be employed to convey how "barbarous" such people could be, and to highlight the "disgraceful behavior" of those parents willing to sell their own children for money, there is indeed evidence in the archives that families would sell their own children. Historian Ceyda Karamürsel states, "it is not possible to argue the wholesale inexistence of such cases of self-enslavement by relatives, as there is documentary evidence, particularly in British archives, which underlines the pervasiveness of Caucasian parents selling their children into slavery."[59] I suggest here that as the British Empire was directly involved in population movements in the Caucasus, and was politically involved in the internal politics of the region, that when parents are described as "selling their children to slavery", such descriptions are reproduced to demonstrate the supposed evilness of the east.

In Ottoman Istanbul, Circassian and Georgian women mostly served as concubines. Circassian women often reached the harems of the urban upper class of the Empire, not infrequently attaining positions of prestige and comfort as wives of middle and upper-level functionaries.[60] These concubines are called *odalik*, sometimes spelled *odalique* or *odalisque* by European writers. According to Pardoe, a Turkish man, "usually marries a woman of his own rank; after which, should he, either from whim, or for family reasons, resolve on increasing his establishment, he purchases slaves from Circassia and Georgia, who are termed *Odaliques*."[61] Pardoe has the chance to visit a high-ranking officer, Scodra Pasha, and recounts the lengthy story of a concubine whom she met in this harem. The daughter of the household, Heymine Hanım, explains to Pardoe that her mother could not have a male child and that that was why her father, Scodra Pasha "wrote to a friend in Constantinople to purchase for him four young Circassians, and to embark them, under the charge of an elderly woman, for Albania."[62] The odalisque whom Pardoe met, sitting next to the Pasha's mother, had two sons by the Pasha. When the concubine enters, similar to most of the

58 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 104.

59 Ceyda Karamürsel, "'In the Age of Freedom, in the Name of Justice': Slaves, Slaveholders, and the State in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic, 1857–1933" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2015): 46.

60 Ehud Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression: 1840–1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983): 8.

61 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 102.

62 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 241.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 565

other descriptions of Circassian slaves/odaliques, Pardoe is amazed: "She was by far the prettiest woman of the three, but there was a subdued and hopeless expression about her, which showed at once that she had not been a favourite child of fortune. She was slight and beautifully formed, with a low, soft voice which was almost music."[63]

Another story that Pardoe relates is that in relation to a concubine from Mustafa Nazif Efendi's house, the Egyptian *chargé d'affaires*. "[T]he little history of her life, which, although by no means remarkable in Turkey, is so characteristic, and will, moreover, appear so extraordinary to European readers, that I shall give it, as nearly as my memory will serve me, in her own words."[64] By mentioning that her account will appear extraordinary to European readers, she implies that this story is morally unacceptable. The concubine's story is that she was sold by her parents in Istanbul when she was nine and that she had another master, but that during a visit to this house, she was admired by the mistress and was sold to the household. "I pitied the poor young creature as I listened to her narrative. [. . .] She was not pretty; but she was so childlike, so graceful and so gentle, that she inspired an interest which, when I had heard her story, was even more painful."[65]

I will conclude the examples of representations of slavery with a scene where Pardoe describes the freedom of choice that slaves in Ottoman Turkey enjoy. A final example of representation of slavery in Pardoe's *The City of the Sultan, and, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* is the part where Pardoe makes her point about the freedom of choice that slaves in Istanbul enjoy. "There is a remarkable feature in the position of the Turkish slaves that I must not omit to mention. Should it occur that one of them, from whatever cause it may arise, feels himself uncomfortable in the house of his owner, the dissatisfied party requests his master to dispose of him."[66] To prove her point on this relative freedom, she relates the story of a woman who used to be the slave of Ahmet Pasha, the governor. The slave falls in love with a young man of the neighborhood and "was desirous to become his property. Such being the case, she informed her mistress that she wished to be taken to the market and disposed of, which was accordingly carried into effect."[67] I suggest that the representation of freedom in female slavery is one of the many methodologies that Pardoe uses to prove her point about the romantic east being uncivilized yet colorful. The east, illuminated and colorful, is a place where even slaves can have the freedom to make irrational choices.

63 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 242.
64 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 117.
65 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 118.
66 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 105.
67 Pardoe, *The City of the Sultan*: 105.

3.1.2 Lady Emilia Hornby

The second text is Co*nstantinople during the Crimean War* by Lady Emilia Hornby. The book was published in 1863, almost thirty years after Julia Pardoe's work. It was written during the Crimean War, a war that played an important role in the Ottoman modernization process. It introduced many new social practices, and it also increased the number of visitors to Istanbul as well as the contacts between Europeans and Ottomans.[68] The war was significant in terms of the European powers' intervention in Ottoman policy, as French and British troops sided with the Ottoman Empire against Russia during the conflict.[69]

Lady Hornby's work, according to the publisher, was an extension of a previous book of hers, entitled *In and Around Stamboul*.[70] Lady Hornby arrived in Istanbul in August 1854, in the company of her husband, who was the British Loan Commissioner. The author stayed six years in Istanbul, and spent her time writing to her friends in England describing the city's people, manners and customs.[71] According to a book review published in 1864 in the magazine *The Reader*,

> Sir Edmund Hornby's official position, and the length of their residence in the East, enabled Lady Hornby to give a most minute and trustworthy account of a country which, though interesting in many respects, was but little known in England previous to the Crimean war. The letters are simple yet graphic accounts of what an educated, unprejudiced English lady saw and did.[72]

Lady Hornby's book starts with an account of her journey to Istanbul by boat. Upon her arrival, her first visit takes her to a public park where people usually gather for picnics. She describes a group of women she meets there as follows: "Nothing in point of colouring and groupings, could be more strikingly beautiful than these clusters of women by the trees and fountain. Imagine five or six in a row, their jet-black eyes shining through their white veils, under which you can see the gleam of jewels which confine their hair."[73] She continues with extensive descriptions of what they wear, and how colorful their choice of clothing is. Similar to Julia Pardoe, the author is impressed by the color and illumination.

According to Hornby, the wives of high-ranking officials "look like hothouse flowers, and are really cultivated to the highest perfection of physical beauty, having no other employment but to make their skins as snow-white and their eyebrows as jet-

---

68 Candan Badem, *Ottoman Crimean War, 1853–1856*, The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 329.

69 Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*: 132.

70 Mrs. Edmund Hornby, *In and Around Stamboul* (Philadelphia: J. Challen & Son, Lindsay & Blakiston, 1858).

71 "Lady Hornby's Constantinople during the Crimean War," *The Reader, 1863–1867*, 09.01.1864: 39.

72 "Lady Hornby's Constantinople during the Crimean War": 39.

73 Mrs. Edmund Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War* (London: R. Bentley, 1863): 57.

black as possible."[74] Hornby's descriptions of women are similar to Pardoe's; the women are very beautifully dressed, their clothes are colorful, and they are "veiled." It becomes clear though that these are descriptions of what the author regards as entirely superficial. The women are held to be not well educated and are seen as lacking in any other skills, bar those required to beautify themselves. According to Hornby, watching an ordinary Turkish woman – not belonging to any elite household – walk is a miserable experience; "nothing can be more wretched than to see the poor thing attempting to walk, or to make herself at all useful. She shuffles along the ground exactly like an embarrassed paroquet, looking as if her loose garments must inevitably flutter off at the next step."[75] And "[i]f she is not a beauty and is not the property of a rich man, she is the most miserable looking creature possible."[76] The women are dependent, and their descriptions in the text bear comparison with those accorded to decorative objects. The ones who are not wives or daughters of rich men, the lower-class women, look funny according to Hornby when they walk or try to take any independent action. Being the "property of a rich man" is the only thing that makes these women graceful. Lady Hornby depicts a woman who sees her in the street and is amazed by her beauty: "They have very simple engaging ways, and seem so inclined to love you, taking hold of one or two fingers, as children do, and looking into your face appealingly, which is very touching to me, for they seem to think us so free and happy, so different to themselves."[77] Lady Hornby imagines herself in an almost motherly role. This assumption of a parental role seems to hint at the British-Ottoman relationship of the period during which Ottoman Istanbul had become something akin to a British protectorate. As Frances Gouda states in her work on gendered discourses and colonialism, "parental symbols established a taxonomy of authority, tutelage, and obedience; they served as universally recognizable emblems of differential positions of power."[78] In a very similar state of mind, Lady Hornby reports a talk she has had with an Admiral Slade, a British admiral who was served in the Ottoman navy at the time. Hornby and Slade talk about the situation of women in Turkey: "We had a long chat about the women the other day, and agreed that, pretty, gentle and intelligent as they generally are, their ignorance would be in the highest degree ludicrous, were it not so lamentable."[79] Hornby shows the same maternal attitude while comparing Turkish women with animals and referring to them as slaves:

> How profoundly you would pity these poor degraded women, when young, so pretty and soft and gentle and intelligent, —but mere animals, though they be gazelles or fawns, —and when

74 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 58.
75 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 59.
76 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 60.
77 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 166.
78 Frances Gouda, "The Gendered Rhetoric of Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 5.
79 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 394.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 568

> their first bloom and vivacity is past, indolent to disease, gluttonous, spiteful, hopeless! Such they are made by the tyranny of their masters, when nature has given them everything.[80]

Hornby describes the Turkish women as pretty and intelligent, both when she quotes her conversation with Admiral Slade and when she notes down her own observations. According to her, the Turkish women are naturally beautiful, they are blessed with intelligence, but as they lack education they are no different than animals or slaves.

In February 1856, after the Crimean War had ended, Sultan Abdülmecid (r. 1839–1861) attended two European balls. He first appeared at the British Embassy in February and then at the French Embassy.[81] The balls were significant as it was the first time a Sultan had appeared at a ball. His presence there was indicative of the progress of the process of Europeanization. Lady Hornby was invited to the first ball that was given at the British Embassy. She recounts the story of two Turkish officers watching the European women dancing at the ball. She overhears their conversation. When one of the men asks the other what he thinks about the dance, the answer is surprising: "Is it possible that our gentle, veiled women will ever rush around in the arms of officers, like these?"[82] It is highly unlikely that this conversation occurred as reported. Lady Hornby's Turkish was such that she would have been unable to follow such an exchange. But the decision to include it is nonetheless intentional. Hornby is keen that her readers observe this tension and the process of political transition then underway in Turkey. It is worth mentioning that both the question of women and the debate surrounding the issue of the veil are indicative of the ongoing process of Europeanization and modernization, as observed and noted by Hornby. She describes another scene where a Turkish gentleman wanted to meet Hornby and her friends. Her interpreter warns Hornby before her visit: "Although of the new school, and affecting European manners, he seemed shy of ladies."[83] And after spending some time in his house, she asks him about his wife. He replies that "she still wears that rag, that symbol of slavery, the *yashmak*[84] [emphasis mine], which I long to see torn from the faces of our women."[85] In this imagined conversation, the gentleman, who is supposedly fond of European manners, describes the veil as a symbol of slavery. This sentence alone is testimony to how Hornby views the contrast between European and eastern manners as well as that between slavery and freedom.

---

80 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 397.

81 Badem, *Ottoman Crimean War, 1853–1856*: 333.

82 Hornby, *Constantinople During the Crimean War*: 221.

83 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 280.

84 A yashmak is a veil worn by Muslim women that is wrapped around the upper and lower parts of the face so that only the eyes remain exposed to public view. *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, s.v. "yashmak," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/yashmak [accessed 02.07.2021].

85 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 283.

Like Pardoe, Hornby uses the term "veiled" very often, almost every time she describes a group of women in public walking around, traveling on boats or sitting in a garden. "Fancy a pretty villa mingling its shadows in the water with the high trees surrounding it, the blue sky peeping in above, and a distracting peep of rose and orange gardens on either side, in which Turkish ladies, veiled and splendidly attired are walking slowly about"[86] writes Hornby. She describes a boating scene as follows: "Fancy, in contrast to this, a Turkish boat, stealing noiselessly along, filled with veiled and silent women, and carefully guarded by hideous and ferocious Blacks."[87] And looking at the shore from a boat she observes, "by the landing-place the banks were literally lined with white-veiled Turkish women, their *feridjees*[88] of every possible brilliant or delicate hue, from blue, trimmed with rose pink, and cherry trimmed with silver, to delicate apple green and the palest straw-colour."[89] She is surprised to have observed "[a] few veiled black women [. . .] squatting on the edge of the Bridge of Boats"[90] or "a crowd of veiled women, lame, halt, and blind, [. . .] dispersing."[91] The description of the women as veiled serves both as a tool to underline the fact that Turkish women cannot go out without covering themselves, and also as a way of disregarding the agency of women, by referring to them as covered crowds.

Irene Kamberidou's remarks on references to slavery in women's accounts are as follows: "The female accounts repeatedly corroborate that an Ottoman harem – especially that of the elite and the so-called middle class – was made up of women from different nations: Islamized slaves, liberated slaves and descendants of slaves, the prototype being the imperial harem."[92] Kamberidou's remarks are very apparent in Hornby's account; it contains numerous references to elite and middle-class harems, where she talks about various modes of slavery. She not only talks about concubinage in harem slavery, but like Pardoe refers to the menial servitude of slaves and how black slaves would usually accompany their masters outside. As mentioned before, the most common form of asymmetrical dependency to be found in the accounts of women writers is that in relation to slavery.

The slave markets in Istanbul were closed in 1846 under British pressure, in line with westernization policies,[93] however Lady Hornby reports that she passed by the slave market of Istanbul. As Reina Lewis states, "Westerners were regular visitors to the slave market, which had become a feature of the tourist itinerary as well as a sta-

86 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 378.
87 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 379.
88 Feridjee; Ferace: A long coat [emphasis mine].
89 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 381.
90 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 30.
91 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 199.
92 Kamberidou, "Interacting, Sharing and Bonding": 393.
93 Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression: 1840–1890*: 107.

ple of high and popular representation."[94] European visitors liked to visit slave markets, where they could observe and write about 'exotic' slaves. Whether Hornby had actually been to the slave market is questionable, but her representations of the slaves in the market are worth noting.

> Such a sad, humiliating sight! There were only about a dozen blacks to sell, mostly women; and several had little children or babies in their arms. I thought they looked cheerful, and very much at home with their Turkish master, with the exception of one poor creature who sat aloof from the rest, the image of sullen despair.[95]

Hornby gives her a peach and a little money. "She took hold of my hand and said something which I could not understand. Poor soul! My heart could only ache for her."[96] Similar to the previous account where she described a woman who had apparently been captivated by her beauty, she plays the role of 'mother of the poor', adopting sentimental language.

Hornby tends to pity the slave women, whom she finds beautiful if they are Circassians, whereas she usually does not even regard black slaves as human beings. She utilizes distinct terms for the different types of slavery. While she tends to provide lengthy descriptions of the physical appearance of the Circassian concubines and their costumes, both of which she usually finds very beautiful, she rarely describes the black slaves in any detail. She assumes every black person she encounters in the streets to be a slave and she refers to them as "negroes" or "black creatures", the choice of vocabulary explicitly indicative of the hierarchy in place as she sees it. Phrases such as "hideous Nubian slaves"[97] or "hideous and ferocious Blacks,"[98] are neither unexceptional nor rare in her account. The adjective "hideous" is overused by both Julia Pardoe and Lady Hornby, mostly in reference to black slaves. Lady Hornby's descriptions of black people can be regarded as reflective of her own country's colonialist policies in the Middle East, with her politically loaded narration alluding to black people generally as socially inferior.

The author, like many of the other female writers, has a keen interest in harems and harem slavery. Given the chance to visit a harem of a high-ranking officer, a Pasha, she describes the various slaves she meets in the harem. "Evidently in a dreamy kind of reverie, sat the principal wife of Pasha, surrounded by her slaves, some sitting on the steps beneath the divan, at her feet, others laughing together and strolling about. She rose as we approached, and gave her hand, after the English fashion, to each. The slaves all crowded round to look at us, and I assure you that the

94 Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*: 132.
95 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 26.
96 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 26.
97 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 25.
98 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 379.

variety and brilliancy of their costumes was almost dazzling."[99] As she describes the scene in the harem, she refers to black slaves, young and old female slaves and their costumes. She is fascinated by the costumes and expensive clothes of the slaves. But she is most fascinated by a "lovely young Circassian lady, who was, as we afterwards found out, the Pasha's second wife, and a present from the Sultan."[100] Hornby and her two British friends, who had dinner at the harem of the Pasha, called this woman "the fair Circassian"[101] because of her beauty, which Hornby dedicates one page to. As discussed earlier, "with slaves' value reflecting a racialized hierarchy of beauty, Caucasian women were held in the highest esteem."[102]

One final example of Hornby's representations of slaves is again from one of her visits to a harem. During the visit to a high-ranking official's harem, Hornby recounts the purchase of a slave girl. According to her account, the head nurse of the family was invited to the harem that day also. The woman came to the harem, to bring the mistress a very young slave girl, whom Hornby describes as "of rare beauty; deep, deep blue eyes [. . .] such dear little bare white feet, gleaming from the tiny embroidered slippers!"[103] Hornby describes the following scene where the very young slave girl's physical features were checked to determine whether she was perfect enough to be purchased as a slave. At some point, the mistress opines that "her complexion is too dark for blue eyes, but the nurse thinks she is sunburnt or flushed, so they are going to wipe her cheeks with cool rose-water."[104] The girl, during this examination, shows signs of anger: "The suppressed anger of the child was intense; her nature was true then. No doubt she had always been taught to look forward to being sold at some great harem at Constantinople, – all the Circassian and Georgian girls are; but her natural instinct of shame, insult and degradation was powerful still."[105] Whether the purchase of the slave was staged or authentic, the narrative is informative with respect to the views of the author. While she shows pity and even regret at staying at the house during the humiliating process that the girl goes through, she does not refrain from describing the black slaves' hands as "ugly."[106] The descriptions of the hierarchy of the slaves based on their skin color are both detailed and explicit. Moreover, her account also records the well-established belief that both the Circassian and Georgian girls were looking forward to being sold, as did Julia Pardoe's. However, the author finds this voluntary enslavement shameful and projects her ideas onto the enslaved girl, who, according to Hornby, showed signs of instinctive shame.

99 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 239.
100 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 240.
101 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 241.
102 Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism*: 130.
103 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 363.
104 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 363.
105 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 364.
106 Hornby, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*: 364.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 572

4 Concluding Remarks

Nineteenth-century women's travel writing provides a unique domain from which a very significant amount of gendered asymmetrical dependencies can be deduced. As I have tried to demonstrate, although the authenticity of the reported facts is questionable, historical travel writing offers a perspective through which readers can glean information on the motivations of what is stated.

I argue that female authors like Julia Pardoe and Lady Hornby, in this particular case, were part of profound dependency relations. They were dependent on their male relatives, and their stay in Istanbul was dependent on the latter. Moreover, their books were published and read because their accounts were marketable and had a degree of commercial value in England. Their narration was directly dependent on the political situation pertaining at that time and the relationship that persisted between the British and Ottoman Empires during this period. Therefore, I suggest that when the narrations of female travelers to Ottoman lands in the nineteenth century are analyzed, three different layers of dependency relations should be considered: 1) the Ottoman Empire's political and economic dependency on the British Empire, which triggered the abolition of the slave markets and slavery in the Ottoman Empire; 2) the dependency of 'free' British women on their male relatives (usually husbands and fathers, whom they accompanied); and 3) the dependency relations of free and enslaved women in the Ottoman Empire.

We are therefore faced with different forms and degrees of asymmetrical dependencies seen through the lens of British female authors of the nineteenth century. I propose that, in representing enslavement and other forms of asymmetrical dependencies in the social lives of the women of the period, these authors, who were themselves dependent to some extent, created a space of freedom for themselves. As such, in presenting accounts of 'eastern' life, which so distinctly contrasted with their own, they affirmed their own impression of possessing personal liberty. Moreover, by showing pity or almost maternal affection for the enslaved women, the British women echoed and reiterated a colonial and invasive discourse. Nevertheless, women's travel writing is an essential, if not the only, source from which to derive information on the lives and social interactions of slaves in the elite household harems.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

"Copy of a Despatch Addressed by M. Thiers, President of the Council, and Minister of Foreign Affairs to the French Ambassador in London," *The Manchester Guardian*, 14.10.1840.

Hornby, Mrs Edmund. *Constantinople during the Crimean War* (London: R. Bentley, 1863).

Hornby, Mrs Edmund. *In and around Stamboul* (Philadelphia: J. Challen&Son, Lindsay&Blakiston, 1858).

Jerdan, William. "The City of the Sultan; and Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836," *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 1063, 03.06.1837: 345–47.

"Lady Hornby's Constantinople During the Crimean War," *The Reader*, *1863–1867*, 09.01.1864: 39–40.

Pardoe, Julia. *The City of the Sultan, and, Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836* (London: H. Colburn, 1837).

"The City of the Sultan, and the Domestic Manners of the Turks in 1836," *The Athenaeum* 501 03.06.1837: 394–96 [review].

The Literary Gazette, and Journal of Belles Lettres, *Arts, Sciences*, 21.11.1840.

Secondary Sources

Avcı, Yasemin. "Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tanzimat Döneminde 'Otoriter Modernleşme' ve Kadının Özgürleşmesi Meselesi," *Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi* 21 (2007): 1–18.

Badem, Candan. *Ottoman Crimean War, 1853–1856*, The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

Bailey, Frank Edgar. *British Policy and the Turkish Reform Movement: A Study in Anglo-Turkish Relations, 1826–1853* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942).

Bassnett, Susan. "Travel Writing and Gender," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002): 225–41.

Behdad, Ali. "The Politics of Adventure: Theories of Travel, Discourses of Power," in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst, Routledge Research in Travel Writing 1 (New York: Routledge, 2009): 80–94.

Elsner, Jaś, and Joan-Pau Rubiés. "Introduction," in *Voyages and Visions: Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, ed. Jaś Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London: Reaktion Books, 1999): 1–56.

Ferguson, Michael, and Ehud Toledano. "Ottoman Slavery and Abolition in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 4, *AD 1804–AD 2016*, ed. David Eltis, Stanley L. Engerman, Seymour Drescher and David Richardson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 197–225.

Ghosh, Durba. "Gender and Colonialism: Expansion or Marginalization?" *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 3 (2004): 737–55.

Gouda, Frances. "The Gendered Rhetoric of Colonialism and Anti-Colonialism in Twentieth-Century Indonesia," *Indonesia* 55 (1993): 1–22.

Heffernan, Teresa. *Veiled Figures: Women, Modernity, and the Spectres of Orientalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016).

İnalcık, Halil, and Donald Quataert, eds. *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Kamberidou, Irene. "Interacting, Sharing and Bonding: 'Notes of Personal Experience' by Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers," *Gender, Place & Culture* 23, no. 3 (2016): 381–97.

Karamürsel, Ceyda. "'In the Age of Freedom, in the Name of Justice': Slaves, Slaveholders, and the State in the Late Ottoman Empire and Early Turkish Republic, 1857–1933" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2015).

Kuehn, Julia, and Paul Smethurst, eds. *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Routledge Research in Travel Writing 1 (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Lewis, Bernard. *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: An Historical Enquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

Lewis, Reina. *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem*, Library of Ottoman Studies 4 (London: Tauris, 2004).

Melman, Billie. *Women's Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918: Sexuality, Religion and Work* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1992).

Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, s.v. "yashmak," https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/yashmak [accessed 02.07.2021].

Nash, Geoffrey. *From Empire to Orient: Travellers to the Middle East 1830–1926* (London: Tauris, 2005).

Pamuk, Şevket, and Jeffrey Gale Williamson. "Ottoman De-Industrialization, 1800–1913: Assessing the Magnitude, Impact, and Response," *The Economic History Review* 64, no. S1 (2011): 159–84.

Sefer, Akın. "British Workers and Ottoman Modernity in Nineteenth-Century Istanbul," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 99 (2021): 147–66.

Smethurst, Paul. "Introduction," in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst. Routledge Research in Travel Writing 1 (New York: Routledge, 2009): 1–20.

Thompson, Carl. "Nineteenth-Century Travel Writing," in *The Cambridge History of Travel Writing*, ed. Nandini Das and Tim Youngs (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019): 108–24.

Toledano, Ehud. *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression: 1840–1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

Turhan, Filiz. *The Other Empire: British Romantic Writings about the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Narratives

Markus Saur. “Narrating Dependency: The Relationship between David and Solomon of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre in Hebrew Bible Traditions,” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 33-46.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-003

Markus Saur

Narrating Dependency: The Relationship between David and Solomon of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre in Hebrew Bible Traditions

1 The Journey of Wenamun to Phoenicia – a Glimpse of Egypt as an Introduction

In the eleventh century BCE, the Egyptian emissary Wenamun set out on behalf of his master, the priest of Amun in the temple of Karnak, to buy timber for the barque of the Egyptian god Amun in the Phoenician city of Byblos. Wenamun arrived on the Phoenician coast after suffering adventures. As an Egyptian who had been robbed and was thus helpless, he was at first not received by the king of the city of Byblos. Wenamun's mission threatened to fail. Only an oracle given by an ecstatic priest persuaded the king of Byblos to listen to Wenamun, and he was able to present his request. The negotiations were extremely tough, but finally the king provided the wood that the Egyptians desired. Wenamun, however, remained in danger. On his way back to Egypt he stranded in Alasia on Cyprus – with this the report of Wenamun breaks off.[1]

The Egyptian text is extremely important,[2] not only because of its linguistic characteristics and the insights it provides into ritual practices, but especially for the relationship between Egypt and Phoenicia in the interim period of the twelfth/eleventh century BCE. The attitude of the king of Byblos and the permanent threat to the Egyptian Wenamun, both on his journey and on the Phoenician coast, stand in clear contrast to older information, for example from the Amarna texts, which a few centuries earlier still testified to a broad supremacy of Egypt over Syria. In Wenamun's report, on the other hand, there is no evidence of a dependency of the Phoenician city of Byblos on Egypt; rather, it seems that the situation had clearly changed: The Egyptian Wenamun appears in Byblos as an uninvited guest and is not at all welcome as a person asking for help, while the king, Byblos and Phoenicia, on the other hand, appear as important suppliers of wood, without whose support ritual challenges in Egypt could not be met.

1 A translation of the text by John A. Wilson can be found in: James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969): 25–29.

2 Cf. Bernd U. Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun: Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 209 (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2005).

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-003

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 577

The Egyptians, after all until recently a political and cultural superpower, are obviously in a strong asymmetrical dependency on the Phoenicians. The asymmetry consists in the striking imbalance that results from the fact that the Egyptian Wenamun becomes a supplicant to the Phoenician king. It is particularly remarkable that this imbalance is not narrated in a Phoenician text, but in an Egyptian travel report: The narrative in no way conceals the dependency but is more than clear about the relationship between Egypt and Phoenicia in the late second millennium BCE.

The way in which the story is told cannot be developed in detail here. However, it should at least be mentioned that the travel report of Wenamun is characterized by a remarkable openness with regard to dependencies in the eastern Mediterranean. The balance of power has obviously changed in such a way that the king of a Phoenician city can meet the emissary of the chief priest of Karnak with outrageous self-confidence.[3] In the late second millennium BCE, political and economic transformations lead to a shift of dependencies, which become asymmetrical precisely because of this: Egypt, the high culture on the Nile, becomes dependent on its previous vassals in Syria. And the narrator of Wenamun's travel report gives a very vivid account of this.[4] However, the pragmatics of this account remain puzzling: Who, at the end of the second millennium BCE, recounts Egypt's loss of status in Syria in such a way, and what were their intentions?

2 Israel and Phoenicia – Some Context

The relationship of the Phoenician trading cities[5] to their partners in the eastern Mediterranean is reported not only in Egyptian texts, but also in the historiography of the Hebrew Bible.[6]

---

3 Cf. Gabriella Scandone and Paolo Xella, "Égypte," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 636: "La situation des rapports de pouvoir est donc nettement changée et, après les accents triomphalistes des textes égyptiens, royaux et privés, du Nouvel Empire, le pays de Nil redimensionné et politiquement inquiet [. . .] est en net déclin. Les cités de la côte levantine, en revanche, figurent dans le Récit d'Ounamon comme étant très actives et économiquement prospères, caractérisées, à ce qu'il semble, par un remarquable sens de l'entreprise commerciale [. . .]."

4 Cf. Josette Elayi, *Histoire de la Phénicie* (Paris: Perrin, 2013): 112–15.

5 For an introduction and an overview of several topics concerning the Phoenicians see *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

6 Cf. Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, "Syro-Palestine et Jordanie," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 583–96, and – especially for the city of Tyre – Markus Saur, *Der Tyroszyklus des Ezechielbuches*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 386 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008): 107–81, 252–68, 309–14.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 578

We can distinguish two major historiographical compositions. An older historiography can be found in the Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings, whose authors used sources from the first half of the first millennium BCE. The complete text of this historical work was probably not finalized until the Persian period. Due to the influence of some theological ideas from the Book of Deuteronomy, this composition is called the 'Deuteronomistic History'.[7] A more recent text, found in the two Books of Chronicles and brought into its final form only in the Hellenistic period, is called the 'Chronistic History'.[8] Both compositions address in different ways the question of the identity of Israel and Judah: 'Who are we? And how have we come to be where we are now?' Given these guiding questions it cannot be surprising that the conditions of the time in which the story is told also shape the depiction of the events narrated, and that from the narrative perspective of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, the beginnings of Israel, Judah, and the kingship of Jerusalem are presented in a certain light. The distance between the events reported and the time of writing is over half a millennium. The narrative culture of these historiographies is therefore likely to feature literary elaborations and illustrations.

This is especially true for the reports of the relationship between Jerusalem and the Phoenician trading cities, and in our case especially between Jerusalem and Tyre. These relationships are reported both in the Books of Samuel and Kings and in the Books of Chronicles. Syria-Palestine in the late second millennium and early first millennium BCE was not a politically unified area but characterized by a highly differentiated urban culture and a high degree of diversity. The region was divided into the inner spheres of power of the leading cities with their respective hinterlands, and the periphery, which was notable for unclear boundaries and spheres of influence.[9]

There are some significant differences between the cities of Jerusalem and Tyre, which must be taken into account when reconstructing their relationship. These differences have a substantial influence on the question of who is dependent on whom. At first glance, Jerusalem and Tyre are influential cities in the Syro-Palestinian area, so that encounters between their respective kings should have taken place on an equal footing. However, a closer examination shows that such equality did not exist on all levels. Economically, the Phoenicians were vastly superior to Israel and Judah

7 Cf. Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005): 3–43, 165–83.

8 Cf. Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles. A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993): 1–49, and Jean-Louis Ska, "The Book of Chronicles through the Ages: A Cinderella or a Sleeping Beauty?" in *Chronicles and the Priestly Literature of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Jaeyoung Jeon and Louis C. Jonker, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 528 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 15–50.

9 Cf. Edward Lipiński, "The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher," in *Phoenicia and the Bible*, ed. Edward Lipiński, Studia Phoenicia 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 1991): 153–66.

because of their extensive trade networks,[10] which was especially true for the city of Tyre.[11] In the field of religion, both Jerusalem and Tyre worshiped a patron god of their respective city and his goddess, which was typical for the Canaanite area.[12] In Jerusalem, worship of the god Yhwh in addition to that of Canaanite deities may have become more prevalent after the conquest of the city by David.[13] Culturally, the most important shift in Syria-Palestine is the establishment of an alphabetic writing system that considerably simplifies the complex writing systems of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and enables literalization in completely new ways.[14] Even if the beginnings of this process originated in northern Syria, the situation in terms of source material is incomparably better for Judah and Jerusalem than for Phoenicia: While only a few inscriptions have come down to us from Phoenicia[15] and much information is known only from texts dating to late antiquity,[16] extensive literary corpora are available from ancient Judah, whose oldest material evidence – the Dead Sea Scrolls – goes back to the second and first centuries BCE. All this says nothing about how much or how little was written in Judah or in Phoenicia – for historical reconstruction, however, we can only work with the sources that are at hand.

In terms of the relationship between Israel, Judah and Phoenicia, and more precisely between Jerusalem and Tyre, we must therefore rely on a single perspective, namely that of the Hebrew Bible in the two historical works mentioned above. In addition, we need to consult other sources, especially archaeological discoveries and information from Egyptian, Mesopotamian and Greek texts, in order to draw an appropriate image of the situation. And here it becomes quite clear – the travel report of Wenamun already points to it – that the lack of literary sources from Phoenicia does not say anything about the economical situation: According to our various sources, the Phoenician trading cities of Sidon, Tyre, Byblos and Arwad were economic capitals in the Ancient Near East due to the abundance of timber in their hinterlands and, above all, to their

10 Cf. Sandro Filippo Bondì, "Le commerce, les échanges, l'économie," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 268–81.

11 Cf. Saur, *Tyroszyklus*: 224–37.

12 Cf. Edward Lipiński, *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Studia Phoenicia 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), and Hans-Peter Müller, "Geschichte der phönizischen und punischen Religion. Ein Vorbericht," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999): 17–33.

13 Cf. Thomas Römer, *L'invention de Dieu*, Les livres du nouveau monde (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014): 115–37.

14 Cf. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005): 111–73.

15 Cf. Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo, "Les inscriptions," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 19–30.

16 Cf. Sergio Ribichini, "Les sources gréco-latines," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 73–83.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 580

high level of expertise in the fields of crafts and art, navigation and trade.[17] This was not only the case in transitional periods: The Phoenician cities were constantly dominating forces between the Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and Mesopotamia.[18]

What the travel report of Wenamun suggests can be traced back through the period of Assyrian and Babylonian domination to the Persians and to Alexander the Great. Both Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon and Alexander the Great had great trouble with the Phoenician cities, especially with Tyre, situated on an offshore island. Nebuchadnezzar failed to conquer it, and only Alexander was able to take the city.[19] This background is of some importance if we want to classify what is reported about Jerusalem and Tyre in the Hebrew historiographies.[20] The Persian and Hellenistic periods left their marks on the narratives. The texts that tell us about the tenth century BCE are probably a better source for the Persian period and early Hellenism than for the beginnings of Israel under David and Solomon.

3 David of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre – Tracing the Beginnings of a Relationship

The history of the relationship between Jerusalem and Tyre is already portrayed in the texts about David of Jerusalem and the Phoenician king Hiram of Tyre.

David, king of Judah, Israel and Jerusalem, is regarded as the founder of the dynasty named after him, which ruled in Jerusalem from the tenth century until the year 586 BCE. Despite doubts occasionally expressed by scholars, we can assume that a king named David did reign in Jerusalem, since the extensive formation of tradition cannot be explained without a historical point of reference. However, more precise information about the situation in the tenth century cannot be found in the available sources. David and his reign remain largely in the dark.[21] The literary elaboration of the historiographical narratives, however, shows the reception and transformation of the traditions of King David in later periods.

---

17 Cf. Elayi, *Histoire de la Phénicie*: 20–36.

18 Cf. Moshe Elat, "Phoenician Overland Trade within the Mesopotamian Empires," in *Ah, Assyria . . . Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, ed. Mordechai Cogan and Israel Eph'al, Scripta Hierosolymitana 33 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press – The Hebrew University, 1991): 21–35, and Saur, *Tyroszyklus*: 197–237.

19 Cf. Saur, *Tyroszyklus*: 170–77.

20 For the background of the fourth century BCE see André Lemaire, "Le royaume de Tyr dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle av. J.-C.," in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici. Roma, 9–14 Novembre 1987*, vol. 1, Collezione di Studi Fenici 30 (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1991): 131–50.

21 Cf. Ernst Axel Knauf and Hermann Michael Niemann, *Geschichte Israels und Judas im Altertum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 130–35.

Hiram of Tyre is known mainly from the Hebrew Bible texts, but he is also mentioned in a list of kings quoted in late antiquity by Eusebius of Caesarea with reference to older sources.[22] The name Hiram itself is also attested in Phoenician inscriptions, so that despite the extremely difficult source situation there can be little doubt that there was a king named Hiram who ruled the trading city of Tyre and had contacts with David of Jerusalem.

If we look first of all at the reports in Deuteronomistic historiography, at the end of the story of David's rise, we find in 2 Sam 5:1–10 the report of David's covenant with the elders of Israel in Hebron, through which he became *de facto* king over Israel, and the story of David's capture of Jerusalem, which he subsequently developed into his capital:

> 1 Then all the tribes of Israel came to David at Hebron, and said: 'Look, we are your bone and flesh. 2 For some time, while Saul was king over us, it was you who led out Israel and brought it in. Yhwh said to you: It is you who shall be shepherd of my people Israel, you who shall be ruler over Israel.' 3 So all the elders of Israel came to the king at Hebron; and King David made a covenant with them at Hebron before Yhwh, and they anointed David king over Israel. 4 David was thirty years old when he began to reign, and he reigned forty years.
>
> 5 At Hebron he reigned over Judah seven years and six months; and at Jerusalem he reigned over all Israel and Judah thirty-three years. 6 The king and his men marched to Jerusalem against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land, who said to David: 'You will not come in here, even the blind and the lame will turn you back.' – thinking: 'David cannot come in here.' 7 Nevertheless David took the stronghold of Zion, which is now the city of David.
>
> 8 David had said on that day: 'Whoever would strike down the Jebusites, let him get up the water shaft to attack the lame and the blind, those whom David hates.' Therefore it is said: 'The blind and the lame shall not come into the house.' 9 David occupied the stronghold, and named it the city of David. David built the city all around from the Millo inward. 10 And David became greater and greater, for Yhwh, the God of hosts, was with him.[23]

In verses 11–12, these accounts are concluded with the following information:

> 11 And King Hiram of Tyre sent messengers to David, along with cedar trees, and carpenters and masons who built David a house. 12 And David perceived that Yhwh had established him king over Israel, and that he had exalted his kingdom for the sake of his people Israel.

According to v. 11, Hiram of Tyre sent a delegation to David and provided him with cedar trees, carpenters and masons so that David could build a house. The background of this support remains unclear. Clearly, however, David relied on Phoenician expertise for the construction of the palace. The interpretation of the circumstances in v. 12 is crucial: David recognized that he had been confirmed as king by Yhwh and that his kingship had been elevated. How does David recognize this? By the anointing

22 Cf. Nadav Na'aman, "Hiram of Tyre in the Book of Kings and in the Tyrian Records," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78 (2019): 75–85.

23 All translations follow *The Holy Bible. The new King James Version. Containing the Old and New Testaments* (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1982).

he received from the elders in Hebron? By the conquest of Jerusalem? Or by the Tyrian delegation? The alternatives are not mutually exclusive, but the sequence of events suggests that only the recognition of David's kingship by a foreign power completes the story of David's rise.

While the reports of the Tyrian delegation to Jerusalem in 2 Sam 5:11 mark the conclusion of the story of David's rise, the same scene is placed in a different context in the Book of Chronicles. David's covenant with the elders of Israel in Hebron and the conquest of Jerusalem have already been mentioned in 1 Chr 11. Only after other events have been reported do we read at the beginning of 1 Chr 14:

> 1 And king Hiram of Tyre sent messengers to David, along with cedar logs, and masons and carpenters to build a house for him. 2 And David perceived that Yhwh had established him as king over Israel, and that his kingdom was highly exalted for the sake of his people Israel.

Only here do we find the information about Hiram's delegation coming to Jerusalem with cedar wood and experts to build David a house. Here, David's recognition is no longer directly related to his accession to power. Instead, the Chroniclers deconstructed the narrative context in a way that the delegation from Tyre is not any longer the climax of the story of David's rise to power.[24] In contrast to the Deuteronomists, the Chroniclers obviously have no interest in emphasizing this diplomatic recognition of the kingdom of David by the Phoenician city of Tyre.

This could be due to the lesser importance of Tyre at the time the Books of Chronicles were written, but it could also be related to the fact that the Chroniclers wanted to push back as far as possible the connections between Israel and Phoenicia in order not to let the influence of foreigners and strangers on the young state of Israel come to the fore too much. The Deuteronomists, on the other hand, see the connections between David and Hiram in a different light: They presuppose a period of Phoenician flourishing, which was evidently regarded in Israel not with envy, but with acceptance. Through the connection with the politically, economically and culturally important city of Tyre, David's kingship, long ago by the time the Deuteronomistic texts were being written, has a certain share in the splendor of Phoenicia.

David's *de facto* dependency on Phoenician goods and Phoenician expertise is obviously narratively shaped in different ways: While the Deuteronomists anchor Hiram's delegation in a central position in the text and thus intend to make David's rise to power appear even more brilliant, the Chroniclers seem to push the information about David's contacts with Hiram to the back of the text in order to avoid presenting David in what they see as a false light.

24 Cf. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*: 285–86.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 583

4 Solomon of Jerusalem and Hiram of Tyre – the Flourishing of the Relationship

These tendencies can also be observed as the account of the early royal period proceeds further. In the narrative about David's son Solomon in 1 Kings 1–11, the contacts between Hiram of Tyre and Solomon are reported mainly in 1 Kings 5:15–32:

> 15 Now King Hiram of Tyre sent his servants to Solomon, when he heard that they had anointed him king in place of his father; for Hiram had always been a friend to David.
>
> 16 Solomon sent word to Hiram, saying: 17 'You know that my father David could not build a house for the name of the Lord his God because of the warfare with which his enemies surrounded him, until the Lord put them under the soles of his feet. 18 But now the Lord my God has given me rest on every side; there is neither adversary nor misfortune. 19 So I intend to build a house for the name of the Lord my God, as the Lord said to my father David, 'Your son, whom I will set on your throne in your place, shall build the house for my name.'
>
> 20 Therefore command that cedars from the Lebanon be cut for me. My servants will join your servants, and I will give you whatever wages you set for your servants; for you know that there is no one among us who knows how to cut timber like the Sidonians.' 21 When Hiram heard the words of Solomon, he rejoiced greatly, and said: 'Blessed be the Lord today, who has given to David a wise son to be over this great people.' 22 Hiram sent word to Solomon: 'I have heard the message that you have sent to me; I will fulfill all your needs in the matter of cedar and cypress timber. 23 My servants shall bring it down to the sea from the Lebanon; I will make it into rafts to go by sea to the place you indicate. I will have them broken up there for you to take away. And you shall meet my needs by providing food for my household.' 24 So Hiram supplied Solomon's every need for timber of cedar and cypress.
>
> 25 Solomon in turn gave Hiram twenty thousand cors of wheat as food for his household, and twenty cors of fine oil. Solomon gave this to Hiram year by year. 26 So the Lord gave Solomon wisdom, as he promised him. There was peace between Hiram and Solomon; and the two of them made a treaty. 27 King Solomon conscripted forced labor out of all Israel; the levy numbered thirty thousand men. 28 He sent them to the Lebanon, ten thousand a month in shifts; they would be a month in the Lebanon and two months at home; Adoniram was in charge of the forced labor. 29 Solomon also had seventy thousand laborers and eighty thousand stonecutters in the hill country, 30 besides Solomon's three thousand three hundred supervisors who were over the work, having charge of the people who did the work.
>
> 31 At the king's command, they quarried out great, costly stones in order to lay the foundation of the house with dressed stones. 32 So Solomon's builders and Hiram's builders and the Giblites did the stonecutting and prepared the timber and the stone to build the house.

According to 1 Kings 5:15, the contact is initiated by Hiram, who congratulates Solomon on his enthronement. Solomon then thanks him kindly and, after some references to his building plans, comes to his request for Phoenician cedar wood. Hiram agrees to the delivery of cedars and cypresses, but in turn asks for goods from Israel – according to v. 25, Solomon henceforth delivers wheat and oil to Tyre year after year. At first glance, this seems to be a meeting of partners who are balancing their interests. But this balance of interests is characterized by a certain asymmetry: While Solomon supplies his Tyrian trading partner with food year after year, Hiram delivers building material for the temple of Jerusalem only on a single occasion. According to

v. 32, not only Solomon's and Hiram's builders but also experts from Byblos are involved in the construction of the temple. The temple is obviously a joint Israelite-Phoenician project, which becomes even clearer in 1 Kings 7:13–51: According to this passage, the entire ritual-relevant interior decoration of the temple is made by a craftsman from Tyre named Hiram.[25] In 1 Kings 7:14, his mother is named as a member of the Israelite tribe of Naphtali in order to make the matter not too offensive – but the fact that his father came from Tyre obviously cannot be ignored.

The Deuteronomistic accounts of 1 Kings 5:15–32 and 1 Kings 7:13–51 are subsumed, shortened, and refocused by the Chroniclers in 2 Chr 2,1–15:

> 1 Solomon conscripted seventy thousand laborers and eighty thousand stonecutters in the hill country, with three thousand six hundred to oversee them. 2 Solomon sent word to King Huram of Tyre: 'Once you dealt with my father David and sent him cedar to build himself a house to live in. 3 I am now about to build a house for the name of the Lord my God and dedicate it to him for offering fragrant incense before him, and for the regular offering of the rows of bread, and for burnt offerings morning and evening, on the sabbaths and the new moons and the appointed festivals of the Lord our God, as ordained forever for Israel. 4 The house that I am about to build will be great, for our God is greater than other gods. 5 But who is able to build him a house, since heaven, even highest heaven, cannot contain him? Who am I to build a house for him, except as a place to make offerings before him? 6 So now send me an artisan skilled to work in gold, silver, bronze, and iron, and in purple, crimson, and blue fabrics, trained also in engraving, to join the skilled workers who are with me in Judah and Jerusalem, whom my father David provided. 7 Send me also cedar, cypress, and algum timber from Lebanon, for I know that your servants are skilled in cutting Lebanon timber. My servants will work with your servants 8 to prepare timber for me in abundance, for the house I am about to build will be great and wonderful. 9 I will provide for your servants, those who cut the timber, twenty thousand cors of crushed wheat, twenty thousand cors of barley, twenty thousand baths of wine, and twenty thousand baths of oil.' 10 Then King Huram of Tyre answered in a letter that he sent to Solomon: 'Because the Lord loves his people he has made you king over them.' 11 Huram also said: 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, who made heaven and earth, who has given King David a wise son, endowed with discretion and understanding, who will build a temple for the Lord, and a royal palace for himself. 12 I have dispatched Huram-abi, a skilled artisan, endowed with understanding, 13 the son of one of the Danite women, his father a Tyrian. He is trained to work in gold, silver, bronze, iron, stone, and wood, and in purple, blue, and crimson fabrics and fine linen, and to do all sorts of engraving and execute any design that may be assigned him, with your artisans, the artisans of my lord, your father David. 14 Now, as for the wheat, barley, oil, and wine, of which my lord has spoken, let him send them to his servants. 15 We will cut whatever timber you need from Lebanon, and bring it to you as rafts by sea to Joppa; you will take it up to Jerusalem.'

25 Cf. Ernst Axel Knauf, *1 Könige 1–14*, Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Freiburg: Herder, 2016): 244: "Dass ein Bronzegießer und Kunstschmied aus Tyrus geholt wird, lag im 9.–8. und dann wieder ab dem 5. Jh. nahe: die Phönizier verdankten ihre Dominanz im levantinischen Handel zu großen Teilen der Kontrolle des zyprischen Kupferexports in den fruchtbaren Halbmond und in den Mittelmeerraum, und Tyrus war die Jerusalem nächstgelegene Metropole."

In addition to wheat and oil, barley and wine are mentioned as Solomon's contributions; according to vv. 7–8, Hiram is to deliver not only cedars and cypresses, but also algum timber. The artisan requested by Solomon in v. 6 is promised by Hiram in vv. 12–13 and is also mentioned again in 2 Chr 4:11 in the context of constructing the temple furnishings and implements. But he is mentioned rather abruptly and casually, because according to 2 Chr 3:1 Solomon is the one who instigates the building of the temple and its furnishings and implements, a fact that is again clearly underlined in 2 Chr 5:1. Here again there is a noticeable attempt by the Chroniclers to minimize the Phoenician influence on the temple of Jerusalem and to portray the influence of foreigners as insignificant.[26]

As for the dependencies at hand, we cannot ignore either their strength or their asymmetry: While Solomon supplies food on a permanent basis, the Phoenicians provide building material and craftsmanship. It would have been very easy for the Phoenicians to source their supplies elsewhere, but it would have been very difficult for David and Solomon to realize their building plans without Phoenician support. What at first glance appears to be a mutual trade relationship and is narratively presented as such reveals itself on closer examination as a strong asymmetrical dependency of Jerusalem on the Phoenicians, who seem to be in a much better economic and technical position than David and Solomon. The Hebrew traditions of David, Solomon and Hiram develop, albeit with varying intensity, a counter-narrative to Israel's *de facto* dependency on Phoenicia and attempt to conceal the actual circumstances. In this way, Hebrew historiography takes a different approach than the travel report of Wenamun, which sets out with unsparing frankness the extent to which Egypt had become dependent on the Phoenicians.

The account of another incident in the relationship between Solomon and Hiram of Tyre is found in the remarkable story of cession of territories in the border region between Israel and Phoenicia. According to 1 Kings 9:10–14, Solomon cedes twenty cities to Hiram:

> 10 At the end of twenty years, in which Solomon had built the two houses, the house of the Lord and the king's house, 11 King Hiram of Tyre having supplied Solomon with cedar and cypress timber and gold, as much as he desired, King Solomon gave to Hiram twenty cities in the land of Galilee. 12 But when Hiram came from Tyre to see the cities that Solomon had given him, they did not please him. 13 Therefore he said: 'What kind of cities are these that you have given me, my brother?' – So they are called the land of Cabul to this day. 14 But Hiram sent to the king one hundred twenty talents of gold.

26 Cf. v. 12–13, where the artisan is not only presented as the son of a Tyrian but at the same time as "son of one of the Danite women", which seems to refer to one of the northern tribes of Israel (cf. Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*: 544–45).

In 2 Chr 8:1–2, Hiram, by contrast, handed over the cities to Solomon:

> 1 At the end of twenty years, during which Solomon had built the house of the Lord and his own house, 2 Solomon rebuilt the cities that Huram had given to him, and settled the people of Israel in them.

The different accounts allow only one conclusion: There were obviously some grey areas in the border region about whose affiliation different opinions were in circulation.[27] While it was still possible for the Deuteronomists to report that Solomon ceded territory to Hiram, the Chroniclers turned the matter completely upside down: For all the concessions to Phoenician influence the Chroniclers were willing to make in their account, Solomon just could not have diminished the land given to Israel by Yhwh. The Deuteronomists portray Tyre as a partner of Israel, to whom Solomon was willing to make geographical concessions in the peripheries of the north, if the construction of the temple in Jerusalem could be ensured – in fact, there is a strong dependency behind these moves by Solomon.[28] The Chroniclers, by contrast, portray Tyre as a neighbor of Israel ceding territory – the short note gives the impression that Tyre was in some way dependent on Jerusalem. The Chroniclers' account thus again shows the construction of narrative positions against the *de facto* Phoenician superiority – here again, a narrative is developed in order to invert the real conditions and to minimize the strong asymmetrical dependencies between Israel and Phoenicia.

The information from 1 Kings 9:26–28; 10:11–12 and 2 Chr 8:17–18; 9:10.21 about maritime expeditions by Solomon and Hiram also belong to this context. These scattered notes, more or less casually in their context, introduce a crucial topos of Phoenician culture, namely seafaring, for which the Phoenicians were famous in antiquity. This stands in sharp contrast to everything that is known about Israel's nautical expertise: While the Phoenicians were considered a sea power, seafaring and shipbuilding play only a very minor role in Israel. The accounts of joint expeditions of Solomon and Hiram transform the *de facto* dependency into a narrated togetherness: The Phoenicians are cut off from their exclusive expertise, and Israel, in the figure of Solomon, is ascribed a competence that rewrites Solomon's *de facto* dependency on Phoenicia's maritime trade.

---

27 For the limits of the literary sources see Paolo Xella, "La Bible," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 67: "On ne peut déterminer avec certitude, d'après notre source, s'il s'agit d'une transaction ou bien d'une question de réglementation de frontières entre les deux États." Cf. also Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*: 621: "[T]he two notices could be seen as complementary, reflecting a territorial exchange between the two rulers [. . .]. However, both the place of this note in the sequence and the Chronicler's general view of the relationship between Solomon and Hiram would indicate that the Chronicler intended to replace rather than complement his source-text."

28 Cf. Knauf, *1 Könige 1–14*: 297: "Salomos Goldsucht hat ihn abhängig gemacht."

A clear picture emerges when we read the various accounts of the relationship between David, Solomon and Hiram side by side. Tyre appears constantly as a political, economic and cultural power. The city provides the newly enthroned David with his first international recognition as a king in the form of Hiram's delegation. Hiram signs an important trade agreement with Solomon. Tyre provides building material and expertise in craftsmanship and art. And Hiram goes with Solomon to the limits of what seemed possible to the authors of the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic texts, namely the navigation from Ezion-Geber. While the Deuteronomistic texts portray the episodes in some detail and increase the splendor of David and Solomon by the splendor of Hiram, there is a noticeable effort by the Chroniclers to cover the Phoenician traces in their account as much as possible and ultimately to admit only what cannot be denied. Behind these differences stand the different intentions of the two Hebrew historiographies.[29] While the Deuteronomistic texts present a picture of Tyre that is best understood from the Persian period,[30] when under Persian rule the various satrapies and politico-religious communities lived in more or less peaceful coexistence that promoted economic and cultural exchange and mutual understanding, the Chroniclers' rejection of foreign influence rather belongs to the historical situation of Alexander's collapsed empire and the struggles between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids that erupted in Syria and Palestine in the third and second centuries BCE. In this historical context, the people of Jerusalem reflected on the problem of foreign influence on their identity in a new way – and the Chroniclers' historiography testifies to this.

5 Narrating Dependency

Dependencies, even strongly asymmetrical dependencies, can be reflected and addressed in narratives. Phoenician narratives of Israel's dependency on Phoenicia have not been transmitted. It is possible that one would have found in Phoenician historiography a narrative of strong dependency that portrayed, in a manner similar to the travel report of Wenamun, the extent to which the Phoenicians' near and distant neighbors depended on Phoenician resources. Countering such a Phoenician narrative, the Hebrew historiographies create a counter-narrative that modifies and deconstructs the narrative of Phoenician supremacy and predominance.

29 Following Xella, "La Bible": 68, it is necessary "[de] s'interroger sur la mesure dans laquelle les récits bibliques à ce sujet ne sont que la projection partielle (due comme toujours aux rédacteurs) d'une réalité postérieure de quelques siècles."

30 Na'aman, "Hiram of Tyre": 79 suggests that "the 'Acts of Solomon', the main pre-exilic source available to the Deuteronomists, was written at the time of the Sargonids" – which would take us back to the late eighth or early seventh centuries BCE.

It is of particular interest to trace the internal Hebrew development of this counter-narrative, which can be analyzed by comparing the Deuteronomistic and Chronistic depictions: What was acceptable and portrayable for one group becomes for the other group an incentive to turn the circumstances upside down. Strong asymmetrical dependencies obviously intensify and accelerate literary processes and release a narrative dynamic that at the same time reveals the power of narration. It is precisely in historiographic works, which ultimately represent nothing more than a sort of 'grand récit',[31] that the crucial questions of 'Who are we?' and 'Where do we come from?' are addressed. Because of these identity-defining processes, the analysis and deconstruction of such narratives is necessary in order to uncover the core of what might have been – even if this 'What has been' exists only in the form of the narrated text and thus always in the form of an interpretation.[32] There is no historiography without interpretation – and there is no ongoing interpretation without retracing the narrative structure of what is told in the transmitted texts.[33]

Bibliography

Amadasi Guzzo, Maria Giulia. "Les inscriptions," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 19–30.

Bondì, Sandro Filippo. "Le commerce, les échanges, l'économie," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 268–81.

Briquel-Chatonnet, Françoise "Syro-Palestine et Jordanie," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 583–96.

Carr, David M. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Elat, Moshe. "Phoenician Overland Trade within the Mesopotamian Empires," in *Ah, Assyria . . . Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor*, ed. Mordechai Cogan and Israel Eph'al, Scripta Hierosolymitana 33 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press – The Hebrew University, 1991): 21–35.

Elayi, Josette. *Histoire de la Phénicie* (Paris: Perrin, 2013).

31 Cf. Jean-François Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1979): 7–9, 54–62.

32 Cf. Edward Lipiński, "Hiram of Tyre and Solomon," in *The Book of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, ed. André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 272: "[T]he biblical accounts of the relationship between Hiram of Tyre and Solomon result from a reinterpretation of older sources."

33 On the methodological debate, with special reference to Hebrew Bible texts, cf. Barbara Schmitz, *Prophetie und Königtum: Eine narratologisch-historische Methodologie entwickelt an den Königsbüchern*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008): 5–108, and Uta Schmidt, "Narratologie und Altes Testament," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 143 (2018): 423–38.

Japhet, Sara. *I & II Chronicles. A Commentary*, The Old Testament Library (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993).

Knauf, Ernst Axel. *1 Könige 1–14*, Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament (Freiburg: Herder, 2016).

Knauf, Ernst Axel, and Hermann Michael Niemann. *Geschichte Israels und Judas im Altertum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021).

Lemaire, André. "Le royaume de Tyr dans la seconde moitié du IVe siècle av. J.-C.," in *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici. Roma, 9–14 Novembre 1987*, vol. 1, Collezione di Studi Fenici 30 (Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1991): 131–50.

Lipiński, Edward. "The Territory of Tyre and the Tribe of Asher," in *Phoenicia and the Bible*, ed. Edward Lipiński, Studia Phoenicia 11 (Leuven: Peeters, 1991): 153–66.

Lipiński, Edward. *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*, Studia Phoenicia 14 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995).

Lipiński, Edward. "Hiram of Tyre and Solomon," in *The Book of Kings. Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*, ed. André Lemaire and Baruch Halpern, Vetus Testamentum, Supplements 129 (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 251–72.

Lyotard, Jean-François. *La condition postmoderne. Rapport sur le savoir* (Paris: Les éditions de minuit, 1979).

Müller, Hans-Peter. "Geschichte der phönizischen und punischen Religion. Ein Vorbericht," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 44 (1999): 17–33.

Na'aman, Nadav. "Hiram of Tyre in the Book of Kings and in the Tyrian Records," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 78 (2019): 75–85.

Pritchard, James B., ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969).

Ribichini, Sergio. "Les sources gréco-latines," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 73–83.

Römer, Thomas. *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T&T Clark, 2005).

Römer, Thomas. *L'invention de Dieu*, Les livres du nouveau monde (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2014).

Saur, Markus. *Der Tyroszyklus des Ezechielbuches*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 386 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008).

Scandone, Gabriella, and Paolo Xella. "Égypte," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 632–39.

Schipper, Bernd U. *Die Erzählung des Wenamun: Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 209 (Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2005).

Schmidt, Uta. "Narratologie und Altes Testament," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 143 (2018): 423–38.

Schmitz, Barbara. *Prophetie und Königtum: Eine narratologisch-historische Methodologie entwickelt an den Königsbüchern*, Forschungen zum Alten Testament 60 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

Ska, Jean-Louis. "The Book of Chronicles through the Ages: A Cinderella or a Sleeping Beauty?" in *Chronicles and the Priestly Literature of the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Jaeyoung Jeon and Louis C. Jonker, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 528 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 15–50.

The Holy Bible. The New King James Version. Containing the Old and New Testaments (Nashville, TN: Nelson, 1982).

Xella, Paolo. "La Bible," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*, ed. Véronique Krings, Handbuch der Orientalistik I/20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 64–72.

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Narratives

Gül Şen. “Narrativity and Dependency: The Captivity of an Ottoman Official in Saint Petersburg (1771–1775),” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 161-178.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-009

Gül Şen

Narrativity and Dependency: The Captivity of an Ottoman Official in Saint Petersburg (1771–1775)

1 Introduction

War captivity is a very special form of asymmetrical dependency. However, if we define the concept of asymmetrical dependency in a broader sense, we have to include structures and phenomena related to this type of social relationship, and to analyze them beyond the simple dichotomy of *slavery* and *freedom*.[1] Based on this assumption, we must understand the phenomenon of war captivity first of all as a shared practice in warfare among early-modern political powers.

In what follows, my analysis is based upon an Ottoman captivity account and its narrative peculiarities.[2] The source I discuss here to demonstrate this relation is a unique captivity narrative written by Meḥmed Necāti Efendi, an Ottoman official, after his release from captivity in 1775 in Saint Petersburg. Of his memoirs, at present seven manuscripts are extant, which form the basis of a complete edition which is currently under preparation.[3] This account is of particular interest as its narrative can provide us with first-hand information on the experience of captivity in the second half of the eighteenth century in Russia. While there are some extant studies on the phenomenon of war captivity during this period,[4] these works do not tell us much on officials as captives.

1 For a theoretical discussion of this issue, 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): 11–27.

2 This article has been written within the framework of the project "Transottoman Semiospheres: Pavel Levašov's and Necāti Efendi's Imaginations of the Other," which in turn is part of "Transottomanica," a Priority Program of the German Research Foundation. Compare the chapter by Alexander Bauer in this volume. Some results have been published here: Gül Şen, "Between Istanbul and Saint Petersburg: War Captivity as a Part of Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century," in *Proceedings of the III International Symposium on Turkey-Russia Relations*, ed. Vefa Kurban, Hamit Özman, and Recep Efe Çoban (Ankara: Gece Kitap, 2023): 338–353.

3 The comprehensive edition with annotations is prepared by Sevgi Ağcagül, Henning Sievert, Caspar Hillebrand, and myself. For the present contribution, I have used the manuscript in Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi-Collection, no. 2278 [hereafter: EEC 2278].

4 For the Ottoman captives and their return, see Fatma Sel Turhan, "Captives of the Ottoman-Russian War: 1768–1774," *International Journal of Turcologica* 13, no. 25 (2018): 5–36; for the Russian captives' conversion and regulations of exchange, see Will Smiley, "The Meaning of Conversion: Treaty Law, State Knowledge, and Religious Identity among Russian Captives in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *The International History Review* 34, no. 3 (2012): 559–80.

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-009

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 592

Taking a narratological point of view as a vantage point, I consider this text as a literary one, i.e., I am interested in questions such as: has the author assembled his material in a specific way, and why did he make deliberate choices in selecting historical facts (*res gestae*) in order to create a particular narrative (*narration*) and emplotment of his memoirs?[5] Furthermore, I would like to discuss some of the determinant factors in writing these memoirs, such as the author's personal experience of war captivity, his imagination of *self* and *other*, genre-related patterns and conventions, and his perception of *space*.

2 An Ottoman Official and the Setting of his Narration: War and Captivity

The historical background of Necāti's account is dominated by the Ottoman-Russian War (1768–1774). A conflict between the Russian Empire and the Ottoman state over the control of Eastern Poland escalated into a full-fledged war, in which the Russian army soon launched a number of offensives towards the Caucasus, the Balkan, and into the Mediterranean. A Russian naval squadron under the grand admiral Alexei Grigoryevich Orlov entered the Mediterranean Sea and established Russian naval hegemony by defeating the Ottoman navy at Chesme in 1770.[6]

A peace treaty, the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (*Küçük Kaynarca*, *Kjučuk-Kajnardžijskij Кючук-Кайнарджийский*), was only signed in July 1774, due to joint mediation efforts by Prussia, Austria, and Great Britain, who aimed to prevent a further expansion of Russia. The most important result of the war was the Ottoman loss of the Crimea (along with the two important ports of Azov and Kerch), a territory which had been under Ottoman suzerainty since 1475; it was also the first loss of a territory with a predominantly Muslim population. Furthermore, the Ottoman state had to cede the authority over its orthodox subjects on the Balkan to Russia. As stipulated by the treaty, the Russian state had the right to maintain a permanent embassy in Istanbul, consulates in all major ports, a merchant fleet in the Black Sea, and access to the Mediterranean through the Marmara Sea. During the following five years, there were frequent encounters between the Russian and Ottoman navies in the Mediterranean.[7] Only nine years after the signing of the

5 On emplotment and arrangement of facts in historiography, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973): 7–29.

6 Among the numerous studies on the reasons for and the course of this conflict, see Brian L. Davies, *The Russo-Turkish War, 1768–1774: Catherine II and the Ottoman Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) and Virginia H. Aksan, "Whatever Happened to the Janissaries? Mobilization for the 1768–1774 Russo-Ottoman War," *War in History* 5, no. 1 (1998): 23–36.

7 Marcin Marcinkowski, *Die Entwicklung des Osmanischen Reiches zwischen 1839 und 1908: Reformbestrebungen und Modernisierungsversuche im Spiegel der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (Berlin: Schwarz, 2007): 13–15.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 593

treaty, military conflict was reignited by Catherine II's annexation of the Crimean Khanate in 1783.

Necāti Efendi was an Ottoman official and served as the registrar of cadastral survey (*defter emīni*) to Silāḥdār İbrāhīm Pasha, the Ottoman commander in chief of the Crimea during the war. Together with a group of Ottoman officials he was held as a war captive for almost four years (1771–1775), until the amnesty brought by the peace treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji.[8] Back in Istanbul in 1775, Necāti continued in his profession as a member of the Ottoman bureaucracy at the imperial record office of land property (*defter-i ḫāḳānī*) and wrote his memoirs, which was an act of remembering dependency.[9] The historian Erhan Afyoncu corrected the assumed date of Necāti's death (variously "after 1776" or "1785") in the literature to 1793, following the appointment records.[10] Based on a newly discovered document I can confirm that Necāti spent an active professional life until his death in 1793.[11] According to this document, a petition was submitted by the registrar of land property, ʿAlī Rāif, on March 27, 1792. The document states that Necāti Efendi had served for forty years as administrator of documents (*kīsedar*) of the imperial record office of land property, and that he had also served as deputy registrar of cadastral survey at the imperial court. After his captivity, which had lasted four and a half years, he was reappointed as administrator of documents. During his absence due to his duty in the military campaign in Vidin (in today's Bulgaria), a certain Meḥmed Yesārī Efendi replaced him as administrator of documents. Obviously, he obtained the position through intrigues and annoyed his colleagues with permanent grievances. Mentioning complaints by the scribes and their assistants ʿAlī Rāif submitted his petition at the court asking for Yesārī's dismissal and Necāti's reappointment. The petition not only reveals that Necāti was still acting as a state servant in 1792, but also indicates that he was a well-known and highly-regarded official who enjoyed the patronage of a number of influential court officials.

Before I turn to the phenomenon of war captivity, let me make some general reflections. War captivity has several dimensions, from a legal, i.e., normative discussion to actual practices. Although it was, normatively, forbidden to take co-religionists as war

8 At an earlier time than Necātī's group, the Ottoman court chronicler Aḥmed Vāsıf Efendi was also captured during this war while on duty at the Crimea. Having been taken to Saint Petersburg, Vāsıf was released by Catherine II after a few months to submit her peace proposals to the Ottomans. See Ethan L. Menchinger, *The First of the Modern Ottomans: The Intellectual History of Ahmed Vasif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017): 27–42.

9 During the same time a Russian group was held as war captives in Istanbul, and one of their members, Pavel Levašov, also wrote memoirs. See the chapter by Alexander Bauer in this volume.

10 For the five documents on Necāti's appointments, death, and the appointments of his son and grandson, see Erhan Afyoncu, "Osmanlı Müverrihlerine Dair Tevcihat Kayıtları II," *Belgeler* 30 (2005): 173–76.

11 Presidency of State Archives of the Republic of Turkey, Ottoman Archives (BOA), C.DH. no. 54 - 2698 - 0; 23-07-1206 [Marc 27, 1792].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 594

captives and/or slaves, the Ottoman sources, such as court registers, tell a different story.[12] To understand these practices, we have to let go of the modern differentiation between the terms *prisoner of war* (POW) and *war captive*: The former is defined a legal person subjected to international law, with a clearly defined status. The latter term comprises two rather different groups: those captives who were held for ransom and enjoyed a remarkable degree of agency at their place of detention, and those who were put to work as unfree labor along with convicts. However, this distinction does not necessarily apply to the early modern period; bilateral peace treaties, such as the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, comprise articles dedicated to the exchange of war captives. The Ottoman-Turkish term *esīr* (pl. *üserā*) does not differentiate between enslaved individuals and war captives. Whenever the term is used in the sources, we must infer from the context which form of dependence is actually meant. In most passages related to warfare, *esīr* indicates the initial legal status as war captive, i.e. when the person in question was recorded in the registers for the specific tax for war captives (the so-called *pencik* or *pençik resmi*). After registration, some groups were sent to the imperial naval arsenal (*tersāne-i amīre*) to work on the galleys in the service of the state (called *mīrī esīr*), where they continued to keep their status as war captives.[13] Other captives were distributed among the military and officals, thus entering a different status as enslaved people, for example as household slaves. Their new masters, however, were compelled to pay taxes for each captive they received according to the register mentioned above.

3 The Captivity Narrative and the Question of Genre

Since the narrativity of a text is very much dependent on its genre, I would like to discuss the issue of literary genre at this point, in order to situate Necāti's memoirs in the broader context of Ottoman historiography: Unlike in the case of modern literary writings, we cannot speak with certainty of absolute genre categories with premodern Ottoman texts.[14] Instead, many interwoven types can be found in a single work, as is the case with the text under study. Moreover, a closer approach to the issue of genre might contribute to a better understanding of premodern texts and their purpose in a wider sense – provided that the analysis takes into consideration the intellectual and literary concepts and conventions of the period in which the text was produced,

12 For legal discussions, see Will Smiley, *From Slaves to Prisoners of War: The Ottoman Empire, Russia, and the International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018): 24–30.

13 Gül Şen, "Between Two Spaces: Enslavement and Labor in the Early Modern Ottoman Navy," in *Comparative and Global Framing of Enslavement*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud Toledano and Rachel Zelnick-Abramo (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2023): 144–45.

14 For a comprehensive discussion of genre for Ottoman historiography see Gül Şen, *Making Sense of History: Narrativity and Literariness in the Ottoman Chronicle of Naʿīmā* (Leiden: Brill, 2022): 68–81.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 595

rather than anachronistic expectations from a modern perspective. Based on Helmut Utzschneider's and Stefan Ark Nitsche's definition of literary genres, a genre is characterized by a certain range of topics and the presence of certain formal elements within a text (these features are called a "genre framework").[15] Such topics and elements can be detected in Necāti's memoirs as interwoven into his narration, from which we may conclude that the text in fact reflects the conventions of various genres. First of all, its author has titled the text as the *History of Crimea* (*Tārīḫ-i Ḳırım*). Necāti Efendi preferred to describe his text as a historical work, as this was the most common and most respected category of genre within the Ottoman knowledge system, although the term "history" was in fact an ambiguous one in that context. In one way, the text is indeed a history, in that it contains chapters on the Crimea and its history as well as on the events of the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768–1774, which, as we have seen, was ended by the Peace Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca in 1774. To that extent, I argue that Necāti Efendi, as a learned man and bureaucrat, was aware of the literary conventions and genre categories of his own time. However, the work also contains sections which are written as ego documents, in a first-person narrative. At the very beginning, Necāti refers to his situation as a captive, his profession as an official at the imperial record office, and his appointment as registrar of the cadastral survey for the Crimea. These are typical features both of an ego document in general and of a captivity narrative in particular. The work can also be analyzed in accordance with the parameters of another genre, the Ottoman embassy reports (*sefāretnāme*), as the text contains a number of topical similarities, such as route itineraries, diplomatic encounters, observations about state-run institutions, and eating habits. Though the author did not actually act as an official envoy, he still wrote down his observations as if he had acted in this function.[16] At present, we know of four extant reports on embassies to Russia from the eighteenth century. The envoys were Nişli Meḥmed Agha (who went to Russia in 1722), Meḥmed Emnī Pasha (1740), Derviş Meḥmed Efendi (1754 and 1763), and Şehdī ʿOsmān Efendi (1740 and 1757).[17] While Necāti's captivity narrative shows some similarities to these earlier reports, his memoirs cannot be assigned fully

15 Helmut Utzschneider and Stefan Ark Nitsche, *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung: Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005): 118.

16 For similarities of Necāti's memoirs to the embassy reports, see Christoph Neumann, "The Russian Experience: Necati Efendi in Captivity," *Südost-Forschungen* 71 (2012): 23–24.

17 For the embassy reports to Russia see Denise Klein, "The Sultan's Envoys Speak: The Ego in 18th-Century Ottoman *sefâretnâme*s on Russia," in *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th–20th Century)*, ed. Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 89–102; for a list, see Caspar Hillebrand, "Ottoman Travel Accounts to Europe: An Overview of their Historical Development and a Commented Researchers' List," in *Venturing Beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, ed. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız and Caspar Hillebrand (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2013): 61–62.

to this genre. Just like the authors of the above-mentioned *sefāretnāme*s, Necāti, a learned official – though of a lower rank – must have made conscious use of genre-related patterns and conventions of his time. However, unlike his fellow writers, he did not travel to the Russian Empire voluntarily, but experienced forced mobility under completely different circumstances. Although his writing contains embassy report-like elements, his memoirs reflect his experience of war captivity; I therefore prefer to define this text as a captivity narrative (*esāretnāme*), a common term for first-person narratives written by former captives. Such ego documents of captivity are, however, rare in Ottoman literature, while narratives of captivity in the Ottoman realm written by (Christian) European authors are abundant. Aside from the Ottoman captives Hindī Maḥmūd and Macūncuzāde Muṣṭafā, who had been in captivity in Rome in the 1570s and in Malta in 1599 respectively,[18] the most celebrated captivity narrative comes a century later with ʿOsman Agha's memoirs, written in 1725, on his time as a war captive in the Habsburg domain from 1688 to 1700.[19] A less-known account is the narrative of Köle ("Slave") Süleymān, a former Janissary, on his eight years of captivity in France from 1785 to 1793.[20] Necāti's account remains the only known example of this genre from the last decades of the eighteenth century on Russia, and is quite unique in its description of that country under the rule of Catherine II. By contrast, the genre had become popular in early-modern Europe, where a considerable number of such accounts was published to fulfill the demand of a large audience with political and commercial interests.[21]

In terms of its content, Necāti's work is rich on historical events, descriptions of spaces/places and institutions, and on the names of individuals and geographical-administrative units. In terms of the organization of contents, I consider the overall arrangement as an emplotment, since it explains the issue of genre(s), the way the author writes, and the process of the narration. Hayden White defines emplotment as

18 For captivity narratives, see Cemal Kafadar, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 131–34; Erhan Afyoncu, "Esaretnameler ve Mehmet Necati'nin Esaretnamesi," in *Uluslararası Türk Savaş Esirleri Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı*, ed. Okan Yesilot et al. (Istanbul: Sultanbeyli Belediyesi, 2018): 13–28; 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): 148; Selim Karahasanoğlu, "Ottoman Ego-Documents: State of the Art," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 53 (2021): 305–6.

19 *Der Gefangene der Giauren: Die abenteuerlichen Schicksale des Dolmetschers Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar, von ihm selbst erzählt*, trans. Richard Franz Kreutel and Otto Spies (Graz: Styria, 1962).

20 For Süleymān's narrative, see Belkıs Altuniş Gürsoy, "Siyasetname Hüviyetinde Bir Esaretname," *Erdem: İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* 60 (2011): 77–142.

21 See Joshua M. White, *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017): 72.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 597

"the way by which a sequence of events fashioned into a story is gradually revealed to be a story of a particular kind."[22] In this sense, the text segments can be understood as independent genres if we analyze them individually. However, as a whole, they display a particular emplotment, "a story of a particular kind." Obviously, the author did not arrange his narration in a well-conceived structure, but with the intention to give it a particular significance as a whole. Accordingly, we find various elements and narrations assembled in the text:

- praise of God and the Prophet; his appointment as registrar of cadastral survey to *Silāḥdār* (arms bearer) İbrāhīm Pasha, the Ottoman commander-in-chief of the Crimea
- sojourn in Caffa (today Feodosia) in the Crimea; conflicts with the Crimean Nogais, who had failed to deliver the requested four thousand carts for the Ottoman army; food shortage due to the lack of carts
- defeat of the Ottoman army in the Crimea by Russian troops
- beginning of captivity; six-month journey to Saint Petersburg
- captivity in Saint Petersburg; banquets and receptions attended by Necāti; opera; masked ball; eating habits
- an account of Pugachev's Rebellion of 1773–1775, a general uprising of serfs and religious minorities
- imperial gardens in Saint Petersburg; palaces outside the city; jewelry production; the palace of Catherine II; the naval arsenal in Saint Petersburg; the Russian systems of customs and taxation; Russian villages; orphanage; fires in Petersburg and Moscow; the Russian army
- return from Saint Petersburg to Istanbul; itinerary of the route
- Necāti Efendi made head of department of the imperial chancery; his appointment to the imperial record office; his following appointment to Chotin (today in Ukraine)
- reasons for the defeat of the Ottoman army by the Russians: defection of Tatar units to the enemy, secret negotiations of Giray Khan with the Russians, which results in his handing over the Crimea to them for material gain; shortcomings of the Ottoman military, poor administration of the navy; desertion of soldiers.

Thus, Necāti Efendi presented to his Ottoman contemporaries a historical account, a diplomatic report, and a captivity narrative in one and the same text. Observations on Russian courtly society and politics are embedded into reports of his personal experiences of war captivity.

22 White, *Metahistory*: 7.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 598

4 Narrating Asymmetrical Dependency

Narratology insists on distinguishing between the author and the narrator of a text in order to understand the narratological peculiarities of a text.[23] In the present case, this distinction provides us with some interesting insights: The latter makes an appearance only on the textual level, in order to create a mode of narrativity. Thus, while speaking of textual-narratological analyses, when I refer to Necāti I mean the narrator in the text and not the historical author. Necāti mentions his captivity at the very beginning, so that the reader is made aware that the account will report this circumstance. From a transcultural perspective, he makes a number of remarkable and insightful observations. The details of these observations reveal that he had the opportunity to visit many places and collect information, although he could not speak Russian – at least at the beginning of his captivity. After all, as a war captive, he still enjoyed a privileged status as member of the Ottoman elite.

4.1 The Narrative Mode of Representing Space

In a narrative text, space can be represented or imagined by different techniques. In Necāti's text, the overall space is that of his war captivity, i.e., the territory of the Russian Empire. In his narrative, Necāti attempts to paint a full picture of this overall space by highlighting a number of particular aspects, e.g. the detailed description of places or activities related to the imperial sphere of power. This selective description, which entirely ignores rural Russia, for example, is determined by the author's intent; he has selected those aspects which would be of greatest interest for his readership of Ottoman officials.

An illustrative example for this narrative technique is his description of the ballroom in the hall of the Winter Palace at Saint Petersburg. The description is focused only on the furnishings which are relevant for the interaction of the protagonists. The function of the ballroom is that of a *space of action*, not only for musical and artistic performances, but also for important diplomatic negotiations. Therefore the description devotes less room to the interior, and much more to the activities going on there.[24] As spaces are also defined by their boundaries, the doors of the ballroom play an important role in the narration: they not only separate the ballroom from the

23 For an analysis of different types of narrator, see Sven Strasen. "Zur Analyse der Erzählsituation und der Fokalisierung," in *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse: Kategorien, Modelle, Probleme*, ed. Peter Wenzel (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004): 111–40; for a discussion concerning Ottoman historiographic texts, see Şen, *Making Sense of History*: 192–93.

24 For an introductory discussion on and an analysis of space see Birgit Haupt, "Analyse des Raums," in *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse: Kategorien, Modelle, Probleme*, ed. Peter Wenzel (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2004): 69–87.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 599

other chambers, but the guards posted there also separate those who are permitted to enter (the sphere of power) from those who are not. Thus, these boundaries are defined not only by space, but also by rules and conventions. This is exemplified in Necāti's description of the imperial court theater:

> The audience is permitted to access only upon invitation, and the [written] invitations, which are marked with a stamp, are issued to groups of three to five individuals. When they arrive at the Palace, they produce the stamped invitation to the guards at the entrance, submit them, and only then are they allowed to enter. These rules apply for all who attend regardless of rank. For each event a separate stamp is issued.[25]

Here, Necāti's text reveals another relevant dimension of spatial boundaries: they are defined not only by rules, but also by the persons (i.e. protagonists) who are permitted to cross them: within the sphere of the court, only courtiers, dignitaries, and foreign envoys are present at the empress's palace while common people are excluded (Fig. 1). In addition to its factual aspect, this description is also a conventionalized *topos* by which the imperial palaces in and around Saint Petersburg are presented as symbolic spaces of power, whose meaning can be understood across cultural and political boundaries.[26] Catherine II's palace serves as a symbol of Russian imperial rule, just as the Sultan's palace in Istanbul does for the Ottoman world. Ultimately, both spaces are narrated as spheres of protocolary matters, diplomatic encounters, artistic performances, as representations of glory and wealth.

Fig. 1: View of Her Imperial Majesty's Palace at Tsarskoye Selo, 25 versts from Saint Petersburg (1761). Source: *Sankt Petersburg und Umgebung in Russischen Veduten 1753–1761*: *Zwei Kupferstichfolgen nach Michail Ivanovic Mechaev, hrsg. von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Sankt Petersburg*. Exhibition Catalogue of Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Munich, 1992, No. 16. Reproduction courtesy of Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Munich.

25 EEC 2278, 24r.

26 For the conventionalizing of a narrative space, see Haupt, "Analyse des Raums": 82–83.

Thus, the narrative space created by the author performs an important function in the emplotment of the text, as the structures of space correspond with the structures of emplotment. Necāti must have remembered the Bosporus when he first saw the river Neva in Saint Petersburg. This may explain the explicit comparison of the Russian capital to Istanbul: "Its width is comparable to that between Eminönü and Üsküdar; on the other side of the river, a city is located, just like Galata. It is named Peterhof (*Petrehof*). In the summertime, it is crossed by boats and there is a big bridge from one side to the other. They cross it by carriages."[27] In this description, Saint Petersburg does not appear as a place that is *other*; here, it is in fact a real place, the author Necāti is in fact there. However, his perception of the Russian capital is defined by his cultural background and the imaginations presumably formed by it. Thus, the river Neva becomes the Bosporus, its banks the neighborhoods of Istanbul (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2: View of the River Neva Between the Admirality and the Building of the Academy of Sciences (1753). Source: *Sankt Petersburg und Umgebung in Russischen Veduten 1753–1761*: *Zwei Kupferstichfolgen nach Michail Ivanovic Mechaev, hrsg. von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Sankt Petersburg*. Exhibition Catalogue of Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Munich, 1992, No. 3. Reproduction courtesy of Staatliche Graphische Sammlung Munich.

After pointig out the similarities between the two places, Necāti turns to a place which is obviously alien to him and which he calls the "anatomy hall" (*teşrīkẖāne*). Exhaustively, he describes the glass vessels in which human and animal organs and body parts are preserved.[28] He is astonished by the variety of objects, among which are embryos in various stages of development. Even more astonishing to him than this exhibition hall was the practice of applause during courtly events. Narrating a

27 EEC 2278, 32v–32r.

28 EEC 2278, 32r. Şehdī Osman Efendi mentions this exhibition only in a sentence. Faik Reşit Unat, "Şehdî Osman Efendi Sefaretnamesi," *Osmanlı Tarih Vesikaları* (1942): 310, 303–20.

night at the opera, Necāti describes his amazement as Catherine II clapped her hands after each performance:

> It is remarkable that the queen, when she likes the performances and dances, gave them a strong applause as a gratuity (*baḫşīş*). Both men and women [were so pleased] as if they were receiving gold. Gratuities and presents are unknown to them. What an inexhaustible treasure are these [shouts of] 'bravo'! To put it differently: Were the queen to offer *aḳçe* (silver coins) instead of her applause, not just the 400 *aḳçe* she provides to his excellency İbrāhīm Pasha, as his daily allowance, but even four thousand *aḳçe* would not equal it. As for this humble [person], 25 *aḳçe* were stipulated. And they boast that such allowances would be paid in any other kingdom. No one can evade the aforesaid generosity [the applause] by any means, so we all applauded. When we asked the interpreter assigned to us, he told us that this was allowed.[29]

Obviously, Necāti is completely unfamiliar with the whole practice, and he can only compare it to a phenomenon familiar in his own cultural space, i.e. the offering of tips, which was an immensely important practice in Ottoman society, in particular at the imperial court. Moreover, it is striking that he tells that the actors received their gratuities in *akce* (instead, as we must assume, in rubles), a fact of which he must have been aware. Obviously, what counts most to him is to underline his observation that at the Russian court, just as in the Ottoman State, imperial favor was expressed by silver coins. Comparing two imperial spaces, i.e., court cultures, he also gives a hint to his own, and his fellow captives' status of asymmetrical dependency by using the phrase "by any means" (*çare yok*), i.e. the fact that they could not evade the practice of clapping hands. Eventually, he had to submit to the customs of his courtly environment, even though he could not find any meaning in the act of applauding the artists. From a narratological point of view, the narrator demonstrates here his own and his fellow captives' status as esteemed war captives: They could attend a courtly performance like the opera together with the empress and all other high-ranking officials. He further makes use of *comparatio* as a textual strategy in order to explain unknown practices.[30] We can observe a similar approach in the author's description of the Russian system of serfdom, something that did not exist within the Ottoman system of enslavement. The author compares this phenomenon with tax farming, thus making an alien and incomprehensible phenomenon understandable for himself and his readers by relating it to a familiar practice from the Ottoman context. While keeping an objective distance to serfdom, Necāti employs the neutral term *reʿāyā* ["tax-paying subject"], which did refer to the taxable population of the Ottoman state regardless of religion and ethnicity:

29 EEC 2278, 24r–25v.

30 For an example of extensive use of this ancient rhetorical device of *comparatio* in a historiographic text see Şen, *Making Sense of History*: 110–14.

> In order to make clear to which tax farmer they belong, these *reʿāyā* [subjects], no matter how many there are, wear a horseshoe-like, perforated iron on which the name of the tax farmer, the subject's name and their home village has been stamped. This iron is attached to the subject's lapel.[31]

He displays mild surprise when explaining that the tax farmers sold their serfs among themselves, how they supplied two or three hundred of their serfs as soldiers in times of war, and would supply other serfs in times of peace to replace fallen soldiers: "However, these subjects will not see their place of birth ever again. If they get injured and unfit for service during that time, they will be left to beg without pay or pension. This is the mercy they show towards their soldiers."[32]

Another description of a place which Necāti regards to be of interest for his intended readers is a state-run institution whose name may not be rendered correctly:

> Praise for the Institution for illegitimate Children
>
> This brothel (*kārḫāne*) is [administrated by] appointed officials and custodians. Nursing prostitutes [sic; i.e. wet nurses] live there. When street prostitutes bear children, these children are brought to this institution and [the person who brings them] receives 200 *aḳçe* from the officials. Wenn these children are five or six years old, priests are appointed to teach them to read, write and dance. When they attain [their] majority, the Empress visits them one or two times per year. Since [this institution] is her invention; the boys are brought to the military barracks and the girls to her palace. In this way, many children enter [the palace] every five or ten years.[33]

Although Necāti misinterprets this institution, which is an orphanage and not a brothel, and mistakes wet nurses for prostitutes, it is striking that he does not criticize this "brothel" on moral grounds. Obviously he is interested in the new practice implemented by Catherine II. Within the framework of her reform attempts in the field of popular and elite education,[34] a recruitment mechanism for military personnel and court servants reminds the author of the Ottoman mechanism of *devşirme*, the "child

31 EEC 2278, 35r: *bu reʿāyālar her kimiñ muḳāṭaʿasında olduġın beyān içün ḳaç nefer ise birer bārgīr naʿli misillü ve eṭrāfı deliklü temür üzerine muḳāṭaʿa ṣāḥibi ve reʿāyānıñ ismi ve ḳaryesi ismi sikkeye urulmuşdur ol temür ol reʿāyānıñ yaḳāsına dikilüdir*.

32 EEC 2278, 35r–36v: *lakin bu reʿāyālar bir daḫı vilāyetlerin görmezler ʿaskerlikde yā mecrūḥ olur bi-lā yevmīye ve-lā taʿyīnāt taḳāʿud olur ki encāmı sāʾil olurlar ʿaskerine merḥameti bu gūnedir*.

33 EEC 2278, 37v.

34 This orphanage was founded in Saint Petersburg in 1770 and was – along with the orphanage in Moscow, founded 1763 – the first institution of this sort in Russia. At the time of Necāti's visit, the orphanage suffered from poor management and a high mortality rate, also caused by false scientific ideas on infant nutrition. The situation was only improved by reforms during the 1780s. See Jan Kusber, *Katharina die Große: Legitimation durch Reform und Expansion* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2022): 152; Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981): 491–93; Jan Kusber, *Eliten- und Volksbildung im Zarenreich während des 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Diskurs, Gesetzgebung und Umsetzung* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 603

levy", a source of personnel both for the Ottoman army and the sultan's court.[35] Therefore, our author does not criticize or condemn the existence of what he perceives as a state-run brothel, but simply describes it as an effective recruitment method.[36]

4.2 Further Stylistic Devices

By using a range of stylistic devices, the narrator communicates with the text's intended recipients. The mode of the text includes distance and focalization. The aspect of distance indicates whether the presentation of the narrative is direct or indirect, i.e., whether it evokes a narrative or a dramatic mode.[37] By employing direct speech, the narrator creates a dramatic mode, since there is then no or only little distance to the story. The narrative function of the dialogues embedded in the text is not only to add vividness; they are also crucial parts of the plot, since they provide a structure to the text, as is revealed by many dialogue passages. In the following short section on the masked ball, the narrator ends his story with a dialogue that serves both to conclude the narration and to adapt it to a dramatic mode, i.e. giving a more thrilling touch to his account for the reader:

> This they call 'playing a comedy.' In their opinion, the masked ball is a great art. It takes place a few times a year, though not every year, because of the high costs. It is a staged event for which they meet at the empress' palace, where three large halls are brightly lit with candles. Dancers give a lot of performances until the early morning while wearing masks. Men and women walk hand in hand from one hall to the next and hide their faces behind masks. A man is dressed like a woman, a woman dressed like a man, with a brightly painted piece of wood before their faces and looking at each other. Once, the commander in chief [pasha] was invited, and while he was sitting on a chair, the empress approached him disguised as a man. She had on one side the commander of the Mediterranean Fleet, Çalık (sic) Orlov,[38] and on the other the aforesaid Panin;[39] both men were wearing Algerian costume. In this way [the empress] approached the pasha and asked the interpreter: 'Has the pasha recognized us?' The Pasha replied: 'I have not recognized [you].' The Empress laughed, took off her mask and said: 'It is called a masked ball.' When the

35 On the system of child levy, see Gülay Yılmaz, "Body Politics and the Devşirmes in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire: The Conscripted Children of Herzegovina," in *Children and Childhood in the Ottoman Empire from the 15th to the 20th Century*, ed. Gülay Yılmaz and Fruma Zachs (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021): 239–63.

36 As emphasized also by Neuman, see Neumann, "The Russian Experience": 30.

37 Other terms employed to explain the "dramatic mode" in a narration are "showing" or "mimesis", see Matias Martinez and Michael Scheffel, *Einführung in die Erzähltheorie*, 7th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2007): 47–49.

38 The grand admiral Alexei Grigoryevich Orlov.

39 Nikita Ivanovic Panin was a statesman and political mentor to Catherine II.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 604

> Pasha said: 'I have never seen anything like it,' the Empress replied: 'This is a spectacle which you are going to remember once you all will have returned to your native country.'[40]

Furthermore, since this dialogue is held between subalterns, i.e., the Ottomans, and masters, in this case the Empress and her courtiers, i.e. in a situation of asymmetrical dependency, the function of the dialogue becomes more revealing. When the Empress says in the concluding sentence: "This is a spectacle which you are going to remember once you all will have returned to your native country," it is obvious that it is she – as their current master – who decides on the forced stay of the Ottoman war captives but also holds out the hope that they will be able to return home some day. Here, again, we see that the author tends to describe unknown practices as precisely as possible, such as explaining a mask as "a brightly painted piece of wood before their faces." He must be aware that all these practices were solely practices of the court and did not reflect the culture of ordinary Russian society. Thus, the mask appears as a symbol for Russian court culture.

Use of the dramatic mode, which reduces distance, can also be seen in the following dialogue between the Ottoman commander in chief, İbrāhīm Pasha, and the Russian lieutenant colonel (*podpolkovnik*, *подполковник*) – whose name is not mentioned – after thirty-eight days of custody at the fortress of Crimean Tula:

> A dispute broke out. The commander of [the unit of] 700 men said: 'Do you want to stay in this fortress with all your remaining men? Or do you want to leave with 21 men, as ordained in the letter which has arrived? Give me an answer, so that I can inform my authorities accordingly.'
>
> His excellence [İbrāhīm] Pasha gave a firm answer by saying: 'Write down [what I am saying]. I am a captive anywhere, no matter where I am being held. But I cannot leave any of my men behind, because I do not need your authorities and king, nor do I need to meet [them]. Whatever fate decides will happen.' The aforesaid [colonel] was not able to make any objections to that.
>
> Thereupon, the commander of the fortress and other officers understood the situation, and they all went to the commander-in-chief [İbrāhīm Pasha], took off their hats, bowed their heads, asked about his well-being and said: 'If you do not accompany this [Russian] lieutenant colonel [to Saint Petersburg] but stay here instead, it would be very unfair [towards him]. He has been appointed for your service [for this task] and if he can proceed to the local commandant [in Saint Petersburg] without any dispute, the state will bestow on him the rank of a general. Thus, if you honor him and take [only] twenty-one men with you, everything you desire will be granted as soon as we meet the Empress. [In this case] it will be possible for the remaining men [of your retinue] to join you later.' [İbrāhīm Pasha] reluctantly agreed.[41]

---

40 EEC 2278, 26r–27v. *cevāb ėder ki bir gün ola ki bu oyunlar ki ḫaṭıra gelür deyüb gitdi.* A decade earlier, in 1763, Aḥmed Resmi Efendi, the envoy to Berlin, described a masked ball in his report. This is obviously the first narration of a masked ball in Ottoman literature according to Abdullah Güllüoğlu. See his "Die Wahrnehmung des Anderen in den Berichten des osmanischen Gesandten Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1694/95–1783)," in *Orientalische Reisende in Europa: Europäische Reisende im Nahen Osten: Bilder vom Selbst und Imaginationen des Anderen*, ed. Bekim Agai and Zita Ágota Pataki (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2010): 84.

41 EEC 2278, 21r–22v.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 605

First of all, it is striking that Necāti emphasizes the respectful way in which the Russian officers, i.e. the enemy, approach the Ottoman commander-in-chief, displaying forms of courtesy that were common in their own as well as in Ottoman culture, such as taking off their hats, bowing their heads and asking about the pasha's well-being. Regardless of cultural differences, we can observe here a conversation of men regarding each other as socially equal. In telling this story, the narrator's position can adopt two forms: *heterodiegetic* and *homodiegetic*. In the first case, the narrator is exclusively tangible on the level of narrative transmission and does not participate in the events described, i.e. on the story level. The narration is in the third person. This heterodiegetic narration dominates throughout the text since it tends to be associated with a higher degree of authority. A homodiegetic narrator is present and participates directly in the events as a protagonist, and the narration is thus in the first person.[42] Necāti employs a first-person perspective, when he refers to himself in the third person as "this humble [person]" (*bu faḳīr*). At the end, when Necāti mentions that he was sent to Istanbul to deliver the commander in chief's letter to the grand vizier, he refers to himself as *bu ʿabd-i ʿāciz*, "this incapable slave." It is remarkable that he defines himself as "this humble [person]" not only in a scene related to the Ottoman world, but also when referring to his Russian superiors during his captivity. For example, when he mentions the daily allowance which he and his companions received from the empress, he writes, "[The Empress] provided twenty-five *akçe* to this humble [person]." This expression is a topos of modesty, a literary convention of Ottoman literature in which the third person is employed instead of the first.

5 Conclusions

Necāti Efendi, an Ottoman official, experienced four years of captivity in Saint Petersburg during the Ottoman-Russian War of 1768–1772, and wrote his memoirs after his return to Istanbul. While I regard this factual text as an ego document, I place his narration in the genre of captivity narratives. In his text, the author provides a relatively neutral view of his experiences and observations during his Russian captivity. Abstaining from creating an alterity/otherness discourse, he does not use asymmetrical binary pairs of *self* and *other* relating to his own cultural space and the space of his captivity.

Necāti and his fellow captives were certainly privileged prisoners of war, in the way that they were middle- or high-ranking officials who could expect to be treated according to the rules of diplomacy. Although the war was still going on and no one knew for how long it would continue, the captives' holders had to adhere to diplomatic regulations relating to war captives, who would be exchanged immediately

42 Martinez and Scheffel, *Erzähltheorie*: 81.

once hostilities had ended. Thus, regardless of what was happening on the battle ground, Necāti and his fellow captives in Saint Petersburg found themselves deeply involved into diplomatic practices: They received a daily allowance; they were invited by Catherine II several times to court events such as balls, operas, and banquets. As we have seen in the content of his work, his detailed descriptions of many places in Saint Petersburg and insightful explanations of a variety of institutions and practices reveal that the group of Ottoman officials was given purposefully access to all these institutions by the Russians: It was obvious that these war captives were kept only temporarily in Saint Petersburg. Upon their return home they would be able to pass on the knowledge on the Russian empire which they had obtained during their long captivity.

This background may explain Necāti's narrative, i.e., what he wrote, how he wrote (and also why he omitted some information) and why he selected this particular style and structure. All in all, it is a narrative of self-justification, although he did not serve as a diplomat or envoy to Russia and was not obliged to submit a report on a foreign country. He had done his job; he was neither a traitor nor a deserter. He adds also a *lessons learnt* to his narrative, in order to explain what had gone wrong in the war theatre to prevent the same mistake to be made again (the next war with Russia was to begin only 15 years later). With Russia as the biggest military threat to the Ottoman state, court circles in Istanbul must have been most interested in his unofficial report. Finally, he had been in the core area of the enemy's power, which enabled him to provide information on how the Russian state was functioning and especially how Catherine the Great could finance the war (Necāti's answer: the tax system was well-organized). The description of the naval arsenal in Saint Petersburg was of crucial importance, giving a hint at the technological resources Russia had at hand and in which way they could be turned into military prowess.

Focusing on the question of *how* the narrative is told, Necāti's narrative strategies in the text reveal his dependent situation as a war captive in the Russian capital, and how he attempted to deal with his experiences by drawing upon his own cultural background and perceiving the surrounding foreign space. Maintaining a distanced and neutral point of view in most cases, Necāti does not use the *other* as projection surface for his own desires and imaginations. Rather, he presents pictures both of his own culture and the culture of others in an interwoven context, thus initiating a dynamic process of knowledge production. Addressing asymmetrical dependency, Necāti's captivity narrative depicts a structure of dependency on an elite level which is, however, significantly different from the experience of war captivity suffered by ordinary soldiers or civilians.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

[EEC 2278] = Necāti Efendi. *Tārīḫ-i Ḳırım*. Istanbul: Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi-Collection, No. 2278.

Der Gefangene der Giauren: Die abenteuerlichen Schicksale des Dolmetschers Osman Ağa aus Temeschwar, von ihm selbst erzählt, trans. Richard Franz Kreutel and Otto Spies (Graz: Styria, 1962) [with a facsimile of five pages].

Faik Reşit Unat. "Şehdî Osman Efendi Sefaretnamesi," *Osmanlı Tarih Vesikaları* (1942): 303–20.

Presidency of State Archives of the Republic of Turkey, Ottoman Archives (BOA), C.DH. No. 54 - 2698 - 0; 23-07-1206/ [Marc 27, 1792].

Secondary Sources

Afyoncu, Erhan. "Esaretnameler ve Mehmet Necati'nin Esaretnamesi," in *Uluslararası Türk Savaş Esirleri Sempozyumu Bildiri Kitabı*, ed. Okan Yeşilot et al. (Istanbul: Sultanbeyli Belediyesi, 2018): 13–28.

Afyoncu, Erhan. "Osmanlı Müverrihlerine Dair Tevcihat Kayıtları II," *Belgeler* 30 (2005): 85–193.

Aksan, Virginia H. "Whatever Happened to the Janissaries? Mobilization for the 1768–1774 Russo-Ottoman War," *War in History* 5, no. 1 (1998): 23–36.

Altuniş Gürsoy, Belkıs. "Siyasetname Hüviyetinde Bir Esaretname," *Erdem: İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Dergisi* 60 (2011): 77–142.

Conermann, Stephan, 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): 11–27.

Davies, Brian L. *The Russo-Turkish War, 1768–1774: Catherine II and the Ottoman Empire* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016).

Güllüoğlu, Abdullah. "Die Wahrnehmung des Anderen in den Berichten des osmanischen Gesandten Ahmed Resmi Efendi (1694/95–1783)," in *Orientalische Reisende in Europa – Europäische Reisende im Nahen Osten: Bilder vom Selbst und Imaginationen des Anderen*, ed. Bekim Agai and Zita Ágota Pataki (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2010): 57–85.

Haupt, Birgit. "Analyse des Raums," in *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse: Kategorien, Modelle, Probleme*, ed. Peter Wenzel (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2004): 69–87.

Hillebrand, Caspar. "Ottoman Travel Accounts to Europe: An Overview of their Historical Development and a Commented Researchers' List," in *Venturing Beyond Borders: Reflections on Genre, Function and Boundaries in Middle Eastern Travel Writing*, ed. Bekim Agai, Olcay Akyıldız and Caspar Hillebrand (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag, 2013): 53–98 [with a bibliographical appendix, 99–262].

Kafadar, Cemal. "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century Istanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica* 69 (1989): 121–50.

Karahasanoğlu, Selim, "Ottoman Ego-Documents: State of the Art," in *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 53 (2021): 301–8.

Klein, Denise. "The Sultan's Envoys Speak: The Ego in 18th-Century Ottoman *sefâretnâme*s on Russia," in *Many Ways of Speaking about the Self: Middle Eastern Ego-Documents in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish (14th–20th Century)*, ed. Ralf Elger and Yavuz Köse (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 89–102.

Kusber, Jan. *Eliten- und Volksbildung im Zarenreich während des 18. und in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Diskurs, Gesetzgebung und Umsetzung* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004).

Kusber, Jan. *Katharina die Große: Legitimation durch Reform und Expansion* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2022).

Madariaga, Isabel de. *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

Marcinkowski, Marcin. *Die Entwicklung des Osmanischen Reiches zwischen 1839 und 1908: Reformbestrebungen und Modernisierungsversuche im Spiegel der deutschsprachigen Literatur* (Berlin: Schwarz, 2007).

Martinez, Matias, and Michael Scheffel. *Einführung in die Erzähltheorie*, 7th ed. (Munich: Beck, 2007).

Menchinger, Ethan L. *The First of the Modern Ottomans: The Intellectual History of Ahmed Vasif* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Neumann, Christoph. "The Russian Experience: Necati Efendi in Captivity," *Südost-Forschungen* 71 (2012): 19–33.

Sel Turhan, Fatma. "Captives of the Ottoman-Russian War: 1768–1774," *International Journal of Turcologica* 13, no. 25 (2018): 5–36.

Şen, Gül. "Between Istanbul and Saint Petersburg: War Captivity as a Part of Diplomacy in the Eighteenth Century," in *Proceeding of the III International Symposium on Turkey-Russia Relations. Ege University – Turkic World Research Institute*, ed. Vefa Kurban, Hamit Özman, and Recep Efe Çoban (Ankara: Gece Kitap, 2023): 338–53.

Şen, Gül. "Between Two Spaces: Enslavement and Labor in the Early Modern Ottoman Navy," in *Comparative and Global Framing of Enslavement*, ed. Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud Toledano and Rachel Zelnick-Abramo (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2023): 133–66.

Şen, Gül. "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): 131–63.

Şen, Gül. *Making Sense of History: Narrativity and Literariness in the Ottoman Chronicle of Naʿīmā* (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

Smiley, Will. "The Meaning of Conversion: Treaty Law, State Knowledge, and Religious Identity among Russian Captives in the Eighteenth-Century Ottoman Empire," *The International History Review* 34, no. 3 (2012): 559–80.

Smiley, Will. *From Slaves to Prisoners of War: The Ottoman Empire, Russia, and the International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Strasen, Sven. "Zur Analyse der Erzählsituation und der Fokalisierung," in *Einführung in die Erzähltextanalyse: Kategorien, Modelle, Probleme*, ed. Peter Wenzel (Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2004): 111–40.

Utzschneider, Helmut, and Stefan Ark Nitsche. *Arbeitsbuch literaturwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung: Eine Methodenlehre zur Exegese des Alten Testaments*, 2nd ed. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005).

White, Hayden. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973).

White, Joshua M. *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2017).

Yılmaz, Gülay. "Body Politics and the Devşirmes in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire: The Conscripted Children of Herzegovina," in *Children and Childhood in the Ottoman Empire From the 15th to the 20th Century*, ed. Gülay Yılmaz and Fruma Zachs (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021): 239–63.

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Narratives

Veruschka Wagner. “Slave Voices in Ottoman Court Records – A Narrative Analysis of the Istanbul Registers from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 141-160.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-008

Veruschka Wagner

Slave Voices in Ottoman Court Records – A Narrative Analysis of the Istanbul Registers from the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

1 Introduction

In the Ottoman Empire slavery was a widespread phenomenon which continued up into the twentieth century.[1] There were different forms of slavery, such as elite, agricultural and domestic slavery. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in Istanbul mainly domestic slavery existed, and slaves were attached to the household of their owners. Slaves were brought from different regions all around the borders of the Ottoman Empire with a special focus on the Balkans in the sixteenth century and on the Black Sea Region in the seventeenth century. But there were also slaves from other places in Europe, including the Caucasus, as well as from Africa, Persia, and India.[2] Slaves were differentiated by sex, age, origin, and the tasks they had to perform. The variety of terms used with different connotations convey an idea of the complexity and diversity of the system.[3] Legally, slaves were considered the property of their owner, but they nevertheless did possess certain rights. They could, for example, obtain a power of attorney to trade or to assign property,[4] appear in court as the legal agent of their master or claim wrongful behavior on the part of their owners.[5] Slaves were called "speaking property" (*mal-ı nāṭıḳ*),[6] an aspect of Ottoman slavery that is

1 I will only give brief information about the structures and specifics of Ottoman slavery here, because I will go into more detail about further aspects in the analysis.

2 For general information on slave trade in the Ottoman Empire, see Hayri Gökşin Özkoray, "La géographie du commerce des esclaves dans l'Empire ottoman et l'implication des marchands d'Europe occidentale," *Rives méditerranéennes* 53 (2017): 103–21.

3 Madeline C. Zilfi, "Ottoman Slavery and Female Slaves in the Early Modern Era," in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation 2. Economy and Society*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000): 716.

4 Bülent Tahiroğlu, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kölelik," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Memuası* 45 (2011): 657.

5 Timur Kuran, ed., *Mahkeme Kayıtları Işığında 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Sosyo-Ekonomik Yaşam*, vol. 1, *Social and Economic Life in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Glimpses from Court Records* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010): 65.

6 Yvonne J. Seng, "A Liminal State: Slavery in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul," in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun Elizabeth Marmon (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998): 25. For Ottoman-Turkish terms I follow the transliteration system of IJMES. Personal names are written in modern Turkish writing.

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-008

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 611

interesting in that it is precisely this attribution of speaking attached to slaves that I will discuss here.

A distinctive feature of the institution of slavery in the Ottoman Empire was its comparative openness, which was characterized by the possibility of legal and social advancement of slaves. This could be achieved because it was a common practice to manumit slaves after a certain time. There were different ways of manumitting slaves, such as manumission for pious reasons, which the owner could perform at any time, or manumission after having fulfilled the conditions agreed upon in a contract between slave and slave owner.[7] In court records, we therefore also come across entries that document manumission, in addition to numerous other entries concerning slaves.

This paper examines the narrativity of normative texts with a focus on the Istanbul court records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and their representation of slave voices. The paper aims at analyzing the ways in which slaves' statements are narratively represented and whether a relationship between the type of entries and the status of the slaves can be identified. It needs to be considered that the court records were supposed to conform to certain formal standards in terms of content and language, which is why we are not concerned here with the *truth* of representing the slaves' statements, but with examining the ways they were represented. We can find different types of statements by slaves, including approval or direct speech and dialogues.

I assume that representations of the slaves' voices varied depending on the case that was dealt with and indicate different legal statuses slaves could obtain. Furthermore, I assume that the more independent slaves were, the more rights to speak they were granted in court.[8] This leads to the assumption that there were not only different degrees of asymmetrical dependencies of slaves in general in the Ottoman Empire, but that one and the same slave might experience different degrees of dependency during his or her time of enslavement.

As far as narrative strategies are concerned, there are claims that normative texts lack narrativity and therefore cannot be examined with a focus on narrative elements. However, there are a few studies that show that legal texts can in fact be ana-

7 For the different forms of manumission see Nur Sobers Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 70–79.

8 The agency of the slaves can be considered as a measure of the degree of dependency. However, agency will not be addressed in this paper for the time being. For the topic of agency of slaves in the Ottoman Empire, see the collected volume by Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen, eds., *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, Ottoman Studies 7 (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2020) and for a study based on the Istanbul court records, see Veruschka Wagner, "'Speaking Property' with the Capacity to Act. Slave Interagency in the 16th- and 17th-Century Court Register," in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2020): 213–336.

lyzed in terms of their narrativity.[9] So far, no one has looked at Ottoman court texts with regard to these questions. I argue that every single court entry in the Istanbul registers constitutes a little story in its own right, which can be analyzed through the lens of narrativity.[10] Furthermore, every genre has its own distinctive narrative elements, which fulfil specific functions. This aspect will also be taken into consideration in the following.

This paper will first give some background information about the sources used here, also concerning the narrativity of this particular genre. This is followed by some examples to analyze the statements of slaves and to identify narrative patterns and strategies that provide insights into forms of asymmetrical dependencies from a legal perspective.

2 The Court Records

Court records (*ḳāżī sicilleri* or *şerʿiyye siciller*) are an important source for research on the history of the Ottoman Empire. Legal matters of everyday life, both urban and rural, are documented in resolutions and court notices issued by a judge (*ḳāżī*).[11] Frequently, these were contracts, or they document conflicts between two parties (Muslims as well non-Muslims) who could belong to any stratum of society.[12] The early modern registers also provide unique insights into the institution of slavery.[13] We find references to slaves in different entries, appearing as plaintiff, defendant, or sub-

9 Cf., for instance, Peter Brooks and Paul D. Gewirtz, eds. *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996) and Ruth Blufarb, *Geschichten im Recht. Übertragbarkeit von 'Law as Narrative' auf die deutsche Rechtsordnung*, Recht und Literatur 3 (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017).

10 On the significance of storytelling in legal contexts, see Peter Brooks, "The Law as Narrative Rhetoric," Introduction, in *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): 14–23, esp. 16.

11 On average, a register is one hundred pages long and contains between 400 and 500 records. A single record can be as short as two lines and as long as several pages.

12 For an overview of the existing *sicils* in the archives, see Ahmet Akgündüz, *Şer'iye Sicilleri. 1. Mahiyeti, toplu kataloğu ve seçme hükümler* (Istanbul: TDAV Yay, 1988). For an introduction to the topic, see Yunus Uğur, "Şerʿiyye Sicilleri," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 39 (2010): 8–11; Halil İnalcık, "Osmanlı Tarihi Hakkında Mühim Bir Kaynak," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 1/68 (1943): 89–96; Dror Ze'evi, "The Use of Ottoman Sharīʿa Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal," *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56. For studies drawing on the Istanbul court registers, see Yvonne J. Seng, "The *Şer'iye Sicilleri* of Istanbul Müftülüğü as a Source for the Study of Everyday Life," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15, no. 2 (1991): 307–25; Eunjeong Yi, *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Nur Sobers-Khan, *Slaves Without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

13 Seng already emphasizes this in her paper from 1998. Seng, "A Liminal State": 27.

ject of dispute. Next to manumission documents, there are also donations, estate inventories, proof of non-slave status, purchase contracts, etc.[14]

Most of the entries in the Istanbul court records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are written in Ottoman Turkish, although there are also individual entries entirely in Arabic, as was common with texts from the fifteenth century. However, the later Ottoman texts also contain numerous Arabic expressions. The language in the entries is standardized, which means that the same expressions and phrases recur in the same types of documents. This is not surprising insofar as the texts were written down by the judge (*ḳāżī*) or his deputy (*nā'ib*) in the aftermath of the oral proceedings and thereby transferred into what Ergene calls a "unitary language".[15] Ergene illustrates by means of various examples that the texts are "translations" of thoughts, feelings, and words "into a legal statement that was acceptable according to existing legal and religious norms."[16]

Not much is known about the process of writing down the entries. They were collected by the judge or his deputy after the oral hearings, presumably on separate papers, and only later put down in writing. How much time elapsed between the hearing and writing the record cannot be ascertained from the documents. It is assumed that notes were taken during the trials, which could be used later for drafting the entries. Omissions, especially those of names of persons involved, suggest that it was no longer possible to ask questions at the time of writing.[17] The parties involved received one version, and the judge made a copy for himself. These were intended to enable him to check in case there were later objections, or to issue lost documents again. The individual entries were then bound together in a more or less chronological sequence in registers.[18] Since the copies were considered proof for the parties and the judge, it can be assumed that there were no other intended addressees at the time.

---

14 The Istanbul court records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are accessible online; keyword searches allow thematic sifting through the data set. In 2019, in addition to the entries from the Istanbul court registers from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries already digitized by the Centre for Islamic Studies (İSAM, İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi) between 2008 and 2012 and made available online in 40 volumes, another 60 volumes of the Istanbul court registers from 1557 to 1911 were digitized and made available online in their original form, as well as texts transcribed into Latin script; http://www.kadisicilleri.org [accessed 07.09.2023].

15 Boğaç Ergene, *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolutions in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652–1744)*, Studies in Islamic Law and Society 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 134. He also uses the term "unifying language of the legal", cf. Ergene, *Local Court*: 136.

16 Ergene, *Local Court*: 134.

17 Ergene, *Local Court*: 127.

18 Referring to the Kastamonu and Çankırı court records Ergene examined, he interpreted the fact that these entries were not documented in strict chronological order as an indication that the documentation did not take place immediately at or shortly after the trials. Another indication of this, according to Ergene, was the fact that different reports on a particular hearing did not follow one another either. In addition, some of them were stylistically different, so that it could be assumed that

The structure of all documents is more or less the same. First, the persons involved are introduced, then the subject matter is discussed, followed by a presentation of the decision taken and, finally, the resulting legal outcome is stated. The documents are usually completed by mentioning the date and the names of the witnesses. If there is no date, however, the approximate time of issuing the document can usually be deduced from the preceding and subsequent entries, since they were registered, if not strictly chronologically, then at least in the same time period.

We are examining normative texts, whose narrativity has at times been questioned. Blufarb explains the different interpretations that exist regarding the relationship between narrativity and the law. She notes that some consider only certain areas or structures of law to be narrative, while others consider law as a whole as a narrative, and still others speak only of a possible comparability of the disciplines; some critics even deny any connection or similarity between narrativity and law, arguing that the fields are separate.[19] According to the "Law as Literature" approach, however, the narratological dimension of the law can be considered from a literary point of view. The focus here is on the narrativity of law. As part of the "Law as Literature" movement, the "Law as Narrative" approach considers stories a rhetorical medium because they are said to have persuasive abilities, having a potential impact on the emotional and not only on the rational level. Therefore, they represent a valuable tool of persuasion for the court or jury in a trial.[20] With respect to German law, Blufarb explains that it contains narrative structures that can produce typical narrative effects, in many cases without German jurisprudence being even aware of this. Thus, it seems necessary to her to direct attention to this narrativity.[21]

Gewirtz explains what can be meant by examining law as narrative and rhetoric: According to him, this approach can, for instance, refer to the relation between stories and legal arguments and theories or to the different ways judges, lawyers, and litigants construct, shape, and use stories. Examining law as narrative and rhetoric could also mean evaluating why certain stories are problematic in trials or analyzing the rhetoric of judicial opinions. In general, for him, treating law as narrative and rhetoric means looking not only at the rules and the ideas expressed, but also at the forms and the language used.[22] According to von Arnauld, a number of objects within the German legal field can be analyzed from a narratological perspective: legal texts in the broader sense, statements before authorities and courts, but also jurisprudential texts and the legal education literature can be examined for their narrative

there had been an intermediate step. This is also indicated by the absence of names, for which a gap was left blank. Ergene, *Local Court*: 126.

19 Blufarb, *Geschichten im Recht*: 213.

20 Blufarb, *Geschichten im Recht*: 209.

21 Blufarb, *Geschichten im Recht*: 31.

22 Paul Gewirtz, "Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law," Introduction, in *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): 3.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 615

content.[23] For Meuter, "all laws can be understood as abstractions of individual cases", which in turn enter the legal system "by ways of narrations".[24] The participants tell the court their version of the events relevant to the case, whereupon the judge and jury select or adequately transform the version that, in their judgment, corresponds to what really happened. For this process, they require a high degree of "narrative competence", as Meuter points out.[25] Hannken-Illjes supports this view. In her opinion, the defendants' (or plaintiffs') statements are often narratives of what happened. In the reasons for the decision, too, the court narrates what it is convinced happened in order to then evaluate it.[26] Apart from that in the verdicts it is told who was involved and where the incident took place. Hannken-Illjes therefore speaks of the "omnipresence of narrative" ("Allgegenwärtigkeit des Erzählens") in German criminal proceedings. However, in my view, her observation that "narrative is vital" ("Erzählen ist zentral") also applies to other areas of law, wherever individuals present their perspectives of events and talk about them.[27]

3 The 'Narrative Translation' of Trials and the Representation of Slave Voices

Each case we can find in the Istanbul court records in itself is only one version of the stories that were presented to the judge. The judge (or his deputy) then decided, summarized, and translated it into the appropriate legal language. We thus have written products presumably based on conflicting narratives, one of which convinced the judge, who then took it as the version according to which he made his decision. From possibly fragmentary and multiple narratives a legally effective narrative has been created. We must take into account that the entries are only from a few lines to a few pages long. Within this limited space, events that are relevant to the judge's decision are presented in a specific sequence. We can see a uniform structure, which consists of an introductory part describing the situation, the people involved, and the facts of

23 Andreas von Arnauld, "Was war, was ist – und was sein soll. Erzählen im juristischen Diskurs," in *Wirklichkeitserzählungen. Felder, Formen und Funktionen nicht-literarischen Erzählens*, ed. Christian Klein and Matías Martínez (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2009): 14. On narratives in German law, see also Andreas von Arnauld, "Recht," in *Erzählen. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Matías Martínez (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2017): 173–87.

24 Norbert Meuter, "Narration in Various Disciplines," in *Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Jan Christoph Meister et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 253.

25 Meuter, "Narration in Various Disciplines": 253–54.

26 Kati Hannken-Illjes, "Geschichten und Gegengeschichten – Erzählen im Strafrecht," in *Narrativität als Begriff: Analysen und Anwendungsbeispiele zwischen philologischer und anthropologischer Orientierung*, ed. Matthias Aumüller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012): 283.

27 Hannken-Illjes, "Geschichten und Gegengeschichten": 281.

the case, followed by the discussion of the problem, and, finally, as a result, the decision is presented. Thus, we have a chain of events with a beginning, a main part, and an end, albeit typically in a very condensed version.

Ergene emphasizes that "[t]he language of the court incorporates the voices of the participants in such a way that they contribute to the feeling of 'smooth flow' that we get from the *sicils*."[28] Still, the voices that contribute to the "polyglossal character" of the court records should not be taken as the actual words of the litigants, since "there are indications in the court records that what is reported in the *sicils* as the speech of the litigants is in fact the translation of their voices into the official language of the legal system."[29] Through adding explanations that clarify the situation and the outcome of the trial "[t]he translation of the litigants' speech into the legal statement is an aspect of the creation of the 'unitary language' observed in the court records."[30] Thus, here we have an embedding of the story in a new narrative context, a re-emplotment, to use a concept coined by Hayden White.[31]

It is not the authenticity and veracity of the statements made that is at stake. It is impossible to decide whether a statement is what a person really said. What deserves attention is the 'narrative translation' or 'transmission' of trials and, within that framework, the representation of slave voices. For this purpose, I will take a closer look at three types of judgments (*ḥüküm*): 1) manumission contracts and related deeds (*mükātebe* / *kitābe(t)* and *ʿıtḳnāme*); 2) different kinds of proofs: proofs of a) non-slave status (*i̲sbāt-ı ʿıtḳ*), b) *ümm-i velediyyet*[32] (*i̲sbāt-ı ümm-i velediyyet*), and c) freedom (*i̲sbāt-ı hürriyyet*); and 3) amicable agreements (*ṣulḥ*).

4 Analysis of Slave Voices

We can find various entries in which slaves are mentioned as objects, for instance in documents that deal with sales, donations, or payments. In these examples, the slaves are identified by their value and regarded as commodity. In those entries, there is no representation of the voice of the enslaved. The cases I will look at, by contrast, show slaves as contract partners or plaintiffs, whose statements are recorded in the docu-

28 Ergene, *Local Court*: 135.
29 Ergene, *Local Court*: 134.
30 Ergene, *Local Court*: 134.
31 Hayden White, "Der historische Text als literarisches Kunstwerk," in *Geschichte Schreiben in der Postmoderne: Beiträge zur aktuellen Diskussion*, ed. Christoph Conrad and Martina Kessel (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1994): 134.
32 *Ümm-i velediyyet* is a term used for female slaves who gave birth to a child that was recognized by their owner as his own child. With this recognition the female slave was granted freedom after the death of her owner.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 617

ments. Some entries describe the approval of slaves of certain issues. For example, we have slaves admitting that they are a slave or slaves agreeing to a slave contract.

4.1 Admitting Slave Status

What we can consider a first sign of slave voices represented in court records is a slave acknowledging his or her slave status. The term we find at the beginning of a manumission document concerning the slave is that he or she has admitted to being a slave (*rıḳḳını mu'terif/e*). *Rıḳḳ* may refer to a male or female slave, and as such can denote a person as well as a state. In this case, the possessive suffix is added, which means that 'he' or 'she' is a slave. If *mu'terif* for male and *mu'terife* for female is added, we know that the slave in question has acknowledged his or her slave status. This was important, since admitting to being a slave was a precondition for manumission.[33] Another version with the same meaning that can be found in the court records is "kendi kölesi olduğunu itiraf eden" ("s/he admitted[34] that s/he was her/his slave[35]").[36] If slaves did not claim to be slaves in the first place, they could not be manumitted.[37] We can thus consider the acknowledgement of slave status by the slave as the first step in a sequence of necessary steps in the process of manumission. This acknowledgement can be identified to some extent as the voice of the slaves, even though we do not know if a particular slave was actually in court and made a statement or not. But the text at least says that he or she recognized his or her status as a slave, which implies a participation of the slave in the proceedings.

Another indication of the presence of persons in the documents are the expressions *maḥżarında* or *muvācehesinde*, both of which mean 'in the presence of' and indicate that statements and decisions were executed in the presence of specific persons. We find one of these terms in each manumission document, in which the slaves acknowledge their social status. According to the narrative in the document, this is a further indication that the slaves were present.

The transmitted active admission of being a slave, which is a clear indication of an existing dependency relationship, may seem confusing at first, but it can be accounted for by the fact that the slaves could not obtain their freedom without this

33 See for example *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1063–1064 / M. 1652–1653), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019): 49 [8b-2].

34 *Mu'terif/e* and *i'tirāf* are derived from the same Arabic root and therefore have the same basic meaning ('to agree' or 'admit').

35 Both *rıḳḳ* and *köle* are terms that were used for male and female slaves alike during the period examined here.

36 See for example *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı* Sicil (H. 1027 / M. 1618), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010): [6b-1].

37 For this, one can look at the proofs of freedom [*iṯbāt-ı ḥürriyyet*], where enslaved people claim to actually be freeborn.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 618

admission. Thus, in order to leave their strongly asymmetrical dependency relationship, the slaves first had to acknowledge it.

4.2 Approval of a Contract

Prior to manumission, some slaves entered into contracts with their slave owners in which the slaves were promised freedom under certain conditions. These contracts between the slaveholder and the slave stated that they agreed on an amount of money, time, or work a slave had to provide in order to gain his or her freedom. Once the condition had been agreed upon, the slave was released from slave status through the act of manumission. This was one of the forms of release that we frequently come across for domestic slaves.[38] It consisted of two related documents, namely the contract, called *mükātebe* or *kitābe(t)*, and the manumission deed itself. Since these documents are contracts, both parties had to agree.

An example is the contract from 1577 between a certain Mihri Hatun bint El-Hac Hızır, who, according to the document, had agreed with her slave Nikola veled Yani of Cypriot origin that the latter had to pay her 100 *aḳçe* monthly and 3,000 *aḳçe* in total. Mihri Hatun was represented by Mustafa Reis bin Abdullah. The document names all parties involved (the slave owner, the legal representative of the slave owner and the witnesses, whose attendance was necessary), which is followed by the name of the slave and a description ("blond, with blue eyes, open browed, of medium height, of Cypriote origin, with a birthmark on his right eyebrow"). This description was followed by the terms of the contract, which stated the total amount to be paid and the monthly installments. Mihri Hatun, the female slave owner, had her representative declare that she had entered into a *kitābet* contract to release her slave Nikola veled Yani once he fulfilled the terms of the contract. The last sentence in the entry reads: "The aforementioned slave has agreed (*ḳabūl etti*) to the said contract."[39]

Although Tahiroğlu argues that the *mükātabe* should be seen more as a command than as an agreement – since slaves were commodities, who were not supposed to have any will, – he still notes that, despite these implications, the slave's approval was obtained and his or her acceptance of the terms is mentioned in the contract.[40] In the example above, we do not learn in what way the slave agreed, but it is confirmed that the slave acknowledged the contract, which probably entailed legal necessity. There are numerous further, similar examples showing that slaves agreed to these contracts, in the first part of the manumission documents – the contract itself – as well as in the

38 Joshua White, "Ottoman Slave Manumission Documents," *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*, 17.08.2021, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_31256.

39 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Galata Mahkemesi 7 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 985–986 / M. 1577–1578), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011): [46–3].

40 Tahiroğlu, "Kölelik": 667.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 619

manumission deed.[41] *Rāżı oldu*, a synonymous alternative to the term *ḳabūl etti*, can be found in other entries.[42] These expressions do not give us much information about what the consent might have looked like or in what form it took place. Were the slaves present? Did they have to say a certain phrase? At any rate, representing the slave's approval of the contract is significant for us here.

An extended formulation of this approval, which we can also find in the court records, may help concerning the question of personal presence at the court. We are informed that the agreement was "confirmed face to face and verbally" (*vicāhen ve şifāhen taṣdīḳ*).[43] Alternative formulations are *vicāhen taṣdīḳ ve şifāhen taḥḳīḳ*[44] or *vicāhen ve şifāhen taṣdīḳ ve taḥḳīḳ*.[45] (*Taṣdīḳ* and *taḥḳīḳ* both have the meaning 'affirmation' and 'confirmation'.)

So why do some scribes decide to mention that the slaves were present and agreed verbally, and why is this information missing in other entries? We can either assume that the slaves all agreed to the contracts "face to face and verbally", but it was not explicitly stated in all entries.[46] Or the slaves were only present at the court in those cases where this was explicitly mentioned, and in all other cases they were not. Their affirmation was maybe accepted in other ways, without being present and giving a verbal statement. Or it was just simply taken for granted that they had accepted. From the legal perspective, at any rate, both sides had to agree; otherwise, the contract was invalid. This also applied to other contracts, such as purchase agreements, rental agreements, debt matters, foundation agreements, and so on. In those agreements we can find the same formulations for the approval. From this point of view, concerning asymmetrical dependency, slaves seem to have the same status as freeborn people with respect to the legal question of being a contract partner.

Concerning the fulfilment of the contract, we can see that in this kind of enslavements based on a contract, a compensation had to be paid for the release. This bilateral agreement ensured that the slave obtained his or her release and the slave

41 Even though in most cases we cannot find the two related parts of a manumission contract we can see a summary of the contract in the manumission deed.

42 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Üsküdar Mahkemesi 2 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 924–927 / M. 1518–1521), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011): [12a-4].

43 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havass-ı Refia) 3 Numaralı* Sicil (H. 993–995 / M. 1585–1587), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011): [10a-2] or *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Balat Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 964–965 / M. 1557–1558), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019): [12b-2].

44 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havass-ı Refia) 37 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1047 / M. 1637–1638), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011): [28a-3].

45 For instance: *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Galata Mahkemesi 15 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 981–1000 / M. 1573–1591), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2012): [84b-4].

46 The description of the features of the slaves in records of this kind could also indicate that the slaves did attend the legal proceedings.

owner received something in return.[47] All other forms of manumission were unilateral and depended solely on the slave owner's decision. Furthermore, with the settlement of the *mükātebe* contract, slaves received rights and privileges that other slaves did not have.[48]

By their consent in the contract it is made clear that they had a different status and a different scope of action than other slaves. At least this was the situation in the legal sense; the practice could be different. What I want to point out here is that there were different forms of representation of slave voices in the court records, and thus different forms of dependency in the legal sense become visible – especially when compared to other forms of enslavement, in which slaves are sold or passed on and appear in the entries in question merely as mute objects without a voice.

The slaves who agreed to such a contract were still in asymmetrical dependency with respect to other persons, especially their owners, with whom they entered into this agreement. Nevertheless, the strength of the asymmetrical dependency differs with regard to the slaves who were not granted the said rights and privileges that came as a result of such a contract and whose scope of action and decision-making possibilities were thus further limited.

It is possible to derive some information regarding the slaves' status and dependency relationships from these short narrative accounts. Depending on the position and dependency relationship of the slave, the narrative representation of his or her statements changed. While in the previous examples the voice of the slaves was expressed through a consent that was reported, there are some entries in which the voices of the slaves are expressed in other ways.

4.3 Proof of Manumission

Another way of expressing the voice of slaves is direct speech. We find representations of spoken utterances in the first person singular and in some cases also in the first person plural. In this case, the speakers give information about their own situation or events from their perspective – or at least this is what it looks like according to the text. We find this direct speech of slaves or supposed slaves in various types of proofs: proofs of freedom (*i̲sbāt-ı ḥürriyyet*), proofs of manumission (*i̲sbāt-ı ʿıtḳ*) and proofs of *ümm-i veledi*yyet (*i̲sbāt-ı ümm-i veledi*yyet).

As an example for the proof of manumission (*i̲sbāt-ı ʿıtḳ*) we can take a case concerning a female slave of Hungarian origin named Badıseher bint Abdullah, who was brought to court when her owner died and his heirs wanted to claim their inheri-

47 See Molla Husrev, *Gurer ve Dürer Tercümesi*, vol. 2, trans. Arif Erkan (Istanbul: Eser Neşriyat, 1980): 331.

48 These included, for example, the freedom to travel or to obtain property. Fahrettin Atar, "Mükâtebe," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 31 (2006): 533.

tance. Her owner, a certain Mehmed Çelebi bin Hızır Ağa, left behind his wife, his daughter and his father as heirs. What happened becomes clear when we read the female slave's statement. She claims the following: "I was once the slave of this deceased Mehmed Çelebi, and although the said released me from his possession during his lifetime and I became a free woman, Hızır Ağa [the father of her owner] seized me as principal and as representative [of Mehmed Çelebi] as part of the estate of the deceased."[49] When Hızır Ağa was thereupon questioned, he confirmed that Badıseher had been Mehmed Çelebi's slave, but that Mehmed Çelebi had not manumitted her during his lifetime. When Badıseher was consequently asked to prove her claim, she brought three witnesses to court who confirmed that she had been freed by her owner during his lifetime. The manumission of the female slave was confirmed, and Hızır Ağa was prompted not to seize her again.[50]

The direct speech here – like in all other examples – is embedded in an impersonal style that further highlights the change in the narrative. The rest of the text is written in the passive voice, which makes the court appear as the spokesperson of an objective legal system. The judge present here, even though he is the person to whom the direct speech is addressed at that moment, does not appear as narrator nor as author.[51] However, it is reasonable to assume that he did get involved in the actual process through prompts or questions even though he does not appear in the written text as a voice.

We can see a similar case where two female slaves' voices are represented. Canan and Gülistan, both of Ukrainian origin, found their way to the court because their former owner died, or was killed to be more precise, and his wife Hadice tried to keep the two as her slaves. The two former female slaves though accuse Hadice by using almost the same phrase as in the example before: "Once we were the slaves of this deceased Mehmed Ağa, and although he manumitted us during his lifetime for the sake of Allah, said Hadice keeps us as her slaves. We request an investigation and our release." In this case, two witnesses confirmed the following: "Canan and Gülistan were manumitted by their owner in our presence. We can witness this matter in this way." Finally, the two were released and their claim was granted.[52]

These entries show first of all that slaves not only had access to courts, but that some authority was granted to their voice. Whether there were one or more people, their statements were apparently transmitted orally. Ergene describes an effect of the

49 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 12 Numaralı Sicil* (H.1073–1074 / M.1663–1664), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul, İSAM 2011): [37b-1].

50 *İstanbul Mahkemesi 12*: [37b-1].

51 For corresponding information concerning German legal texts, see von Arnauld, "Was war, was ist": esp. 17. Von Arnauld also explains that judges can also act as authors of the so-called "master narrative" (32).

52 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1072–1073 / M. 1661–1663), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019): [108a-3].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 622

method of recording the statements. He rightly notes that this transition from the passive voice to the first-person narrative, which is not indicated by quotations marks but by a grammatical change, "is definite and generates an interesting effect in the account by augmenting the feeling of proximity between the litigants and the readers"[53] of the documents. Ergene explains that this direct speech conveys the impression that the participants in the court case are speaking directly to us, without an intermediary. He also emphasizes that we cannot be sure whether this effect was intentional or not. However, "[d]irect quotations from the litigants and their witnesses indicate that these people were present during the trial – as they were legally supposed to be – and they were allowed to contribute their sides of the story through appropriate means."[54] This is at least the impression that the document conveys. In the narrative portrayed, the slaves were present and spoke for themselves. Ergene, furthermore, draws a connection between the textual design of the court entries and the demonstration of the legitimacy of the process.[55]

This is interesting in that Ergene raises several relevant points. First, he also refers to stories being told. Second, he talks about the effect of the first-person narrative, which gives the reader the impression that the parties were present. And third, he derives from this the function of this first-person narrative and the associated alleged presence of the persons, that is, to legitimize the process.

Focusing on the slaves, we can conclude from these two entries and numerous others like them that in the narrative of the documents direct speech was used when the slaves themselves claimed their freedom. In contrast to treaties or other cases where the consent of the respective slave was required, in these entries the slaves are given their voice, along with other participants whose voice carried weight and determined the outcome of the process.[56]

Regarding the dependency relationship of the slaves, these documents suggest that they are at least allowed to go to court and challenge their situation. In the transmitted legal narrative, the case is presented from the point of view of the slaves in direct speech. Their statements are endowed with a certain authority because, with the help of evidence, they manage to succeed against the slave owner and gain their freedom. In this respect, the narrative devices used in these proofs illustrate the legal dissolution of strong asymmetrical dependency relationships.

53 Ergene, *Local Court*: 133.

54 Ergene, *Local Court*: 133.

55 Ergene, *Local Court*: 133–34.

56 In these cases, the verb used to introduce the direct speech is "to claim" (*da'vā edüp*). Sometimes one of the terms meaning "to say" or "to express" (for example "takrīr-i kelām") is added for reinforcement. This is for example the case in the last example I have shown.

4.4 Proof of *ümm-i velediyyet*

In a proof of *ümm-i velediyyet*[57] from the year 1663, everything revolves around the female slave Mülayim bint Abdullah. It is an entangled case, with many people involved: Mülayim bint Abdullah, the female slave; Mehmed, her son; Mehmed bin Abdullah, her third owner and the father of her son; Selim Beşe, who bought her from Ali Beşe, the legal representative of Hasan's son; Hasan, her first owner; Hasan's son, who became her second owner after his father's death. Mehmed bin Abdullah bought Mülayim from Hasan's son and became her owner and later freed her by recognizing the son Mehmed as his own.

The entry shows that Mülayim bt. Abdullah was the mother of Mehmed who was Mehmed b. Abdullah's son and Mehmed b. Abdullah's *ümm-i veled*. Mülayim sued a certain Selim Beşe who had seized her and her son. Her explanation in court reads as follows:

> In former times, I was the slave of the deceased Hasan and after his death when I was given to his son and his heritage was sold, the said Mehmed bought me for eight thousand *aḳçe* with the consent of the judge. After we shared the bed and this child came into being, he accepted him [the child] as his own, so that he became Mehmed's child and I his *ümm-i veled*. Although this made me free after his death and I became a free woman, the candle maker Ali Beşe, the child's [her former owner Hasan's son] legal representative, declared that it was not right for the unmarried Mehmed to have bought me for eight thousand *aḳçe*. He said, 'You and the son of Mehmed are still owned by the son of the said [Hasan]' and illegally sold and handed us over to Selim Beşe. I demand that Selim be asked to keep his hands off us.[58]

Selim Beşe confessed that the case was as described. Finally, the freedom of the two, Mülayim and her son, was recorded and Selim was accordingly asked to stay away.

In this example, we have a first-person narrative of the female slave who claims to have been freed and then resold illegally. The first-person narration gives the reader the impression that the female narrator is giving an account of an event she personally was involved in. While explaining her concerns she includes direct speech of another person into her own statement – or at least this is how it is represented in the entry. In contrast to the other entries, where different involved participants gave their own statements, here we have direct speech embedded into another direct speech.

Narratology distinguishes between different points of views (or narrative perspectives). "[N]arratives may be told from the perspective of a narrator, from that of a character and, last but not least, from a neutral, impersonal perspective. [. . .] A distinction can be made, then, between embodied and impersonal points of view, and

57 For *ümm-i velediyyet* see n. 32.

58 *İstanbul Mahkemesi 12*: [2a-7] and [2b].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 624

between external and internal ones."[59] In the examples from the court records, the perspective changes during the texts. The dialogues are embedded in a larger narrative and a narrative situation is created that resembles the impersonality of the figural narrative situation. Here, reflector figures play a major part in representing events.[60] Some characters speak for themselves, others have a statement attributed to them. The first-person narrative though conveys the impression that the persons who speak were present at court. We can consequently conclude from this that the statements of those whose presence was obligatory or whose statements were more than an approval were reproduced in the entries through direct speech.

In the example above, the female slave's statement was reproduced in direct speech, whereas the statement of the child's representative was included in her speech. The confession of the man who claimed her as his property last was mentioned, but not reproduced verbatim. Here, in fact, as in the approvals of the slaves mentioned above, affirmation sufficed.

By inserting the statement of the opposing side into the verbal speech of the plaintiff, the narrative already seems to suggest in whose favor the case is decided. It could be deduced from this that the presentation of the statements is designed in such a way that it justifies the decision. As with the previous example, this entry thus represents the resolution of the asymmetrical dependency relationship in the legal sense. The woman leaves her slave status and attains freedom.

In proofs of freedom (*iṯbāt-ı ḥürriyyet*), originally free persons who were illegally enslaved try to prove their freedom. This is particularly significant in the context of descriptions of asymmetrical dependencies because it shows that the boundaries between free and unfree could easily become blurred, as even originally free people could end up in slave status. The widow Meryem bint Abdullah went to court to sue Hüseyin Bey bin Ebibekir for unlawfully seizing her as his slave. Meryem gave the names of her father and mother and stated that both were freeborn and had never been enslaved. The female slave's statement was reproduced in direct speech, as in the case mentioned before. The statement by Hüseyin, who countered that he had acquired Meryem four months ago from a slave trader as a slave of Ukrainian origin, and who also claimed not to know that Meryem was allegedly a freeborn, was also reproduced in direct speech. Meryem was then asked to prove her claim. She succeeded in producing witnesses who confirmed that she was the daughter of freeborn parents and her freedom was thus considered proven. In these cases, the same narrative devices as in the cases mentioned above are used to demonstrate the proof.[61]

So, transitions were not always clear-cut; enslaved people could be set free, but free people could also be enslaved. In most cases in the court records, people were

59 Monika Fludernik, *An Introduction to Narratology* (London: Routledge, 2009): 36.

60 See Fludernik, *An Introduction*: 36.

61 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, İstanbul Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1072–1073 / M. 1661–1663), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul, İSAM 2019), [57b-1].

able to prove that they were originally free, but we can assume that not all of them succeeded in this endeavor. There are hardly any entries in which the proofs were not accepted, however. This does not mean that the (alleged or former) slaves only received a right to speak when freedom was considered confirmed and they thus left the status of slave and obtained that of a free person. The few rejections speak against this. It rather seems to have been due to the fact that presumably only those went to court whose application promised success, since it required money and effort.

4.5 Amicable Agreement

In the last example – just like in the one above concerning Mülayim bint Abdullah – direct speech is incorporated into direct speech. Here, both speeches are about statements by allegedly freed slaves, while one is supposed to be the slave of the other freed slave. In this case, which is a settled dispute, a certain Rıdvan bin Abdullah is presented as the former slave, who was freed by *ʿitḳ*, of a certain Mahmud Ağa. From the entry we learn that Rıdvan was among other slaves who were manumitted in the same manner of manumission and there was at least one more slave with the name Kazım. In the presence of Kazım bin Abdullah, Rıdvan states the following:

> When said Kazım was still my slave, he refused to serve me and when I objected to this in court, said Kazım stated 'When I was the slave of the aforementioned Mahmud Ağa [the former owner of Rıdvan], he set me free during his lifetime' and refused to be my slave. A great dispute arose between us.[62]

The document states that the dispute was settled by the two agreeing in an amicable agreement (*ṣulḥ*)[63] which specified that Kazım would pay a sum of 3,000 *akçe* to Rıdvan, who then would withdraw his claim.

According to the outcome, both former slaves, Rıdvan and Kazım, were manumitted slaves of the same owner, Mahmud Ağa. Rıdvan claimed that Kazım was his slave without mentioning how he came into his possession. Kazım refused to serve Rıdvan and claimed to have been manumitted by Mahmud Ağa as well. So, in this case, it does not become apparent whether one was indeed the slave of the other freed slave since the dispute ends with a settlement. Nevertheless, there are cases from which it is evident that former slaves could become slave owners themselves.

The statements of the persons involved are represented as a dialogue, but within the statement of the person making the request. Thus, direct speech here again con-

---

62 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 40 Numaralı Sicil*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul, İSAM 2019), [63b-3].

63 Işık Tamdoğan, "'Sulh' and the 18th Century Ottoman Courts of Üsküdar and Adana," *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–83. We can also find the term "amicable settlement" as Ergene translates it, *Local Court*: 62.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 626

tains direct speech. However, there is evidence to support the assumption that these are not in fact the actual statements of the persons involved. Maybe this can be called a kind of "fake orality,"[64] which is created by the fact that the persons involved refer to already mentioned persons. This is made clear by expressions like "the person mentioned above" or "the person already mentioned." These references are typical of written texts and not of oral statements.

This emphasizes that there is no *true* presentation of the statements, but rather a strategy, presumably supposed to meet the requirements of legal texts. As Ergene already claimed, this could be associated with the legitimacy of the process. However, it helps us derive statements about the status and dependency relationships of slaves. In comparison with other cases where the slave voice is represented, we can see a remarkably complex structure.

Another feature that we can see here, and that can also be seen in other cases, is the reference to the fact that the statements were made in the presence (*maḥżar* or *muvācehe*) of certain people. In the last example, for instance, it is mentioned that Rıdvan makes the statement in the presence of Kazım. However, Kazım's statement is not rendered as direct speech, although, according to the text, he was present.

In the cases mentioned at the beginning of this paper, where the approval of the slaves was assured, we also find the note that the slaves were present. Both in the entries in which it is confirmed that the slaves gave their approval "face to face and verbally" and in those in which this is not explicitly stated, it has been noted that the statement of the owners was made in the presence of the slaves. This further supports the idea that the narrative strategies used to convey the slaves' statements served to emphasize their presence in court – with the aim of satisfying legal requirements.

5 Conclusion

Ottoman court records are an interesting genre because they are based on multiple translation processes. These translation processes concern the transformation of the trials from orality to writing and from informal into formal language. The entries are short narratives in which the judge writes a version that is convincing to himself on the basis of the statements presented to him. It serves as an aid to his memory, summarizing the most important key data in case he needs to look it up again. Since the entries have to be adapted to a certain legal structure and language, the entries belonging to one specific category are quite similar. Although having been 'edited' by the judge and adapted to the legal conventions, the entries give us insights into the

64 An adequate German term could be "Fingierte Mündlichkeit" as used by Paul Goetsch in his paper "Fingierte Mündlichkeit in der Erzählkunst entwickelter Schriftkulturen," *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 17 (1985): 202–18.

concerns of the people involved and provide us with 'snapshots of their lives.' In certain entries that involve slaves, we notice that the slaves express themselves in specific ways about the circumstances. Their utterances range from expressing agreement to uttering claims. The slaves' statements are either mentioned or described, or they are reproduced verbatim, as direct speech.

In the case of agreements, we know that *both* parties had to agree in order for them to come into being. Therefore, we find the approval of the slaves in the *mükātebe* contracts. The verbatim reproduction of the slaves' statements in the proofs suggests that this provided evidence of the slaves' presence in court, which was legally required. Thus, the narrative elements in the court records seem to fulfil legal requirements that had to be met for validity.

In this respect, the narrative devices used in the entries in the Istanbul court records did not serve to convince the jury or the judge of one version of the events. One can assume that they were rather used to meet legal requirements. It is also possible that the narrative techniques serve to support the decisions of the *ḳāżī*s by presenting the case in such a way that the judge's decision seems justified. After all, the verdicts should appear plausible and credible. It can also be argued that the content is reduced to the essentials to make the outcome of the decision comprehensible.

Concerning the slaves' status and strong asymmetrical dependency relations, the entries show that slaves could obtain different legal statuses depending on the case dealt with. From this, in turn, different degrees of dependency can be deduced – in a legal sense at least. In the legal sense, slaves occupy an intermediate position: As 'speaking property', they gained the right to speak out in certain situations, that is, to make claims and stand up for their rights. The narrative analysis of the court records has shown in which cases this was possible. It is precisely this intermediate position, or the different positions that slaves could take depending on the situation, that points to different asymmetrical dependency relationships. They take different positions in court, with a different type of participation represented through their voice: A confirmed agreement or a statement in direct speech. From this it can be seen that slaves could attain different degrees of dependency within their lifetime. In conclusion, the basic argument is that the more voice was attributed to a slave, the more independently he or she was represented in the legal narrative.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Ahi Çelebi Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1063–1064 / M. 1652–1653), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Balat Mahkemesi 1 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 964–965 / M. 1557–1558), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havass-ı Refia) 3 Numaralı* Sicil (H. 993–995 / M. 1585–1587), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Eyüb Mahkemesi (Havass-ı Refia) 37 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1047 / M. 1637–1638), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Galata Mahkemesi 7 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 985–986 / M. 1577–1578), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Galata Mahkemesi 15 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 981–1000 / M. 1573–1591), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2012).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 3 Numaralı* Sicil (H.1027 / M. 1618), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2010).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 10 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 1072–1073 / M. 1661–1663), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *İstanbul Mahkemesi 12 Numaralı Sicil* (H.1073–1074 / M.1663–1664), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Rumeli Sadâreti Mahkemesi 40 Numaralı Sicil*, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2019).

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri, *Üsküdar Mahkemesi 2 Numaralı Sicil* (H. 924–927 / M. 1518–1521), ed. Coşkun Yılmaz (Istanbul: İSAM, 2011).

Secondary Sources

Akgündüz, Ahmet. *Şer'iye Sicilleri. 1. Mahiyeti, Toplu Kataloğu ve Seçme Hükümler* (Istanbul: TDAV Yay, 1988).

Atar, Fahrettin. "Mükâtebe," in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 31 (2006): 531–33.

Blufarb, Ruth. *Geschichten im Recht. Übertragbarkeit von 'Law as Narrative' auf die deutsche Rechtsordnung*, Recht und Literatur 3 (Baden-Baden: Nomos, 2017).

Brooks, Peter, and Paul D. Gewirtz. *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).

Brooks, Peter. "The Law and Rhetoric," in *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): 14–23.

Conermann, Stephan, and Gül Şen, eds. *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, Ottoman Studies 7 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020).

Ergene, Boğaç A. *Local Court, Provincial Society and Justice in the Ottoman Empire: Legal Practice and Dispute Resolutions in Çankırı and Kastamonu (1652–1744)*, Studies in Islamic Law and Society 17 (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

Fludernik, Monika. *An Introduction to Narratology* (London: Routledge, 2009).

Gewirtz, Paul. "Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law," Introduction. In *Law's Stories: Narrative and Rhetoric in the Law*, ed. Peter Brooks and Paul Gewirtz (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996): 2–13.

Goetsch, Paul. "Fingierte Mündlichkeit in der Erzählkunst entwickelter Schriftkulturen," *Poetica: Zeitschrift für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft* 17 (1985): 202–18.

Hannken-Illjes, Kati. "Geschichten und Gegengeschichten – Erzählen im Strafrecht," in *Narrativität als Begriff: Analysen und Anwendungsbeispiele zwischen philologischer und anthropologischer Orientierung*, ed. Matthias Aumüller (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012): 281–98.

Husrev, Molla. *Gurer ve Dürer Tercümesi*, vol. 2, trans. Arif Erkan (Istanbul: Eser Neşriyat, 1980).

İnalcık, Halil. "Osmanlı Tarihi Hakkında Mühim Bir Kaynak," *Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi* 1/68 (1943): 89–96.

Kuran, Timur, ed. *Mahkeme Kayıtları Işığında 17. Yüzyıl İstanbul'unda Sosyo-Ekonomik Yaşam*, vol. 1, *Social and Economic Life in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Glimpses from Court Records* (Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları, 2010).

Meuter, Norbert. “Narration in Various Disciplines,” in *Handbook of Narratology*, ed. Jan Christoph Meister et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014): 242–62.

Özkoray, Hayri Gökşin. “La géographie du commerce des esclaves dans l’Empire ottoman et l’implication des marchands d’Europe occidentale,” *Rives méditerranéennes* 53 (2017): 103–21.

Seng, Yvonne J. “The Şer’iye Sicilleri of Istanbul Müftülüğü as a Source for the Study of Everyday Life,” *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 15, no. 2 (1991): 307–25.

Seng, Yvonne J. “A Liminal State: Slavery in Sixteenth-Century Istanbul,” in *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East*, ed. Shaun Elizabeth Marmon (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1998): 25–42.

Sobers-Khan, Nur. *Slaves Without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

Tahiroğlu, Bülent. “Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Kölelik,” *İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Memuası* 45 (2011): 649–76.

Tamdoğan, Işık. “‘Sulh’ and the 18th Century Ottoman Courts of Üsküdar and Adana,” *Islamic Law and Society* 15, no. 1 (2008): 5–83.

Uğur, Yunus. “Şerʿiyye Sicilleri,” *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 39 (2010): 8–11.

Von Arnauld, Andreas. “Was war, was ist – und was sein soll. Erzählen im juristischen Diskurs,” in *Wirklichkeitserzählungen. Felder, Formen und Funktionen nicht-literarischen Erzählens*, ed. Christian Klein and Matías Martínez (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2009): 14–50.

Von Arnauld, Andreas. “Recht,” in *Erzählen: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Matías Martínez (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2017): 173–87.

Wagner, Veruschka. “‘Speaking Property’ with the Capacity to Act. Slave Interagency in the 16th- and 17th-Century Court Register,” in *Slaves and Slave Agency in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Stephan Conermann and Gül Şen (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2020): 213–336.

White, Hayden. “Der historische Text als literarisches Kunstwerk,” in *Geschichte schreiben in der Postmoderne: Beiträge zur aktuellen Diskussion*, ed. Christoph Conrad and Martina Kessel (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1994): 123–57.

White, Joshua. “Ottoman Slave Manumission Documents,” in *Christian-Muslim Relations 1500–1900*, 17.08.2021, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2451-9537_cmrii_COM_31256.

Yi, Eunjeong. *Guild Dynamics in Seventeenth-Century Istanbul: Fluidity and Leverage* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

Ze’evi, Dror. “The Use of Ottoman Sharīʿa Court Records as a Source for Middle Eastern Social History: A Reappraisal,” *Islamic Law and Society* 5, no. 1 (1998): 35–56.

Zilfi, Madeline C. “Ottoman Slavery and Female Slaves in the Early Modern Era,” in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation 2. Economy and Society*, ed. Kemal Çiçek et al. (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye, 2000): 714–18.

3. Research Lenses

3.1. Semantics, Lexical Fields, Narratives

Narratives

Michael Zeuske. “Narrative Self-Representations of Enslaved People under Slavery Regimes – Myth or Reality?” in *Narratives of Dependency*, eds. Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024): 235-300.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-013

Michael Zeuske

Narrative Self-Representations of Enslaved People under Slavery Regimes – Myth or Reality?

> Pocas veces tenemos ocasión de escuchar, sin mediaciones distorsionadoras, la voz de los esclavos. En la literatura de su tiempo o en la historia emerge siempre en condición de representado.
>
> Rarely do we have the opportunity to listen, without distorting mediations, to the voice of the slaves. In the literature of their own time or in history they are always being written about.[1]
>
> p.[ar]a juntar el cap.[ital] de su libertad
>
> to collect the capital of his freedom[2]
>
> No ha habido un libro como este antes y es improbable que vuelva a existir otro como él
>
> There has never been a book like this before and it is unlikely that there will ever be another like it[3]

1 Introduction

Did enslaved people speak, tell, sing, narrate or even write about their own real lives, their work, their suffering, conflicts, and joys? My main argument here is – yes, they did. But possibly mainly among themselves in their respective times. We have relatively few sources and virtually no self-representations of slaves.[4] Only very, very few wrote with their own hand. This means we know a great deal about the institutions of slavery and slavery regimes, about slavery laws, slave trade, economic data, and slav-

1 Gloria García, "Estudio introductorio," in *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud*, ed. Gloria García (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 2003): 3.

2 "Declaracion del esclavo Roberto," La Habana, 2 de Marzo de 1818, in *Archivo Nacional de Cuba* (ANC), *Escribanía de Daumy*, legajo (leg.) 370, number (no.) 1 (1818): Daniel Botefeur, contra su esclavo Roberto sobre hurto, f. 9r–13r, f. 10v.

3 Graham Greene in a sort of blurb on Miguel Barnet's *Cimarrón* book, quoted twice in one of the latest editions in Cuba: Miguel Barnet, *Biografía de un Cimarrón* (La Habana: Ediciones Cubanas, ARTEX, 2014): 238 and back cover.

4 Rare exceptions are the "Princes of Calabar" and Mohammed Ali Said: Mohammad Ali Sa'id, *The Autobiography of Nicholas Said; A Native of Bornou, Eastern Soudan, Central Africa* (Memphis: Shotwell & Co., 1873), www.docsouth.unc.edu/neh/said/said.html [accessed 04.04.2017]; Randy J. Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Open Access. © 2024 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111381824-013

ers, their support staff, and the respective slave society, and we are debating a great deal about the so-called heritage of slavery, but we know extremely little about the real life of slaves in slavery. This also means that everyone who speaks and writes about slavery and the slave trade or even their heritage today, in the representation of enslaved people does so across a gigantic void.[5] There is a huge field of discourse despite a lack of sources. In the following, I want to place at least a few bars over the void.

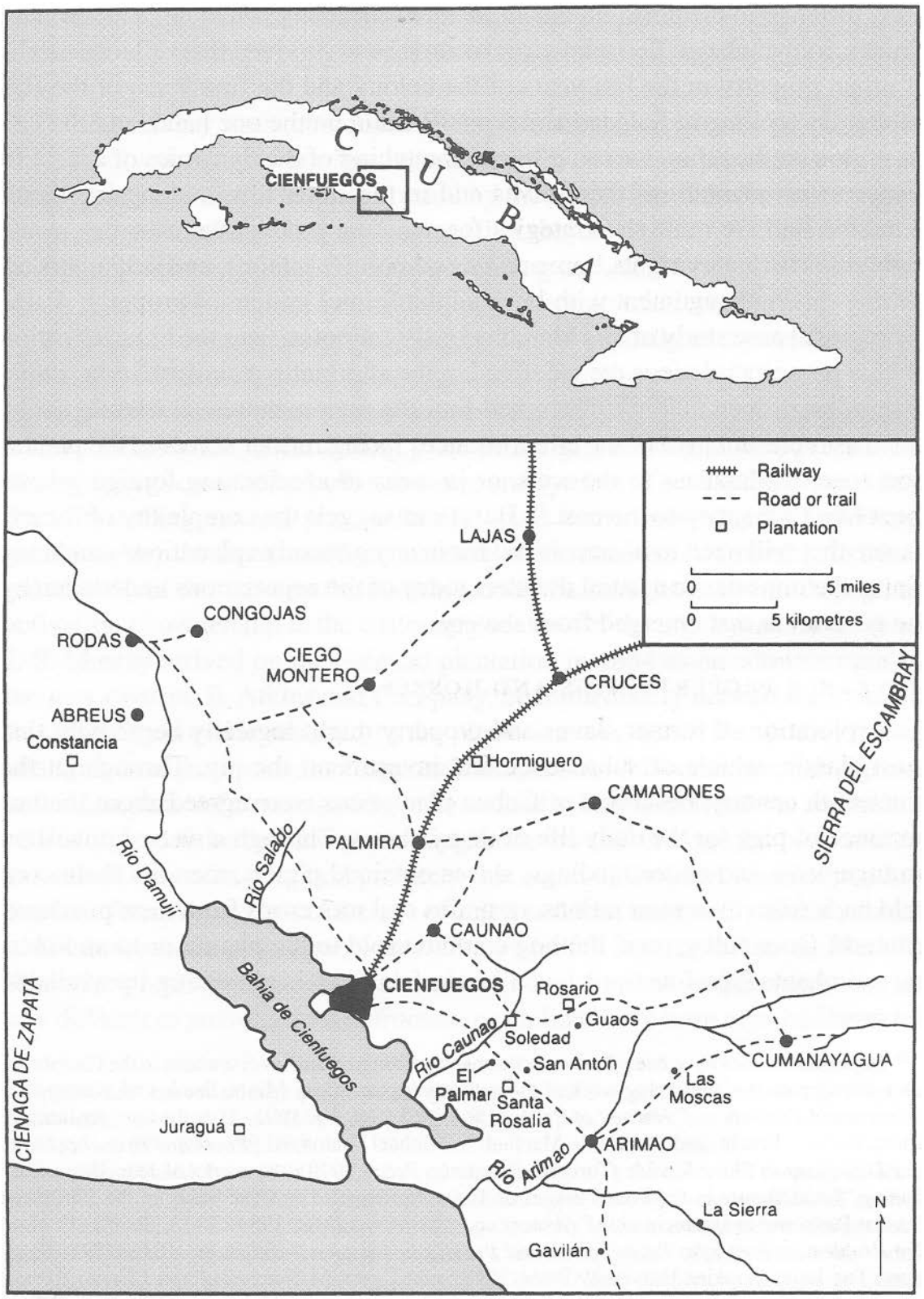
In 1993, i.e. more than 30 years ago, I started researching 'voices of the enslaved', a version of 'the voices of the voiceless', in the region around Cienfuegos.[6] In the 1880s, Cienfuegos, in Southern Central Cuba, was the most technologically, economically, and technically developed region of Atlantic sugar slavery. It embodied rural slavery capitalism, with 16 gigantic sugar factories (*centrales*) (see Maps 1 and 2 and Fig. 1).[7] From this research undertaken over a period of almost one historical generation (1993–2024), I have achieved results in numerous areas, aspects of which I will present in this contribution – that is what I mean by 'bars'.

The initial, basic problem is twofold: firstly, the micro-history of the lives that slaves lived in reality (their *life histories*) and, secondly, the question of whether slaves represented themselves and whether they were heard – at the respective time – and if so, by whom. After all, during the time of Atlantic slavery (1500–1888), around 11 million people were abducted from Africa alive to the Americas. In other global areas many more people were abducted. In his research on Dutch Transatlantic and Indian Ocean slavery, Guno Jones comments on the problem of the void: "Impactful, horrific stories of many millions have disappeared into black holes of epistemological nothingness, and there is

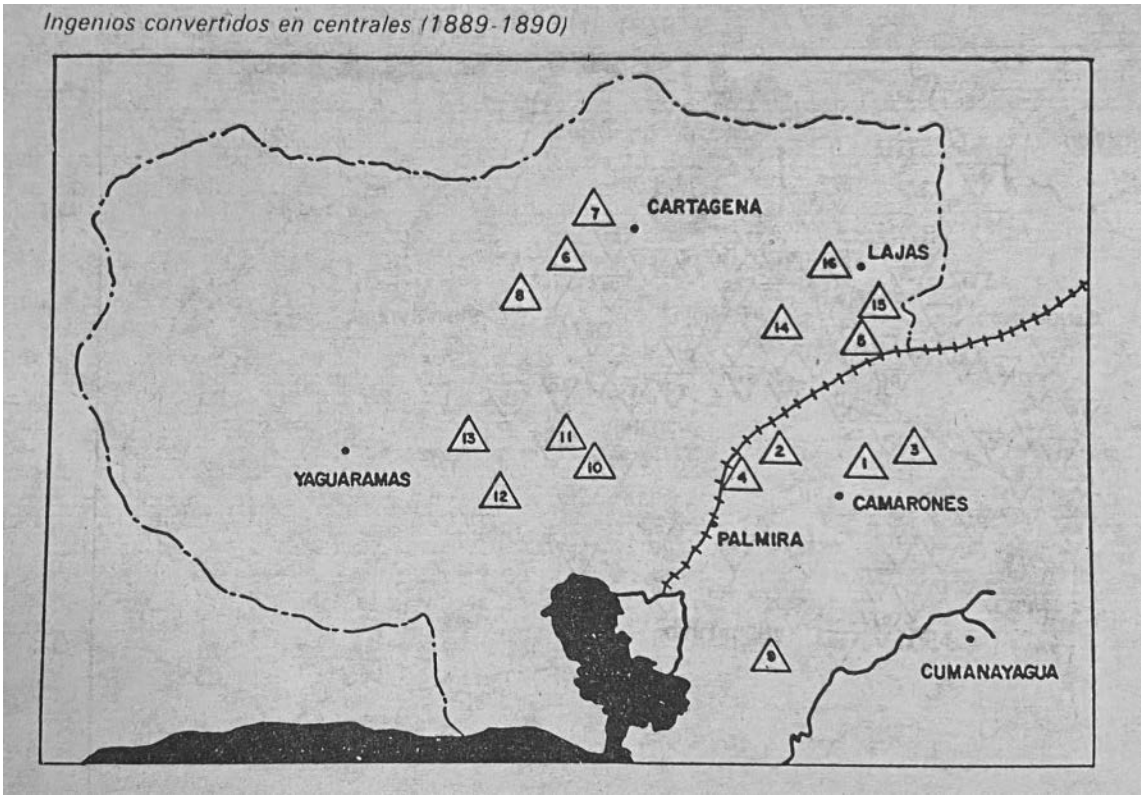
5 Herman L. Bennett, "Writing into a Void: Representing Slavery and Freedom in the Narrative of Colonial Spanish America," *Social Text* 25, no. 4 (2007): 68–89.

6 Michael Zeuske, "'Los negros hicimos la independencia': Aspectos de la movilización afrocubana en un hinterland cubano – Cienfuegos entre colonia y república," in *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba 1878–1912*, ed. Fernando Martínez Heredia, Rebecca J. Scott and Orlando García Martínez (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2003): 193–234; Michael Zeuske, "Hidden Markers, Open Secrets. On Naming, Race Marking and Race Making in Cuba," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 76, no. 3–4 (2002): 235–66; Michael Zeuske, "Verborgene Zeichen, offene Geheimnisse. Sklaverei, Postemanzipation, Namen und die Konstruktion von Rasse auf Kuba, 1870–1940," *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte* 2 (2002): 89–117; Rebecca J. Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Property in Writing, Property on the Ground: Pigs, Horses, Land, and Citizenship in the Aftermath of Slavery, Cuba, 1880–1909," *Comparative Studies in Society and History. An International Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (2002): 669–99.

7 Cf. Edwin F. Atkins, *Sixty Years in Cuba* (New York: Arno Press, 1980) [1st ed.: *Sixty Years in Cuba. Reminiscences of Edwin A. Atkins* (Cambridge: At the Riverside Press, 1926)]; Orlando García Martínez, "Estudio de la economía cienfueguera desde la fundación de la colonia Fernandina de Jagua hasta mediados del siglo XIX," *Islas* 55–56 (1976–1977): 117–69; Orlando García Martínez, *Esclavitud y colonización en Cienfuegos 1819–1879* (Cienfuegos: Ediciones Mecenas, 2008); Fernando Martínez Heredia, Rebecca J. Scott and Orlando García Martínez, *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba 1878–1912* (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2003); Zoila Lapique Becali and Orlando Segundo Arias, *Cienfuegos, Trapiches, ingenios y centrales* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2011).



Map 1: Cienfuegos and region. Taken from: Rebecca J. Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Property in Writing, Property on the Ground: Pigs, Horses, Land, and Citizenship in the Aftermath of Slavery, Cuba,



Map 2: The transformation of *ingenios* into *centrales* c. 1890. *Revista de Agricultura* 9, no. 30 (1889): 360. Taken from: Carmen Guerra Díaz and Isabel Jiménez Lastre, "La industria azucarera cienfueguera en el siglo XIX: Notas históricas para su estudio," *Islas* 91 (1988): 52–76, 76 (map 5).

no way to retrieve them."[8] I will concentrate on Atlantic slavery in the following – also to show how little we really know. We will see whether we really have to speak pessimistically of "epistemological nothingness" or whether we simply have not searched enough.

Throughout history, enslaved people have been among the 'subalterns'.[9] 'Subaltern' slaves spoke, but where are the sources representing their individual 'voices' (or whatever was spoken and fixed in written texts / images or other traces)? These are the aspects of the problem of narrative self-presentation I will address in the following:

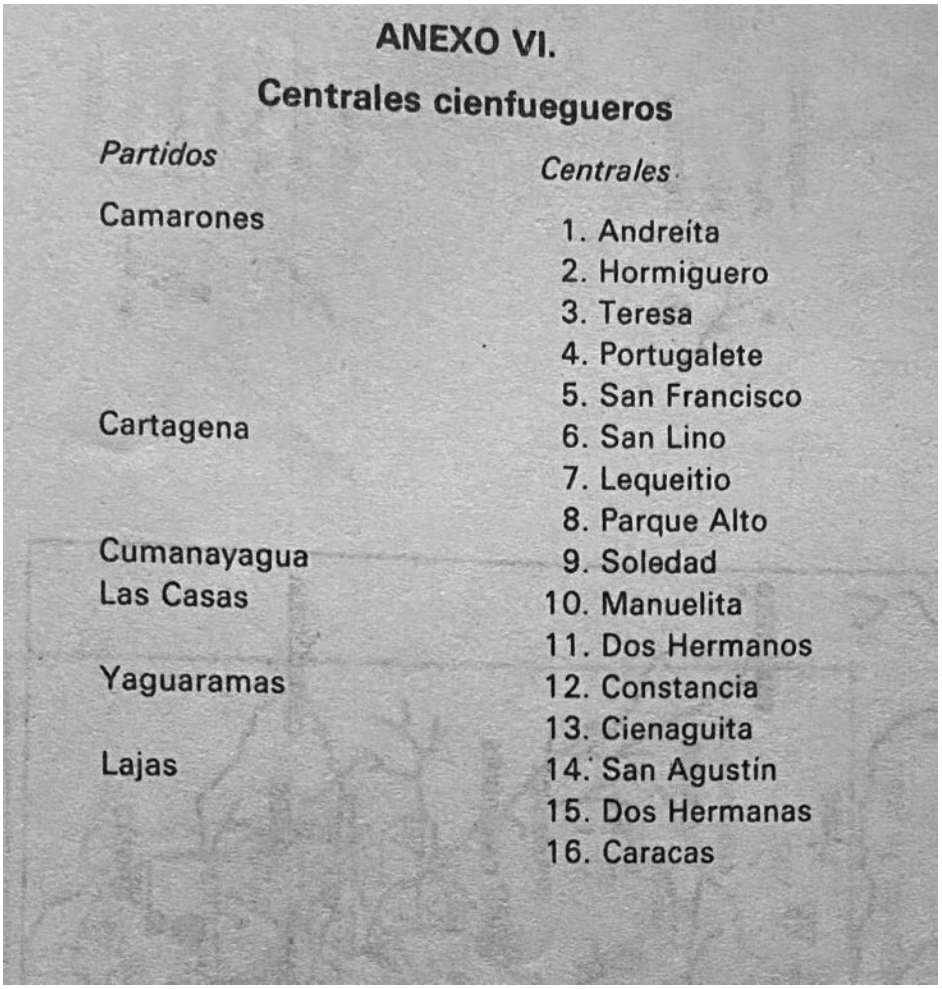
Map 1 (continued)
1880–1909," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44, no. 4 (2002): 669–99, 673 (.Map 1: "The Cienfuegos region, showing selected plantations").[10]

8 Guno Jones, "The Shadows of (Public) Recognition: Transatlantic Slavery and Indian Ocean Slavery in Dutch Historiography and Public Culture," in *Being a Slave. Histories and Legacies of European Slavery in the Indian Ocean*, ed. Alicia Schrikker and Nina Wickramasinghe (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020): 288.

9 I do not like the term, and I only use it out of respect for Gramsci.

10 See also: Orlando García Martínez, "Estudio de la economía cienfueguera desde la fundación de la colonia Fernandina de Jagua hasta mediados del siglo XIX," *Islas* 55–56 (1976–1977): 117–69.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 635



ANEXO VI.

Centrales cienfuegueros

Partidos	*Centrales*
Camarones	1. Andreíta
	2. Hormiguero
	3. Teresa
	4. Portugalete
	5. San Francisco
Cartagena	6. San Lino
	7. Lequeitio
	8. Parque Alto
Cumanayagua	9. Soledad
Las Casas	10. Manuelita
	11. Dos Hermanos
Yaguaramas	12. Constancia
	13. Cienaguita
Lajas	14. San Agustín
	15. Dos Hermanas
	16. Caracas

Fig. 1: List of the most important *centrales* (stationary gigantic sugar factories) in the Cienfuegos region c. 1890. Taken from: Carmen Guerra Díaz and Isabel Jiménez Lastre, "La industria azucarera cienfueguera en el siglo XIX: Notas históricas para su estudio," *Islas* 91 (1988): 52–76, 71 (anexo VI).

- the role of names as access, or as the key, to the real lives of slaves;
- the oral history of the families of formerly enslaved people, i.e., a treasure of 10,000 names and life histories in the Cienfuegos region;
- 200,000 documents about buying and selling enslaved people (notaries' protocols);
- a considerable number of written police reports, interrogations, depositions, and court cases (murder, jealousy cases, theft, fraud, flight, conspiracy, rebellion – legal material);
- The source categories *Esclavitud* (slavery) and *Quejas* (complaints) by enslaved people as well as interrogations / depositions of enslaved people from slave ships after the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade as special dimensions of the legal material.

In the last part of the chapter, I will analyze some contemporary forms of memory: reminiscences of formerly enslaved people about their African origin (or the African

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 636

origin of other enslaved people), their individual destiny in slave ships, i.e., in slave trade and in slavery.

I will round off the article with the literary testimonial *Memoirs from the Future* by Esteban Montejo, called *el Cimarrón*. The biographical book, orally narrated by Esteban Montejo and documented / written down by Miguel Barnet,[11] was and still is a world bestseller as 'testimonio'.

I will primarily draw upon individual cases, in which slaves and ex-slaves spoke (and wrote) *in* slavery or *shortly after* slavery about their life histories. One exception in this regard is Esteban Montejo, who narrated his life to Miguel Barnet in the 1960s. The other exception is María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, who narrated her life to her daughter in the 1990s. The expression '*in* slavery or *shortly after* slavery' addresses a specific but very common problem in research on enslaved people in slavery regimes: the opposition *in* and *after* slavery. All narratives dating from the time after the abolition of slavery (in Cuba in 1886; the same applies to the USA (1865) or Brazil (1888)) are not "slave narratives" but "freedom narratives".[12]

At the very end of the present chapter, I will briefly touch upon other forms of self-representation – images of enslaved people (and their bodies, clothes, skin-markers ('dermographs')). Mainly non-textual or performative visual memories, i.e., individual corporal marks – tattoos, scars, brandings, cultural mutilations, and religious masquerades (with some images) – will be taken into consideration.

2 Oral History / Memory and their Relation to the History of Enslaved People in Slavery or: How We Can Find Real Life Histories Narrating the Existence of Slaves *in* Slavery

The concrete starting point for me was a change from the historiography of a global elite of leaders and/or intellectuals of 'bourgeois' revolutions and from class analysis based on Karl Marx, of course without banning them entirely, to archival research in provincial archives on the one hand and oral history on the other.[13] The oral history is that of many persons, who I assumed belonged to families of formerly enslaved in the

11 The original text is Miguel Barnet, *Biografia de un cimarrón* (La Habana: Instituto de Etnología y Folklore, 1966); the English translation is Miguel Barnet, *Biography of a Runaway Slave*, trans. W. Nick Hill (Evanstone: Curbstone/Northwestern University Press, 2016).

12 Paul Lovejoy, "'Freedom Narratives' of Transatlantic Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 32, no. 1 (2011): 91–107.

13 Michael Zeuske, "Writing Global Histories of Slavery," *Writing the History of Slavery*, ed. David Stefan Doddington and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022): 41–57.

sugar production region around Cienfuegos in Southern Cuba (1994–2004): c. 10,000 names and life histories. In research in provincial archives, in a persistent (in Cuban slang one says *horas nalgas* – roughly translated: "hours on the buttocks") but more and more disappointed search for traces of slaves I later analyzed about 200,000 documents about buying and selling enslaved people (notaries' protocols); a large number of written police reports and court cases (murder, jealousy cases, theft, fraud, flight – legal material); *Esclavitud, Quejas* (complaints of slaves) in the archives *Gobierno Superior Civil* and *Gobierno General* (*Archivo Nacional de Cuba* – National Archives of Cuba). I came to the second research dimension (analysis of notarial files and legal material) by accident.

The problem was that no researcher in any former slavery area can and should just ask people directly about their slave ancestors. When I started doing archival and field research in and around Cienfuegos in 1993, I initially had the extremely naïve notion that it would be an easy task to find access to their enslaved ancestors through contact with people from former slave families. I imagined that it would be possible to start from their narratives and materials (letters, photos, memoirs, newspapers, etc.) and identify individual enslaved ancestors before the formal abolition of slavery (in Cuba in 1886, in Brazil in 1888). Luckily, at the time, I refused to read 'postmodern' literary theory. Otherwise, I would not have started this research. I went to Cienfuegos with Humboldt's *Essay on Cuba*[14] and Miguel Barnet's *Cimarrón* (published in 1970 in the GDR[15]) and, with support of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), happily set to work. I found everything, but not what I was looking for. No Answer.

Fernando Martínez (1939–2017), a famous Cuban intellectual and good friend, saved me. His grandfather was a Black veteran of the anti-colonial wars of liberation against Spain (1868–1880 and 1895–1898). He kept telling him the phrase *los negros hicimos la independencia* [literally: "we, the negros, made independence"], meaning "we" – the Cuban Black people, as soldiers and officers, as *libertadores de la patria* ("liberators of the fatherland"), gained independence from Spain.[16] Thus, I started with army lists of soldiers and officers of the *Ejercito Libertador Cubano* 1895–1899 (ELC = Cuban Liberation Army).[17] I looked for names of soldiers and officers who had only one surname (*primer apellido*). In the Iberian naming tradition, a person whose parents are officially

14 Alexander von Humboldt, *Cuba-Werk*, ed. Hanno Beck (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).

15 Miguel Barnet, *Der Cimarrón. Die Lebensgeschichte eines entflohenen Negersklaven aus Cuba, von ihm selbst erzählt*, trans. Hildegart Baumgart (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1970).

16 One of my first publications on this topic has exactly this title: Michael Zeuske, "'Los negros hicimos la independencia': Aspectos de la movilización afrocubana en un hinterland cubano – Cienfuegos entre colonia y república," in *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba 1878–1912*, ed. Fernando Martínez Heredia, Rebecca J. Scott and Orlando García Martínez (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2003): 193–234.

17 See: *Yndice Alfabético y Defunciones del Ejército Libertador de Cuba. Datos compilados y ordenados por el Ynspector General del Ejército Libertador Mayor General Carlos Roloff y Mialofsky, ayudado del*

married is given two surnames: in the Castilian tradition, the father's first surname as the first surname (*primer apellido*) and the mother's first surname as the second surname (*segundo apellido*); in the Portuguese tradition, the mother's surname comes first and the father's surname second. That soldiers with enslaved mothers had only one surname was a consequence of the realities of late slavery in Cuba (slave women were rarely formally married) and the legal developments of the official abolition process.

The Spanish overseas minister Segismundo Moret had issued the *Ley Moret* of July 4, 1870, because of the anti-colonial war of the Cubans against the Spanish Empire (named also *Ley de Vientres Libres* = "Law of Free Womb"), since from the time of the proclamation children born to slave women, slaves older than 60 years and *emancipados* (see below) were formally free (retroactive from September of 1868). In the reality of rural slavery, the children who were now 'free' stayed with their enslaved mothers. Mothers gave their children only one 'civil' name, their maternal surname (which is usually also the surname of one of the last owners). The place of the second name was left blank in written documents (protocols and other forms). *Un sólo apellido* (just only one surname) remained a social disgrace until 1959 and in a way even to this day. *Sin segundo apellido* ('no second surname') or *sin otro apellido* ('no other surname') became a marker of poverty and social shame. Though it was much more: racism 'without racism' of spoken or written words. This wording or its written abbreviation (*soa* or *ssa*; usually *soa*) was recorded in legal documents, such as notarial records, in the space where the second surname normally appeared.[18]

A majority of enlisted soldiers and sergeants of the 1895–1898 War of Independence were young men with only one *apellido*; among them were some poor white people, but the bulk were sons of formerly enslaved mothers. For me, that was a first step towards connecting today's memories with ex-slaves and with those who were enslaved *in* slavery.

So, as we see, there was another fundamental initial problem – let us call it the threshold of slave names and ex-enslaved names (initially mostly on lists; not only army lists, but also plantation lists, cemetery books and election lists). This specific problem occupied me for about five years. Finally, it was called the "problem of slave names".[19] It concerns how I recognize on the basis of the information from today's

---

Jefe del Despacho, Comandante de Estado Mayor Gerardo Forrest, Editado oficialmente por disposición del General Leonard Wood, Gobernador Militar de Cuba (Habana: Ymprenta de Rambla y Bouza, 1901).

18 Michael Zeuske, "'Sin otro apellido'. Nombres esclavos, marcadores raciales e identidades en la transformación de la colonia a la república, Cuba 1870–1940," *Tzintzun. Revista de Historia* 36 (2002): 153–208; Rebecca J. Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Le 'droit d'avoir des droits': Les revendications des ex-esclaves à Cuba (1872–1909)," *Annales HSS* 3 (2004): 521–45.

19 Michael Zeuske, "Hidden Markers, Open Secrets: On Naming, Race Marking and Race Making in Cuba," *New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 76, no. 3–4 (2002): 235–66; Zeuske, "'Sin otro apellido'"; Michael Zeuske, "The Names of Slavery and Beyond: The Atlantic, the Americas and Cuba," in *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas: A Comparative Approach*, ed. Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg and Michael Zeuske, Sklaverei und Postemanzipation. Esclavitud y

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 639

oral histories, i.e., spoken words and archival research in written sources (texts, lists), firstly real people who were enslaved until they gained the respective 'freedom' (manumission, will, abolition) in the nineteenth century. Secondly, how do I recognize the same people according to the respective 'freedom' in an emerging independent nation (Wars of Independence against Spain 1868–1878; 1895–1898; Spanish-American War in 1898), whose economic basis was, thirdly, sugar production on large industrial plantations (*centrales*) and in general an economy/services with many Black and colored workers.[20] And finally: can today's memory be combined with the information gained from the second and the third dimensions.[21]

3 Slaves Have No 'Proper' Names – The Entrance to the World of Slaves

Names were my keys into the world of the enslaved *in* slavery. It was possible to identify slaves on the basis of their names. These names of slavery also have a history. Enslaved persons from slaving zones in Africa were sold to Atlantic slave traders who almost always ignored the 'African' names (I must use this extreme generalization here). Since they all came across the Atlantic, both the ships from Europe and those from the Americas, they were 'Atlantic' to Africans. Catholics sometimes gave 'Christian' names on the coasts of Africa – but this was done rather rarely. The 'proper' baptism then took place in the Catholic territories in the Americas. As we know, two-thirds to three-fourths of the c. 11 million enslaved came to Catholic areas of the Americas and the Caribbean, especially Brazil (c. 4 million), the Spanish Empire until 1825 (more than 1 million), or colonial Cuba (c. 1 million). Most of the people who were forced to cross the Atlantic as slaves, slave women and enslaved children of 'Christian powers' were recorded in ship lists (as cargo) without names, only as male or female bodies, with their apparent age. The latter was guessed on the basis of an examination of their physical condition in Africa; sometimes this was done by medi-

Postemancipación. Slavery and Postemancipation 4 (Münster: LIT, 2011): 51–80; Michael Zeuske, "The Second Slavery: Modernity, Mobility, and Identity of Captives in Nineteenth-Century Cuba and the Atlantic World," in *The Second Slavery: Mass Slaveries and Modernity in the Americas and in the Atlantic Basin*, ed. Javier Laviña and Michael Zeuske (Münster: LIT, 2014): 113–42.

20 Michael Zeuske, "Legados de la esclavitud y afrodescendientes en Cuba," in *Afroamérica, espacios e identidades*, ed. Ricardo Piqueras and Cristina Mondejar (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2013): 146–80.

21 Fernando Martínez Heredia, Rebecca J. Scott and Orlando García Martínez, eds., *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba 1878–1912* (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2003); Rebecca J. Scott, "A Cuban Connection: Edwin F. Atkins, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and the Former Slaves of Soledad Plantation," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 9 (2007): 7–34.

cal professionals (like the German slaver Daniel Botefeur[22]). In the slave ports, for instance in one of the main slave ports of the Americas, Havana in Cuba, they were also identified only in terms of their gender and biographical group/age as well as their relation to the general slave value *pieza de Indias*. The term *pieza de Indias* (or *peça* in Portuguese, literally: Indian piece) was used as a unit for bookkeeping throughout the Iberian empires. Fernando Ortiz describes that a full *pieza* referred to a healthy man (called only *varón* without a name in the *armazón* lists) between 15 and 30 years of age and of at least a certain height, or a healthy, tall young woman (called *hembra*). Older women (over 25 years old), along with adolescents and children as well as babies (*piezas varones* or *piezas hembras*, children between 7 and 14 years were called *mulecones*/*-as*, children up to 7 years *muleques*/*-as* or when very little, *mulequitos*), were regarded as half or two-thirds of a full *pieza*.[23] Little children up to the age of 5 had no *pieza* value and were sold together with their mothers.

That means enslaved persons were inscribed without individual names in the *armazón* list (the list of the human 'cargo' of an arriving slave ship). This was also the case during the sale itself when a so-called *papel de armazón* was issued; the only difference is that now an *individual* body with price, origin, and ship name as well as buyer was given (Figs. 2a–b). The 'slave name' (first name/personal name) was then only assigned by the buyer and noted in the purchase record (*protocolo notarial*), written down by the notary or one of his scribes. Slaves had this single name for a long time. In a court case in 1887–1888, which I shall discuss in more detail below, i.e. in the year after the abolition of slavery, the niece (the brother's daughter) of a formerly enslaved woman, who was quite well off, had to demonstrate the legality of her claim to inherit, being the nearest direct relative and heir. In this context, the practice of slave names is explained in a very matter-of-fact manner: "que todos los negros de Africa al llegar á esta Isla perdían los nombres que tenían en su país y tomaban el que les daban sus dueños y el apellido de éstos [that all the negros from Africa, when they came to this island, lost the names that they had in their land and they took the [name] that their masters gave them and [also] the surname of those]."[24] In further

22 Michael Zeuske, "Del reino de Hannover a Cuba y Estados Unidos, pasando por el infierno de la trata en Senegambia y el Atlántico: el médico y negrero alemán Daniel Botefeur 1770–1821," in *Caribe hispano y Europa: Siglos XIX y XX. Dos siglos de relaciones*, ed. Josef Opatrný, Ibero-Americana Pragensia Supplementum 48 (Prague: Universidad Carolina/Editorial Karolinum, 2018): 47–81.

23 Fernando Ortiz, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos. Estudio sociológico y de derecho público* (La Habana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916); Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1976). See also: Manuel Lucena Salmoral, "El período de los asientos con particulares (1595–1700)," in *La esclavitud en la América española*, ed. Manuel Lucena Salmoral (Warsaw: Universidad de Varsovia / Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2002): 178–205.

24 "Intestado de la morena Belén Álvarez, Escribanía de Gobierno," *ANC*, leg. 864, exp. 9, f. 145v-f. 151v, Francisco O. Ramírez, La Habana, 18 de enero de 1888, f. 149r. This is not true for the so-called *emancipados* (see below).

sales, this slave name was often provided with a designation that mixed culture, tribe and region of origin in Africa (*nación* – "nation"). But that was not a name. The designations of the *naciones* (*congo*, *mina*, *gangá*, *arará*, *carabalí*, *lucumí*, *angola*, *macuá*, etc.[25]) were usually written in lower case letters in formal documents. Out of habit and custom, urban slaves were first given a kind of surname – that of their owner. Usually only when an individual was released (often in a will, as in the case of Albertina Escher, the illegal daughter of a Swiss owner[26]), but certainly when the inscription in the civil register took place after the formal abolition of slavery (1886[27]) was a surname documented. A case in point is Cristobal *lucumí* as slave, who adopted the civil name Cristobal Ribalta after his self-ransom.[28] Former slaves were officially listed in this register with the first surname of one of their last owners. Until 1893, on election lists this racist designation appeared: "Albertina parda Escher" ("Albertina colored Escher") or "José moreno Apezteguía" ("José black Apezteguía"). This was the practice of documenting names of enslaved people.

It seems that there was also a hidden practice of names in *lengua* – in the language of the respective *nación*. In 1833, there was an uprising on the San Salvador *cafetal* (a coffee-plantation west of Havana). Military action ensued. Most of the fight-

25 Rafael L. López Valdés, *Africanos de Cuba* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 2004); Jesús Guanche [Pérez], *Africanía y etnicidad en Cuba (Los componentes étnicos africanos y sus múltiples denominaciones)* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2009); on the designations see especially: Guanche, "Anexos," in Guanche [Pérez], *Africanía y etnicidad en Cuba (Los componentes étnicos africanos y sus múltiples denominaciones)* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2009): 195–284 (Anexo 19: "Presencia histórica de los componentes africanos en Cuba según las principales zonas geográficas de procedencia," Guanche [Pérez], *Africanía y etnicidad en Cuba*: 274–84).

26 Michael Zeuske, "Tod bei Artemisa. Friedrich Ludwig Escher, *Atlantic Slavery* und die Akkumulation von Schweizer Kapital ausserhalb der Schweiz," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 69, no. 1 (2019): 6–26.

27 "Estadistica de la abolicion de la esclavitud en la Ysla de Cuba por. D. Manuel Villanova," *Gobiero General, Esclavitud*, leg. 522, no. 26920 (1880).

28 Número 18. "Libertad", Sagua la Grande, 25 de mayo de 1845, Protocolos Notariales de Andrés Arceo, 1845, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Villa Clara (AHPVC), f. 16r–16v: "en el Puerto de Sagua la grande [. . .] D. Tomás Rivalta de este vecindario y Comercio [. . .] que entre sus esclavos tiene uno nombrado Cristobal de nacion Lucumí le ha suplicado le conceda su libertad p.r la cantidad de seiscientos dose p.s, los cuales le ha entregado en moneda corriente [. . .] Tomas Ribalta [in the Port of Sagua la grande [. . .] D. Tomás Rivalta of this neighborhood and Commerce [. . .] who among his slaves has one named Cristobal of the Lucumí nation has begged him to grant him his freedom for the amount of six hundred and two p.[eso]s, which [he] has given him in current currency [. . .] Tomas Ribalta]." In a later annulment protocol, it is mentioned that Cristobal could not raise the full 612 pesos and worked off the remainder of 112 pesos in half a year; he is referred to by the notary as Cristobal Ribalta; see: Núm. 166 "Cancelacion," Sagua la Grande, 20 Agosto 1845, Protocolos Notariales de Andrés Arceo, 1845, *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Villa Clara*, f. 148r–148v.

MUY Señor mio: Sirvase Vmd. formar escritura á favor de Da Franca Lerignac de una negra que le he vendido del armazon que ha conducido de la Costa de Africa la fragata Española nombrado el Bello Gaetano su Capitan Samuel Chandler en el precio de Cien peso con la calidad de bozal, alma en boca, huesos en costal, á uso de féria, sin asegurar de tachas ni enfermedades, mal de corazon, gota coral, de S. Lázaro, ni otra qualesquiera que pueda padecer la humana naturaleza, porque todas corren por cuenta del comprador, y tambien la escritura.

Se presentará a la Administracion general, antes de formar la escritura, para sacar la filiacion.

Ntro. Sr. gde. á Vmd. mis. as. Habana, y Mayo 21 de 1810

B. L. M. de Vmd. su mas atento servidor.

Sants Drake

636

Muy señor mio: Sirvase Vmd. formar escritura á favor de Dn Juan de Dios Garrido de una negra que le he vendido del armazon que ha conducido de la costa de Africa la goleta española nombrada Maria Josefa, su capitan D. Nicolas Junquera, en el precio de Dos Cientos Cincuenta pesos con la calidad de bozal, alma en boca, huesos en costal, á uso de feria, sin asegurar de tachas ni enfermedades, mal de corazon, gota coral, de S. Lázaro, ni otra cualesquiera que pueda padecer la humana naturaleza, porque todas corren por cuenta del comprador, tambien la escritura.

Se presentará en la Administracion general, antes de formar la escritura, para tomar la filiacion

Nuestro señor guarde á V. muchos años. Habana y Dre 29 de 1812

B. L. M. de V. su mas atento servidor

Son 250 pesos

Figs. 2a–b: *Papel de armazón* – A purchase deed certified by a notary that had to be given to the buyer when they acquired a single slave from a specific slave ship (the deed contained both the name of the ship and the captain). Photo 2a: "[Papel de armázon] Habana, Mayo 21 de 1810," in: ANC, Protocolos de Cayetano Pontón, 1811, vol. 1, f. 274r–v. Photo 2b: "[Papel de armázon] Habana, D[iciemb]re 29 de 1812," in: ANC, Notaría Marina 1818, vol. 1, f. 636r–v. Collection of papers of armazones. Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn).

ing insurgents were killed. Of the dead leaders, only their *lucumí* names are documented in the archives because the testimonies of most recaptured slaves were in *lucumí*. They claimed to know only these names.[29] It may be that there were religious reasons for this as well.

29 "Contra los autores y complices principales de la sublevacion de negros del Cafetal Salvador de D. Francisco Santiago de Aguirre ubicado en Banes ocurrida la noche del 13. de Agosto por cuyo delito se juzgan á Pedro el Carretero, Gonzalo mandinga, Eusebio gangá, Luis idem, Pascual Lucumí, Romualdo id., Antonio lucumí, Agustin id., Hilario id., Juan id., Hermenegildo id.," *ANC, Fondo Miscelánea de Expedientes* [Comisión Militar] (FM), leg. 540, Exp. B (1833); Gloria García, "La Guerra en tierra de Mariel (Banes, 13. August 1833)," in Gloria García, *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud* (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 2003): 205–09; Michael Zeuske, "Saint-Domingue en Cuba: el levantamiento en Banes, 13 y 14 de agosto de 1833," in *Esclavitud, huida y resistencia en Cuba*, ed. Christian Cwik, Javier Laviña and Michael Zeuske (Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013): 139–82.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 643

4 Notary's Protocols: The Reality of Human Bodies in a Slavery Regime

The truth of the existence of real bodies with short life histories is important. As discussed above, I found slave names primarily in notarial records of purchase/sale and manumission. Over the years, I have seen c. 200,000 notarial protocols, the majority of which documented the acts of buying and selling enslaved people (notaries protocols/purchase deeds[30]) as well as manumission and wills.[31] Moreover, I have seen many written police reports and court cases (murder, jealousy cases, theft, fraud, conflicts over the use of drums, rebellion, conspiracy, flight). That is legal material. The second-slavery-regime in Cuba,[32] because of fears of slave rebellions, had since c. 1825 a special military commission (*Comisión Militar*) to prosecute real and suspected conspiracies and rebellions.

In summary, the most important category of sources for the study of slavery in Cuba is that of the notarial records of the purchase and sale of male and female slaves. Ever since I decided to write a history of the slaves in Cuba (around 2005), I have made the following assumption: in the nineteenth century there were around 700,000–1,000,000 male and female slaves who had been abducted to Cuba directly from Africa or via other Caribbean regions.[33] Estimates are difficult to verify because

30 Catherine LeGrand and Adriana Mercedes Corso, "Los archivos notariales como fuente histórica: una visión desde la zona bananera del Magdalena," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 31 (2004): 159–208; Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes, "El registro de la voz esclava," in *La Cesión del patronato: Una estrategía familiar de la emancipación de los esclavos en Cuba (1870–1880)*, ed. Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes (La Habana: Editorial Unicornio, 2009): 36–39. Tomás Ribalta was the owner of Esteban Santa Teresa, later Esteban Montejo.

31 Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, "Testamentaria de pardos y morenos libres en La Habana del siglo XIX," Pedro Chapeaux Deschamps and Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Contribución a la historia de gente sin historia* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1974): 97–110.

32 For the concept of second slavery see: Dale W. Tomich and Michael Zeuske, eds., *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories*, 2 vols. (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2009) [special issue of *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 31, no. 2–3 (2008)]; Dale W. Tomich, ed., *The Politics of Second Slavery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016); Michael Zeuske, "The Second Slavery: Modernity, Mobility, and Identity of Captives in Nineteenth-Century Cuba and the Atlantic World," in *The Second Slavery: Mass Slaveries and Modernity in the Americas and in the Atlantic Basin*, ed. Javier Laviña and Michael Zeuske (Münster: LIT, 2014): 113–42.

33 Juan Pérez de la Riva, *El monto de la inmigración forzada en el siglo XIX* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1974); Juan Pérez de la Riva, *El barracón y otros ensayos* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1975); 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. This chapter contains today's most accurate estimate of the number of slaves trafficked to Cuba – but not for the entire nineteenth century, i.e., not for the time of illegal slave smuggling (*hidden Atlantic*), 1820–1880.

of the endemic smuggling of so-called *mala entrada* (literally: 'bad entrance' – a legal concept whereby slave traders could buy their way out of smuggling by paying a fine) for the period between 1820 and 1880. So, around a million. If we assume that all abductees/enslaved people were sold/bought at least twice in Cuba, that would result in around 2 million notarial records.

In 30 years of archival research in central and provincial archives I have seen about a tenth of these, i.e., the c. 200,000 documents mentioned above. They contain all sorts of legal property stamps, prices, concepts of power regarding disposal/dominion in legal, formulaic language (power of disposition/transfer of ownership forms). Basically, like today's notarial records, they served to avoid future conflicts over expensive and valuable goods (back then this meant land, houses, ships, livestock as well as enslaved people) and to have the sale/purchase acts recorded by notaries in a legally binding manner, secured by witnesses and archived (in central legal territories such as the Iberian states/colonies – where there is a tradition of notaries and notarial offices with archives (these archives do not exist in spaces of Common law). For research on the self-representation of slaves, notarial records are of no use at first (apart from minor insertions, for example when the name of a slave child was misspelled, and the mother, who was present, protested). But, in the description of a body, its wounds, sometimes (rarely) corporal markings, character traits (for example*: cimarrón*/*cimarrona*, i.e., tends to run away, *tomador*/*tomadora* (drinker), *respondón*/*respondona* – constantly contradicts, etc., sometimes illnesses or mental peculiarities) and above all the age and the place where the slave is located, as with today's data traces, we are confronted with a rudimentary life history of a person. So to speak, we can deduce the life profile of an individual slave, an enslaved woman, or a slave child.

It is often claimed that archives only register the voices of the powerful and the ruling class. This is not the case. Everyone and everything are present in the archive – we must, however, search, find, link and interpret the information. Archive historians who have examined the lives of slaves for a long time must at some point understand that the notarial records contain one incontrovertible truth regarding the history of slaves within a particular slavery regime. The information we find is always about a real human body (sometimes several bodies whose sale is referred to in one protocol), i.e., the only thing that really interested slave traders and owners. This means that what is at stake is truth in relation to the historical reality of human bodies. Since that is exactly what interested the buyer and the seller, and given that these bodies had considerable value as 'capital of human bodies' (or *pieza*), the short profiles in which they are described are, on the one hand, partly legal fiction (the name of the slave is invented by the buyer); on the other hand, we are confronted with an almost individual truth. It was really about the presentation of a real, individual body. So at least we have access to a large quantity of data on slaves in the form of short profiles. That is a lot. It is not a matter of narrating for the most part, but a matter of counting and profiling.

An average notary's protocol from a location in Cuba looked like this:

> la morena libre Pilar de la Paz vecina de esta población, dice [. . .] vendo [. . .] á D. José M.a Dária una negra mi esclava nombrada Clara criolla como de veinte as y su hija nombrada Candida de cuarenta dias de nacida [. . .] ambas de doscientos cincuenta ps
>
> the free *morena* [Black] Pilar de la Paz, a neighbor of this town, says [. . .] I am selling [. . .] to D. José Maria Dária a black slave named Clara, a *criolla* [Creole], about twenty years old, and her daughter named Candida, forty days old [. . .] both for two hundred and fifty pesos.[34]

'Criolla' – slave in Cuba means a woman born as a slave in Cuba. Instead of *criolla* (lowercase), many protocols use 'negro bozal' (*bozal* = born in Africa), 'negro ladino' (*ladino* = mostly for enslaved persons from African regions where an Iberian language was spoken, such as Angola) or 'negro de Africa', usually followed by a mention of the *nación*.

The next example is a protocol on *coartación*, the purchase of one's own body by an enslaved person, paying a predetermined sum of money:

> [. . .] comparece el Ldo. D. Manuel Suarez del Villar, casado, mayor de edad, abogado y propietario, natural de Trinidad i de este vecindario [. . .] i dice: Que se halla ser apoderado representante encargado de los bienes quedados al fallecimiento de su legítimo padre el Sor. Magistrado Dr. D.n Gabriel Suarez del Villar [. . .] otorga: que ahorra i liberta de todo cautiverio i servidumbre al negro africano Adriano, de cincuenta años de edad, empadronado en el partido de Camarones i perteneciente á la dotacion del ingenio 'Palmasola'; i esta libertad es por el precio de dos mil cuatrocientos sesenticinco pesetas en oro; que del mencionado esclavo confiesa haber recibido en dinero efectivo
>
> Don Manuel Suarez del Villar, married, of legal age, lawyer and owner, a native of Trinidad and of this neighborhood [. . .] appears and says: That he is found to be the representative in charge of the goods left at the death of his legitimate father, Sr. Magistrate Dr. Don Gabriel Suarez del Villar, [. . .] granted: that he saves and frees from all captivity and servitude the African negro Adriano, fifty years old, registered in the district of Camarones and belonging to the endowment of the 'Palmasola' sugar mill; and this freedom is [to be] for the price of two thousand four hundred and sixty-five pesetas in gold; that from the aforementioned slave he confesses to have received in cash.[35]

What a written uproar of 'Roman' legal formulas!

---

34 "Venta de sierva," San Juan de Dios de Cardenas, 12 de diciembre de 1843, *ANC, Fondo Protocolos Notariales, Protocolos de Cárdenas. Protocolos Notariales de Carlos Acosta Spou*, no. 309, Año 1843, tomo 1, f. 104v–105r.

35 "Libertad," Cienfuegos, 20 de Agosto de 1874 *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Cienfuegos* (*AHPC*), *Protocolos José Rafael de Villafuerte y Castellanos*, 1874 (Enero–Dic.), fols. 295r–296v (escritura no. 107).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 646

5 Legal Material from Investigations, Interrogations, Depositions, Representations, Testimonies in General, and Testimonies at Trials

There are already several excellent publications based on legal material as source.[36] Yet, these publications possibly overestimate the agency of the enslaved. This is because it seems to be the only existing type of source where enslaved agency – however defined – can be demonstrated.[37] As already mentioned above, an analysis of the narratives of the enslaved in this category of source must always consider an extremely important filter and often also a pre-filter. The filter consists in the fact that

36 Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba. The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985) [repr., Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000]; Keila Grinberg, "Freedom Suits and Civil Law in Brazil and the United States," *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 3 (2001): 66–82; Sue Peabody and Keila Grinberg, eds., *Slavery, Freedom, and the Law in the Atlantic World: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's Press, 2007); Orlando García Martínez and Michael Zeuske, "Notarios y esclavos en Cuba, siglo XIX," *Su "único derecho": los esclavos y la ley*, ed. Alejandro de la Fuente (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre/Tavera, 2004) [= *Debate y perspectivas. Cuadernos de Historia y Ciencias Sociales* 4 (2004): 127–70]; María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes and Aisnara Perera Díaz, *Para librarse de lazos, antes buena familia que buenos brazos. Apuntes sobre la manumisión en Cuba* (La Habana: Editorial Oriente, 2009); Andrew Fede, *Roadblocks to Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in the United States* (New Orleans: Quid Pro Quo Books, 2011); María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes and Aisnara Perera Díaz, *El universo de Hipólito criollo. Derecho, conflicto y libertad en el ingenio La Sonora, La Habana (1798–1836)* (Artemisa: Editorial Unicornio, 2011); Rebecca J. Scott and Jean-Michel Hébrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Edward Bartlett Rugemer, *Slave Law and the Politics of Resistance in the Early Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018); Edgardo Pérez Morales, *Unraveling Abolition: Legal Culture and Slave Emancipation in Colombia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022); Sue Peabody, "Political and Legal Histories of Slavery," in *Writing the History of Slavery*, ed. David Stefan Doddington and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022): 153–70. Carlo Ginzburg rightly pointed out that legal sources are problematic: "The use of court records [. . .] does not imply that historians, disguised as judges, should try to reenact the trials of the past – an aim that would be pointless, if it were not intrinsically impossible", Carlo Ginzburg. "Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 90.

37 Walter Johnson, "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–25; Anne C. Bailey, "African Agency in the Atlantic Slave Trade. Realities and Perceptions," in Anne C. Bailey, *African Voices of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Beyond the Silence and the Shame* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006): 57–93; Anne C. Bailey, "European and American Agency in the Atlantic Slave Trade: From Raid and Trade to Operational Breakdown," in Anne C. Bailey, *African Voices of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Beyond the Silence and the Shame* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006): 115–51; Walter Johnson, "Agency: A Ghost Story," in *Slavery's Ghost: The Problem of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation*, ed. Richard Follett, Eric Foner and Walter Johnson (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011): 8–30; Juliane Schiel, Isabelle Schürch and Aline Steinbrecher, "Von Sklaven, Pferden und Hunden: Trialog über den Nutzen aktueller Agency-Debatten für die Sozialgeschichte," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Annuaire suisse d'histoire économique et sociale* 32 (2017): 17–48.

professional scribes, notaries, and lawyers, often also law enforcement commissions (such as the abovementioned *Comisión Militar* in Cuba) conducted interrogations, recorded the results and wrote down the texts we find in the documents; the pre-filter mentioned above is translation (often by other slaves from the respective *nación*). Overall, however, we are only at the beginning of the research, especially in view of the masses of legal sources. This is especially true for the large number of *Quejas* (complaints of slaves, also with other subtitles, like *Esclavitud* and *Negros*) – special categories of legal material in Cuba.

With regard to the legal material, as mentioned above, there are often claims that the agency of slaves was particularly evident here. This can certainly be assumed for some cases (as in relation to the release of the individual, biological children, or close relatives, i.e., above all *coartación* (literally: restricted slavery; legal self-ransom)).[38]

There were, however, three barriers to the agency of enslaved people: first, very few slaves, especially rural slaves, did have a person who could write for them, or a person with legal knowledge in the general sense, to a *síndico* (a special trustee urban advocate of the poor or city slaves);[39] secondly, in all measures (interrogations, depositions) taken by the slavery society to prosecute what was considered a crime (committed by a slave), the owners and direct controllers of slaves (*mayordomos*, *mayorales*, administrators, owners, policy, prosecutors, state organs), slaves showed an unwillingness to testify (and even less to appear as a witness), thirdly, we learn something about their concrete living and working conditions from the interviews, statements and complaints of the enslaved themselves, but little about what they themselves thought. That means, mostly about the negative sides. Even these comparatively 'direct' sources are never written by the enslaved themselves. This probably also applies to the sheer mass of *Quejas* (and similar funds, like *Esclavitud* or *Negros* in the Spanish legal system).[40] In some of these sources, however, archive historians have the impression that the slave or the slave child is standing or lying next to the writer, i.e., is ill or on her/his deathbed. The best representation of such an individual closeness between the people presented, in this case María Coleta and her Capuchin confessor, is discussed in an article by Rebecca J. Scott and Carlos Venegas.[41]

---

38 Claudia Varella and Manuel Barcia, *Wage-Earning Slaves: Coartación in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2020).

39 In 1874, a slave woman from Güines even managed to send a written request about her *coartación* to the governor; she wanted to appear in front of a *síndico* in Havana, see: "Expediente promovido por la morena Joaquina Gomez esclava de D. Fernando Gomez vecino de Guines, solicitando ser coartada ante uno de los tres Sindicos de esta Capital (Habana)," *ANC, Gobierno General*, Esclavos, leg 566, no. 28173 (1874).

40 Digna Castañeda Fuertes, "Demandas judiciales de las esclavas en el siglo XIX cubano," in *Afrocubanas: Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales*, ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo and Inés María Martiatu Terry (La Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2011): 17–29.

41 Rebecca J. Scott and Carlos Venegas Fornias, "María Coleta and the Capuchin Friar: Slavery, Salvation, and the Adjudication of Status," *William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2019): 727–62.

The most complete publication about the subject of enslaved narratives in legal sources about diverse conflict situations and *Quejas*/*Esclavitud* (complaints) so far is Gloria García's *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud* (Slavery from the point of view of slavery[42]). The book traces the social structure of a slavery regime and its most important spaces of representation – historically and functionally (functionally from 'top to bottom'). First, there is an analysis of the forms of slavery up to the emergence of the *ingenio* (the mechanized slave plantation), which is characteristic of second slavery, including the slave family and their parentela ('kinship'), urban slavery and slave resistance. The larger second part of the book is dedicated firstly to the legal space of the Spanish Empire, i.e. the imperial representation of the *Código negro* (Collection of laws on dealing with slaves and the colored free population; 31 May, 1789), which was never officially proclaimed and no longer functioned due to the revolution in Saint-Domingue/Haiti and the independence of the continental colonies of America (1808–1830).[43] The imperial legal representation was replaced by a still colonial, but de facto pre-national *Reglamento de Esclavos* (1842), which was in fact a decree of a liberal Captain General. It was only valid in Cuba.[44] Then follows a whole chapter on "The slave and his family world", which addresses diverse complaints *(Quejas*/*Esclavitud*) by enslaved people, which were written down by scribes or *síndicos*. In Cuba's slavery regime, which was hardly controlled by the state, this legal form of paper gained such fame among enslaved people that the fixed phrase *buscar papel* emerged (literally 'to seek/obtain paper', also *buscar amo*, literally 'to seek master', meaning another master).[45] Legally, this was the written permission for slaves by the state (*Reglamento*), but written by the old owner, to seek a new master (*amo*/*ama* – master/mistress) if they felt they were being treated too harshly. They got permission on a piece of paper (*papel*).

We learn most about the real living conditions of enslaved people in Cuba's high-tech plantation economy in the chapter "The Social Structure of the Plantation" with the exciting sub-chapters "Slaves and Mayorales" (*mayorales* were the chief overseers, i.e., (mostly) white managers, primarily old soldiers, or boatswains with some agricultural knowledge[46]); "Conflicts in the dotación" (*dotación* = term for all slaves of a plantation) and "Solidarity against Injustice". The next two chapters are called "The coartado slave and his labor relations" and "The violence of the masters". The interests of the slaves evident from the book, which, from the sources used by Gloria Gar-

42 Gloria García, *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud* (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 2003).

43 The Código was still effective over rumors that the king had set the slaves free; see: Wim Klooster, "Slave Revolts, Royal Justice, and a Ubiquitous Rumor in the Age of Revolutions," *William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2014): 401–24.

44 Since 1826, Puerto Rico also had such a pre-national regulation adapted to the local slavery regime.

45 For example: "Expediente en que el negro Agustín Montalvo solicita papel para buscar nuevo amo," *GSC, Esclavitud*, leg. 947, no. 33444 (1852).

46 "Circular para que todos los amos de fincas de campo que tengan dotación de negros, pongan mayorales blancos," *GSC, Esclavitud*, leg. 936, no. 33039 (1832).

cía (the majority are from *Esclavitud* and/or *Quejas* from *Gobierno Superior Civil* or *Gobierno General*), are their individual relationships, mostly with relatives, spouses, and children,[47] as well as with their direct owners, overseers (*mayorales*, *mayordomos*). Group interests can also be found (e.g., in strikes of field workers, but also in runaways as group/*dotación* for some days) but are rather rare. Not really 'class' interests at all.

I analyze below a source in which an influential free Black man argues in favor of an enslaved woman. It can be found in the chapter "The coartado slave and his labor relations". Even if it involves the abovementioned problem of having been written by persons other than the enslaved, the source is very interesting for our approach. From three sides, the interests of an enslaved woman are negotiated. One could almost speak of four sides since the writer also plays a role. The most important actor mentioned is the "moreno libre Pedro Real, de nación congo y primer capataz del cabildo de sus paisanos y vecino del barrio de Chávez [free moreno Pedro Real, from the Congo nation and first foreman [*capataz*] of the council of his countrymen [*cabildo de nación*] and resident [*vecino*, literally: neighbor] of the Chavez neighborhood [*barrio*]]."[48] Pedro Real represents the interests of his enslaved *paisana* (countrywoman, i.e., someone also from the *nación conga*). A slightly longer section (translated by me) shows what problems arose in the legal space of the extremely dynamic second slavery in Cuba:

> A Vuestra Excelencia dice que habiéndosele presentado la morena de su nación con el papel por dos días para buscar amo, nombrada María Luisa González, coartada en la cantidad de 350 pesos y los derechos atrasados, de la propiedad de don Ángel Arrechasabaleta [a Basque, MZ], este le dio papel a pedimento de la dicha esclava para buscar amo por los dos dichos días y yo le busque para que la comprara al [this is probably a copyist's mistake and should be *el* in the original; it might of course also be an error on the part of the original writer, MZ] señor licenciado don José Fornaris [a notary, MZ]; que el dicho señor estaba esperando al dicho Arrechasabaleta para hacer la escritura de la compra y que sucedió que el ante dicho amo [Arrechasabaleta, MZ], en lugar de pasar a la escribanía, no lo hizo y arrebató a la negra y la mandó al campo a que la castigaran, y gozando el esclavo coartado de las preeminencias de no poderse vender para el monte no siendo a gusto del siervo, y más cuando ésta tenía comprador [. . .]. A Vuestra Excelencia suplico, como capataz de su nación, se sirva expedir una orden para que inmediatamente mande el amo a buscar a la negra para que el comprador haga la escritura [. . .]

47 See the heartbreaking example of an already free mother begging for the freedom of her four children: "Expediente promovido por la parda libre Clara Linares pidiendo la libertad de sus cuatro hijos esclavos de D Juan Fernandez Salgas," *ANC, Gobierno General*, Esclavos, leg 566, no. 28174 (1874); or the example of the free *morena*, who is the mother of a slave woman and demands a *papel de buscar amo* for her daughter: "Expediente promovido por la morena libre Apolonia Criolla, madre de la de igual color Eduarda Yosefa proponiendo se de papel a la ultima para variar de dueño, que lo es hoy D.n Juan Valdes Mumpienes," *ANC, Gobierno General*, Esclavos, leg 519, no. 26885 (1877).

48 Gloria García, "Pedro Real congo, capataz del cabildo, representa a su paisana María Luisa González, La Habana, 21 de abril de 1854," Gloria García, *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud* (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 2003): 146.

> To your Excellency he says[49] that, having been approached by the *morena* of his nation named María Luisa González, who held a paper for two days to look for a [new] master,[50] valued at the amount of 350 pesos[51] plus the right to arrears, of the property of Mr. Ángel Arrechasabaleta [a Basque, MZ] who had given the said slave at her request a paper to look for a master for the two said days, and I[52] looked for him to purchase her from Mr. José Fornaris [a notary, MZ]; that the said man was waiting for the said Arrechasabaleta to make out the deed of purchase[53] and that it happened that the aforementioned master [Arrechasabaleta, MZ], instead of going to the notary's office, did not do so and snatched the black woman and sent her to the field[54] there to be punished, and the constrained slave enjoying the preeminence of not being able to sell himself to the mountain,[55] not being to the liking of the serf, and even more so when the latter had a buyer [. . .] I beg Your Excellency, as foreman of her nation, that you may please issue an order so that the master immediately sends for the black woman so that the buyer can make the deed [. . .][56]

---

49 This is a complaint to the Captain General of Cuba. The formal *dice* with which every written concern begins means 'he says', not *digo* ('I say'), which reflects that the respective actor 'only' spoke and the notary procured the written version in legal language). Many purchase and sale protocols in which the words of free members of the slave-owning society have been written by notaries begin in this way (*digo* - I say).

50 This means that the *amo* (= master/owner) gave the slave a paper with written permission for a certain number of days, allowing her to look for a new master to buy her during that time.

51 The price of the slave woman had been set at 350 silver pesos (by a *síndico*, a city slave attorney); at this price (in total or in installments/rates) the slave could legally buy her freedom. If the slaves had paid a deposit on the total sum, here the female slave, they became a *coartado* or a *coartada* (literally "limited", i.e., no longer a "full" slave). As a *coartada*, the slave woman could legally request this document from her previous *amo* (= *buscar papel*) and look for a new *amo* (who wanted to buy her at her now lower price, which means, among other things, *buscar amo*). The *amos* were not actually allowed to increase the fixed price of the coartación (but obviously they often did), see: "Expediente promovido por el Síndico 2º de esta Capital (Habana) para que no se haga por los escribanos escritura de venta de esclavos coartados sin que se presente por los dueños el documento de coartación, expresivo de la cantidad en que está y clase de moneda," *ANC, Gobierno General*, Esclavos, leg 566, no. 28179 (1876).

52 The "I" here is unusual since both Black people and writers typically referred to the enslaved by third-person pronouns or by terms referring to their function.

53 The purchase notary protocol.

54 That means: A house slave was sent to a plantation to work in the fields – a severe punishment that all female house slaves and most house slaves feared especially; see Claudia Varella, "'Roaming Coartados': Strengthening the Rural Slave Sector," Claudia Varella and Manuel Barcia, *Wage-Earning Slaves: Coartación in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2020): 66–82.

55 *Vender al monte* means being sold for working outside the house.

56 Gloria García, "Pedro Real congo, capataz del cabildo, representa a su paisana María Luisa González, La Habana, 21 de abril de 1854," Gloria García, *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud* (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 2003): 146; according to (original): "Espediente en que el negro Pedro Re.l se queja del mal trato q.e le dá Dn Angel Arechavaleta á su esclava M.a Luisa (1854)," *ANC, Gobierno Superior Civil*, GSC, Esclavitud, leg 948, no. 33540, Hab.a 21 de Abril 1854 f. 3r–3v. In the same document there is a note from the *síndico* Miguel Estorch (May 16, 1854) that the *amo* gave the slave another paper for three days and another for two days. When María Luisa could not find a buyer, contrary to Pedro Real's statements, she fled for four days (*cimarrona*), was recaptured, and sent back to the countryside as punishment. The *síndico* recommends that the Captain General should not comply with Pedro

What real information do we have? One of the *ilustres apellidos*, i.e., a big man of the urban elite of free blacks, the chief (*capataz*) of a *cabildo de nación conga*, possibly also a militia officer and himself the owner of slaves, makes a deliberate (?) false statement regarding the notary's intention to buy in favor of a *conga* slave. Notaries were considered very powerful as scribes of all papers connected with the fate of enslaved people. The owner and master (*amo*) of the slave performs his duties as prescribed by the *Reglamento* formally; i.e., he accepts an installment of money for self-ransom. He makes, certainly reluctantly, the *papel* formally due to the slave (albeit for a very short time). At the same time, he is delaying the whole process – that is what the statement refers to (*derechos atrasados* – rights in arrears). Finally, by virtue of the right to dispose of his property, he sends the slave woman to his rural plantation. He does this like most slave owners in Cuba: he takes the slave's money,[57] which he believes is due to him anyway as *peculium* according to traditional 'Roman' law, and then punishes her for her intention to exercise agency by having her sent to the countryside, probably for field work. We learn nothing concrete about the slave herself, about her living and working conditions. We can only conclude that she was well-informed about the legal situation, that she had some relationship with the capataz Pedro Real and possibly with the notary José Fornaris, and that she defended herself against her *amo* with a brief escape, as a *cimarrona* (maroon; runaway). She attempted to exert agency but was confined in the harsh structures of private property slavery. The *papel* for two days referred to is in the bundle of the *queja*:

> Doy licencia ami esclava Luisa conga para que busque Amo en la Cantidad de trescientos Cincuenta pesos en que esta coartada, habien [hardly legible] mas unos dros [derechos] atrasados segun Consta de escra. Pub.ca, es sana y sin tachas pero sin re[i]ción á red[h]ibitoria es de oficio buena labandera y planchadora le vale por los dos dias Contados desde la fecha Habana y M.zo 27/854 debe dormir en mi casa. – – Angel de Arechavaleta
>
> I give license to my slave Luisa Conga to seek a Master for the amount of three hundred and fifty pesos, which [is the amount at which] she has been valued, there are [hardly legible] plus some [rights] to the arrears according to the *escra. Pub.ca* [*escritura Pública* = the notary's protocol],

Real's request because "por ahora [for now]", the "L.do José Fornaris q.e la queria comprar no se halla muy dispuesto á hacerlo [Graduate (licenciado) José Fornaris, who wanted to buy it, is not very willing to do so]" ("Espediente en que el negro Pedro Re.l se queja del mal trato q.e le dá Dn Angel Arechavaleta á su esclava M.a Luisa (1854)," *ANC, Gobierno Superior Civil*, GSC, Esclavitud, leg 948, no. 33540, Hab.a 21 de Abril 1854, La Habana, Abril 25 1854, f. 2r).

57 The types of money were a special problem, see: "Expediente promovido por el Síndico 2º de esta Capital (Habana) para que no se haga por los escribanos escritura de venta de esclavos coartados sin que se presente por los dueños el documento de coartación, expresivo de la cantidad en que está y clase de moneda [File promoted by the 2nd síndico of this Capital (Havana) so that the public scribes do not issue a deed of sale of coartado slaves without the owners presenting the document of coartación, expressing the amount and type of currency]," *ANC, Gobierno General*, Esclavos, leg 566, no. 28179 (1876).

> she is healthy and without blemishes, but without recourse to recission, she is by profession a good laundress and ironer. This paper is good for the two days counted from the date of Habana and M.zo [March] 27/854, she must sleep in my house . – – Angel de Arechavaleta[58]

In a letter dated May 16, 1854, Miguel Estorch informed the Captain General of what happened after Luisa Conga had fled:

> [. . .] vencidos estos [dos papeles], en véz de regresar á su casa se fugó, habiendo sido preciso llamarla por los periódicos segun consta del que se acompaña. Capturada á los cuatro dias por D. Joaquin Oliva en la calla dela Merced esquina á la de la Habana, fué entregada á su dueño que tuvo que pagar la Captura. Por via de correcion la mandó al Campo [. . .]
>
> Once these [two papers] had expired, instead of returning to her house she ran away, her [flight] having been announced through the newspapers as stated by the one accompanying [this letter]. Captured four days later by D. Joaquin Oliva in Calle de la Merced [at the] corner of Havana [Street], she was handed over to her owner, who had to pay the Capture. By way of correction, he sent her to the field.[59]

There is another *Queja* with a formal semi-subject status of a slave: the *moreno* Manuel Ramírez found a scribe and complained with a *Queja* to the captain-general that his master was demanding from him more and more of his *jornal* (the money he earned daily). Manuel worked as *esclavo de jornal*/*esclavo alquilado* (rental slave). The *amo* also constantly increased the price of the *coartación*. He argued with Manuel about the money already paid (*ahorros*). In a letter from La Habana dated May 7, 1849 to the Captain General, we read on behalf of the slave, who, however, 'speaks' himself in this *Queja*, as can be seen from the verb *dice* ('he says'): "Manuel Ramirez esclavo coartado de Dn Pedro Ant. o Diaz, con la humildad que acostumbra y es debida á VE dice [. . .]. Por no saber firmar hace + [Manuel Ramirez, coartado slave of Don Pedro Antonio Diaz, with the usual modesty that he owes you says [. . .]. Because he cannot write, he makes + [a cross as signature]]". As a result, the owner Pedro Antonio Diaz had to issue his slave a *licencia para buscar amo* (license to search for a new master = the formal name for a *papel de buscar amo*) due to the instructions of the Captain General: "Doy Licencia por tres dias, á mi Esclavo Manuel Ramirez para que busque Amo en Cantidad de doscientos cincuenta pesos cuartado [sic], es esselente [sic] Jornalero. Habana Mayo 14/849.- Pedro A. Diaz [I give a license for three days to my slave Manuel Ramirez to look for a Master in the amount of two hundred and fifty pesos cuartado [sic], he is [an] esselente [= excellent – sic] Day Laborer. Havana May 14/849.- Pedro A. Diaz]" (Fig. 3).

58 Glued on: *ANC, Gobierno Superior Civil*, GSC, Esclavitud, leg 948, no. 33540, Hab.a 21 de Abril 1854, f. 3v.

59 Ibid., f. 4r.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 653

Quejas and the other categories of sources in *Gobierno Superior Civil* or *Gobierno General* like *Esclavitud* are to be regarded as a special category among the legal sources that may only exist for the second slavery in Cuba under the legal regulations of the 1842 *Reglamento*. Despite the many *Quejas* and *Esclavitud* sources that Gloria García evaluated for her excellent book, the enormous number of this kind of sources in Cuba's National Archives alone has not really been systematically explored from the point of view of narrative self-representation.

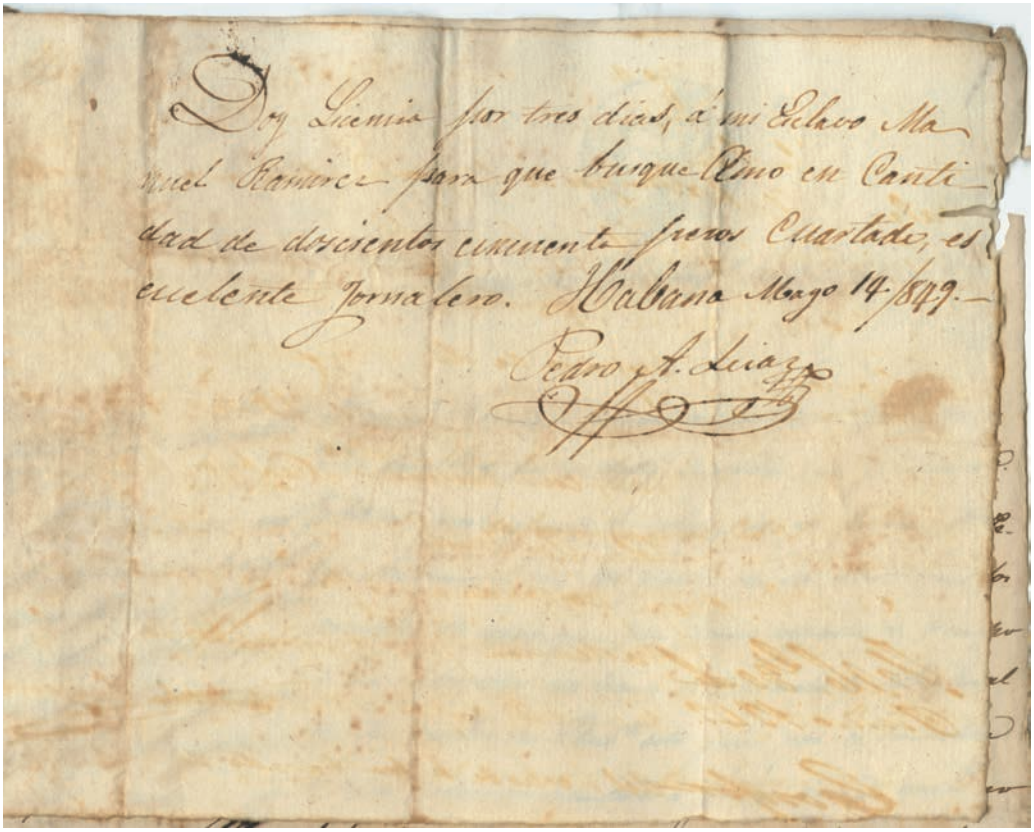

Doy Licencia por tres dias, á mi Esclavo Manuel Ramirez para que busque Amo en Cantidad de doscientos cincuenta pesos Cuartales, es excelente Jornalero. Habana Mayo 14. 1849.
Pedro A. Diaz

Fig. 3: *Papel de buscar amo* – document issued by a lawyer for the poor (síndico) at the request of a slave, which allowed the slave to look for a new owner during a fixed period of time (in this case: three days) who could buy him or her for a specified sum. GSC, Quejas, No. 52776, leg. 1350, 1849: Expediente en que el moreno Manuel Ramírez se queja de que su amo D. Pedro Díaz se niega a rebajarle del precio de su coartación, el ahorro que ha dejado en su poder el tiempo que expresa
(without foliation). Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 654

6 Ships and Narratives – Presentations of Enslaved People in the Shiploads of Captured Ships of the Hidden Atlantic

If *Quejas* and *Esclavitud* are a special category of legal sources, this also applies to statements (depositions) by enslaved people on slave ships, which had been seized after the formal abolitions of the Atlantic slave trade (in the United States and Great Britain in 1808 and in Spain in 1820). A third special category of legal sources are those on emancipated slaves/*emancipados* (a kind of new state slavery of the nineteenth century). A relatively extensive literature already exists on emancipated slaves/*emancipados*.[60] I will therefore only mention them briefly and focus instead on the depositions of enslaved people from slave ships – so to speak before they became emancipated slaves/*emancipados*.

Some slave ships were wrecked or captured. The people on the lower deck of slave vessels were generally considered "*armazón* of slaves" by the slave vessels' crews and captains (the cargo of one slave vessel is called *armazón*). Because their depositions are sources on the Atlantic and Caribbean slave trade, they are inherently broader in a spatial sense than national sources on land slavery. But are they narrative self-representations?

Jonathan M. Bryant recently explored the long legal dispute over people from captured ships in the United States in the case of the slave ship *Antelope* (see also the famous *Creole* or the slave vessel *Solicito*).[61] I will also use the wealth of these sources in the United States in the Federal District Courts in the south, which are collected in

60 Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Transcription Methodology and Statistical Analysis," *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 107–35; Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824–1841," *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 32; see also: Sharla M. Fett, "Middle Passages and Forced Migrations: Liberated Africans in Nineteenth-Century US Camps and Ships," *Slavery & Abolition* 31, no. 1 (2010): 75–98; Sharla M. Fett, *Recaptured Africans: Surviving Slave Ships, Detention, and Dislocation in the Final Years of the Slave Trade* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Beatriz G. Mamigonian, *Africanos livres. A abolição do tráfico de escravos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017); 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 Press, 2015): 127–55.

61 John T. Noonan, *The Antelope: The Ordeal of the Recaptured Africans in the Administration of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977); Walter Johnson, "White Lies: Human Property and Domestic Slavery Aboard the Slave Ship Creole," *Atlantic Studies* 5 (2008): 237–63; Anita Rupprecht, "'All We Have Done, We Have Done for Freedom': The *Creole* Slave-Ship Revolt (1841) and the Revolutionary Atlantic," *International Review of Social History* 58 (2013): 15–34 [special issue: *Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution: A Global Survey*, ed. Clare Anderson, Nyklas Frykman, Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcus Rediker]; Jonathan M. Bryant, *Dark Places of the Earth: The Voyage of the Slave Ship Antelope* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015).

Atlanta and are concerned with violations of the 1807 Atlantic Slave Trade Abolition Law (such as: "Caricubura, Arrietta and Company v. Josefa Segunda and 152 Negro Slaves, filed July 18, 1818", in: Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, 1940).[62]

This category of sources also includes sources from Spanish and Cuban archives about ships wrecked off the north coast of Cuba (such as the slave ship *Guerrero*[63] or the slave ship (*goleta*) *Batans* alias *Brick Segundo*[64]) as well as a ship "without a name" with 16 traumatized boys between 7 and 16 years of age who came from a ship

---

Solicito see: deposition of captain Juan Villas y Aprisa, capitan, maestre y primer piloto, to Comandante Militar de Marina in Havanna, La Habana (no date, c. December 1820)), in *ANC, Tribunal de Comercio (TC)*, leg. 240, no. 14 (1820). Hernandez (Gaspar). "Varios de la Tripulacion del Bergantin Negrero 'Solicito' contra D.n Gaspar Hernandez su armador sobre soldadas," f. 15r–18v; see also: Sean M. Kelley, *The Voyage of the Slave Ship Hare: A Journey into Captivity from Sierra Leone to South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016); see also: *ANC, Fondo Miscelánea de Expedientes* (Miscelánea de Expedientes/Libros) (FME/L), tomo XI, Leg. 1502, F: Expediente de salida del bergantín americano "Antelope," Habana 1821; ANC, FME/L, tomo XIII, Leg. 1864, Bd: Expediente de entrada de la goleta americana "Creole," Habana 1835; ibid., Leg. 1912, no. Añ. Expediente de salida de la goleta americana "Antelope," Habana 1822. There has been more and more very interesting research on individual slave ships in recent years, see for example: Leitão de Almeida and Marcos Abreu, "African Voices from the Congo Coast: Languages and Politics of Identification in the Slave Ship Jovem Maria (1850)," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 2 (2019): 167–89; Alex Borucki, "The U.S. Slave Ship Ascension in the Río de la Plata: Slave Routes and Circuits of Silver in the Late Eighteenth-Century Atlantic and Beyond," *Colonial Latin American Review* 29, no. 4 (2020): 630–57.

62 See the Spanish documents about Carricaburu and Arrieta in *ANC, TC*, leg. 97, no. 11 (1820). Carricaburu Arrieta y C.a. (Sociedad). La casa de Carricaburu Arrieta y C.a contra la de seguros de esta Plasa [sic], sobre el que practicaron en el bergantín goleta, Segunda Josefa.

63 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid, Estado, Trata de Negros, Legajo (Leg.) 8022/8, no. 12: "Lista de los Buques que han Salido de la Habana para la Costa de Africa durante el Año de 1827" (26 españoles, 1 Francés, and also, July 14, 1827 "Bergantin Guerrero", Maestre Jose Gomez, with a note "Observacion": "Apresado. Mas despues hizo naufragio en el Arrecife de la Florida. Regresó Enero 5 de 1828"; AHN, Madrid, Estado, Trata de Negros, Leg. 8022/8, no. 13: "Lista de los Buques que han Regresado de la Costa de Africa, y han conseguido Desembarcar Cargamentos de Negros en las inmediaciones de la Habana durante el Año de 1827" (10 Españoles, 5 de Diciembre de 1827: Bergantin Guerrero, observaciones [notes]: "Apresado por la Goleta de S.M. "Nimble", pero se encalló despues en el Arrecife de la Florida. 400 de los Negros fueron desembacados en la Ysla por dos Wreckers Americanos"); AHN, Madrid, Estado, Trata de Negros, Leg. 8022/8, no. 14, Translation of a report by H.J. Kilbee u W.S. Macleay from Havana, 3 de Enero de 1828 to Conde Dudley, about trying to bring up the "Guerrero", with 500 or 600 enslaved ("negros"), but then at night, they were brought by American Wreckers to Florida, and partly to the port of Santa Cruz del Norte, between Havana and Matanzas; see also: National Archives, Washington, RG 45, M124, Roll 115 (courtesy of Gail Swanson, who found, transcribed and kindly made the document available to me; cf.: Gail Swanson, *Slave Ship Guerrero. The Wrecking of a Spanish Slaver off the Coast of Key Largo, Florida with 561 Africans Imprisoned in the Hold While Being Pursued by the British Warship HBM Nimble in 1827* (West Conshohocken: Infinity, 2005).

64 Testimony of Antonio, kidnapped on the goleta Batans, October 7, 1854, in: "Testimonio del espediente gubernativo instruido para la averiguacion de la introduccion de negros bozales por la Costa de Nuevitas" (contemporary orthography and punctuation), in AHN, Madrid, Estado, Trata de negros,

wrecked on a rocky reef. They had been discovered by fishermen.[65] The Cuban naval attorney had to form a commission to interview the boys with the help of translators.[66] The translators played an extremely important role; firstly, in negotiations between the newly arrived enslaved and the legal institutions of slaving apparatuses (in Portuguese, Spanish or English, etc., with its own language of 'nations' and often corporal characteristics).[67] They acted within the orality of the world of the enslaved, but could also make themselves heard in the literate world.[68] Shipwrecks in which enslaved people escaped are even less visible in government documents, economic documents or legal documents (such as notarial files or reports on illegal landings). There are very interesting studies on this in Mexico (especially on the Costa Chica between Acapulco and Puerto Escondido (Oaxaca)).[69]

The main part of the research consisted of analyzing cargo lists that include African names drawn from several slave ships (*Ninfa Habanera* 1824–1825, *Negrito*, *Joaquina*, *Manuelita* 1833, *Carlota*, *María*, *Chubasco* 1834[70]) and the interviews conducted especially with enslaved children on the *Jesús María* from 1841 or with those enslaved

leg. 8060, no. 4/3, f. 119v–120r; testimony of Manuel María de la Concepción, kidnapped on the goleta Batans, Ocotober 7, 1854, in: ibid., f. 154v–156r; see also: Arturo Arnalte, *Los últimos esclavos de Cuba: Los niños cautivos de goleta Batans* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2001).

65 For general information on trauma, see: Janett Reinstädler and Michael Zeuske, "Esclavitud y memoria cultural en Hispanoamérica," in *Trauma y memoria cultural: Hispanoamérica y España*, ed. Roland Spiller, Kirsten Mahlke and Janett Reinstädler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020): 125–43.

66 AHN, Madrid, Estado, Trata de Negros, leg. 8059/1, no. 2 (without foliation): "Testimonio de la sumaria formada en averiguacion del naufragio de un bergantin que se ignora el nombre, nacion y procedencia, en los arrecifes de Cayo Verde, Quebrado del Sardinero," Boca del rio [Sagua] (today: Isabela de Sagua), 27 de febrero de 1853 – La Habana, 18 de Abril de 1853.

67 Leitão de Almeida, "African Voices from the Congo Coast": 167–89.

68 National Archives, Washington, RG 45, M124, Roll 115, f. 79 (courtesy of Gail Swanson). See also: Dale T. Graden, "Interpreters, Translators, and the Spoken Word," in Dale T. Graden, *Disease, Resistance, and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014): 150–77 as well as Michael Zeuske, "Afrikanische und amerikanische Atlantikkreolen und Atlantisierung," in Michael Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negreros und Atlantikkreolen. Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 196–205.

69 Sébastien Lefèvre and Paul Mvengou Cruzmerino, "Propuestas para una 'relectura' trasatlántica afrodiaspórica de las Américas negras a partir del caso mexicano," in *Nuestra América Negra: Huellas, rutas y desplazamientos de la afrodescendencia*, ed. Flor Márquez, Inés Pérez-Wilke and Eduardo Cobos (Caracas: Ediciones de la Universidad Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2016): 5–44.

70 The National Archives, Kew/London (TNA), Foreign Office (FO) 313/67 (1819–1866): Logbooks of Captured Ships, condemnations of slave ships, etc. et al. There is a logbook of the slave vessel "Ninfa Habanera", with a documented slave voyage from April 1824 to early 1825. Many lists with African names can be found in: Register of Slaves (TNA, FO 313/ 56–62). For example, TNA, FO 313/59 Register of Slaves 1833 (bigger than an octave-sized volume, hardcover, lists of slaves of the British-captured ships with the serial number "nombre Africano" [African name], "id Cristiano" [Christian name], sex, age, "nación" [African nation], "estatura" [stature/size] (it is not entirely clear whether Spanish or English units are referred to), "señales" [body markings] and [African or enslaved] translators). The first

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 657

on the slave ship *Negrinha*. I have identified several cases of mostly young men from Africa who were aboard ships that are considered slavers (slaving vessels). Some captains of ships that seized the slaving vessels used the formerly enslaved in an unclear status as sailors (translators or cooks or guards/*dispenseros*/*dispenseiros* (food distributors)) on their ships, as in the case of the US ship *General Paez*.[71] Access to U.S. Federal District Court records is crucial for these. The translators in the *Amistad* case also

(numbers 199 to 477; a few pages are missing), f. 0v–29r, are the slaves of Bergantín *Negrito* (almost all *lucumiés*, a few *mina popo* and *arará*), La Habana, January 5, 1833; FO 313/59 Register of Slaves 1833 "Cargam to de la Goleta mercante Española Joaquina," no. 1–318 (f. 29v–62r), all "Carabali suama", "Carabalí viví" (1 from 193), no. 306 and 307 are "Lucumí tapa", no. 308 "Lucumí cacanda", 309 "Lucumí mico" as well as no. 310–318 are "Lucumí Baza"; FO 313/59 Register of Slaves 1833 "Cargamento de la Goleta mercante Española Manuelita", no. 1–477 (f. 62v–110r), almost everybody "Lucumí Ecumachó", almost all between 10 and 26 years, translator "Ant.o Lozano y Fernando esclavos de Dn Casimiro Lozano y de Dn Pedro Robira" (f.63r). Other translators (f. 71r): "Joaquin Dasenebe moreno libre y el citado Antonio esclavo de D.n Casimiro Lozano". Nos. 411–415 are "Arará Magín" (f. 103v), translator: "Antonio y Ysidro esclavos de D.n Casimiro Lozano y de D.n Fran.co Mendiola" (f. 104r); the numbers 416–417 are "Carabalí Orú"; Translator: "Julian y Norverto, esclavos de D.n Ant.o del Castillo y D.n Ygn.o Roca" (f. 104r), the remaining ones "Lucumí Ecumachó" (numbers 418–477); FO 313/60 Register of Slaves 1834 "Cargamento de la Goleta mercante Carlota" (bigger than an octave-sized volume, hardcover, lists the slaves of the British-captured ships with consecutive numbers "nombre Africano", "id Cristiano", sex, age, nación, stature, body markings and interpreters). The first (numbers 13 to 163; a few pages are missing), f. 1v, 1r–16r, La Habana, December 7, 1834. Almost all "Ganga Longobá", but also (f.1v) "Ganga Bahi" (no. 15–18) and "Ganga maní" (no. 20–22, f. 1Ar / v), no. 30 African name "Balá" (f. 1v), no. 39 is "Ganga Guiri" (f. 2v). No. 95, African. Name "Cuara" is a "Ganga conó" (f. 4v); FO 313/60 Register of Slaves 1834 "Cargamento de la Goleta mercante Esp.a María", no. 1–340 (f. 15v–50r), almost everything "Carabalí", with many names of towns and village names, including no. 101, African. Name "Odeque" (f. 25v) a "Carabalí Ybo", La Habana, February 1, 1835 [sic]; FO 313/60 Register of Slaves 1834 "Cargamento del Bergant.n Gol.a Esp.a Chubasco", no. 1–230 (f. 109v–134r), almost everybody "Mandinga" (no specifications), no. 135–146 "Gangá" with names: Viá, Nimó, Balá, Abalá, Sirgué, Tormú, Bagó, Mamado [Mamadu, MZ], Bián, Caculá, Gücá, Chabú (f. 124r / v), no. 227–230 again "Gangá", names: Güemé, Talá, Fomá, Lobá (f. 132v), La Habana, May 17, 1835. Translator at all (f. 110r): "Quirino esclavo del Rey, é Ygnacio emancipado, destinado al Jardin Botanico". For the important role of translators: Leitão de Almeida, "African Voices from the Congo Coast": 167–89.

71 For the case of the ship *General Paez*: "The first involved a courtcase in Baltimore that had its beginnings near Cape Mesurado, where a war in 1821–1822 produced captives who became commodities in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Captain John Chase's schooner General Paez intercepted the slaver in the Middle Passage and transported the captured slaves to the British West Indies, where he received the assigned bounty per slave found on board. Chase offered employment to fourteen of the freed Africans as members of his crew and proceeded northward to Baltimore to resupply his vessel. Upon entering Baltimore harbor, however, Chase was charged with failing to pay past debts, apparently to someone in Baltimore, and the General Paez was forced to remain at an anchor until that matter was resolved. Chase's problems grew when harbor officials informed persons on shore that Africans were members of the ship's crew. The presence of Africans among his crew appeared to some to be a clear violation of the Slave Trade Prohibition Act of 1819. That Act required that such persons be taken into custody and their repatriation to Africa be arranged. Those with colonization, abolitionist, and emi-

reported in their accounts of their biographies that there had been a constant shift in their experiences between slavery and other forms of dependency.[72]

The investigation report after the capture of the slave ship called "Jesus Maria" shows the violence of the Atlantic slave trade. A document of real horror and horrific trauma. Hundreds of people trafficked from Africa, many of them children, were subjected to extreme sexual violence, which was carried out by crew members (among them free people of color), officers, and certainly also by the captain. As in almost all legal documents, the enslaved were questioned in the interest of the respective commission and pressed to make statements. The main interest of the commission was the general prosecution of the Atlantic slave trade by Spanish ships, underpinned by the interest in the great conflict between Spain and Great Britain as well as the special interest of the British ship crews and officers to declare the captured ships (precisely because of the slave trade) as 'good booty', from which they received shares:

> Examinations
> [. . .] referring to the treatment of certain Africans, on their passage from Africa to Havana, by one Vicente Morales, the Master of a Slave Vessel called "Jesus Maria" and which was captured by Her Majesty's Ship "Ringdone" . . . [a huge list of crimes, including rapes and killings of children follows; here are some excerpts]
>
> No. 139. Crossy. – an African Girl of about the age of 14 years, one of the Witnesses named in the Despatch, being examined through an Interpreter named Thomas Weatherfield, a Private in H. M.'s 2.d W.I. Regiment [a colored or black soldier, MZ], states that while on board the "Jesus Maria", Manual [sic], an African, one of the Captain's servants, broke a Demyohn [demijohn, a clay bottle, MZ] containing Rum, on account of which the Captain, Vicente Morales, took a stick and severely beat him, which caused his Death, in about two days after, as the Examinant be-

---

gration sentiments at Baltimore joined forces to bring the Africans onshore and to the court's attention and to embroil Captain Chase, the Baltimore court system, and the Maryland Federal District Court in litigation from mid-l822 to late 1823", see Bruce L. Mouser, "The Baltimore/Pongo Connection: American Entrepreneurism, Colonial Expansionism, or African Opportunism?" *The International Journal of African Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 316; see also: Bruce L. Mouser, "Baltimore's African Experiment, 1822–1827," *Journal of Negro History* 80, no. 3 (1995): 113–30.

72 Benjamin N. Lawrance, "'Your Poor Boy No Father No Mother': 'Orphans,' Alienation, and the Perils of Atlantic Child Slave Biography," *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2013): 672–703; Benjamin N. Lawrance, "La Amistad's 'Interpreter' Reinterpreted: James Kaweli Covey's Distressed Atlantic Childhood and the Production of Knowledge about Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, ed. Paul Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2014): 215–56; Benjamin N. Lawrance, *Amistad's Orphans: An Atlantic Story of Children, Slavery, and Smuggling* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014); Benjamin N. Lawrance, "'A Full Knowledge of the Subject of Slavery': The Amistad, Expert Testimony, and the Origins of Atlantic Studies," *Slavery & Abolition* 36, no. 2 (2015): 298–318; see also: Jaime Rodrigues, *De costa a costa: escravos, marinheiros e intermediários do tráfico negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005); Jaime Rodrigues, "Marinheiros forros e escravos em Portugal e na América Portuguesa (c. 1760–c. 1825)," *Revista de História Comparada* 7, no. 1 (2013): 9–35.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 659

> lieves, and that the Cotton steeped in Rum and Gunpowder was put up the Fundament of several of the Africans for the avowed purpose of destroying worms.
>
> No. 150.-Mahuma and 146 *Mamboisi*, African Females about 12 years of age, examined, and fully corroborate the foregoing statement of Crossy No. 139.
>
> No. 147.-Cunha a Female, -No. 7 Barron and No. 3 Duba, Males, also corroborate the statement of Crossy in the fullest manner. In reference to the cruelties and abuses committed on the Females on board the Schooner "Jesus Maria" and alluded to in the Despatch the following examinations were taken viz:
>
> No. 167. Jumer, African Girl, about 12 years, examined and states that no Spaniard, or other Person had any connection with her.
>
> No. 148.-Jaddy, an African Girl about 14 years examined, states that one of the sailors of the "Jesus Maria", had connection with her against her will, and that she was previously a Virgin.[73]
>
> [see appendix 1].

It was only after the Spanish-Cuban slave ship had been brought up that the names of the enslaved were even asked for; it was their African name.

An internal letter from the Spanish ministry in Madrid shows the quantitative dimensions. Spanish officials, in general, took the investigation of those abducted from Africa, including their narrations, and in particular the written report from Nassau, fairly seriously, as can be seen from the following internal summary from Madrid (possibly contributing to the enactment of *Reglamento de Esclavos* and the *Bando de Buen Gobierno* of 1842):

> El buque [Jesús María, MZ] iba cargado con 240 negros africanos, de los cuales sobrevivieron 233 cuando llegaron á las Bahamas [. . .]. Del numero de estos desdichados 136= son varones y 97= hembras, todos jovenes, particularmente las hembras que no tienen sino de 13 á 15 años de edad. Estas muchachas segun sus declaraciones ante el Gobernador de Nassau, en Nueva Providencia, el 8 de febrero ult.o, cuyos detalles son adjuntos, fueron violadas y mal tratadas por el Capitan del "Jesus María", llamado Vicente Morales, y por otros individuos de la tripulacion, durante su viaje de Africa á Cuba
>
> The ship [Jesús María, MZ] was loaded with 240 black Africans, of whom 233 had survived when they arrived in the Bahamas [. . .]. Of the number of these unfortunates, 136= are male and 97= female, all of them young, particularly the females, who are only between 13 and 15 years old. These girls, according to their statements before the Governor of Nassau, in New Providence, on February 8, the details of which are attached, were raped and mistreated by the Captain of the "Jesus María", named Vicente Morales, and by other individuals. of the crew, during their trip from Africa to Cuba.[74]

---

73 Attachment of a letter from Francis Cockburn of New Providence, Nassau, Bahamas, February 24, 1841 to Lord John Russell (original copy) *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid (*AHN*), Estado, Trata de negros, leg. 8020/45, no. 4; for the slave ship Jesús María see also: www.slavevoyages.org [accessed 07.09.2023]. Voyage ID=2071 (April 18, 2009) as well as: "Letter Acknowledging Receipt of the One that Reported the Seizure of the Slave Ship 'Jesus Maria'," *ANC, Reales Cédulas y Ordenes*, leg. 121, no. 175 (Habana, 21 de Abril de 1841).

74 Letter from the Palacio [King's Palace], July 22, 1841, unsigned; extract for internal use in the *Primera Secretaría del Despacho de Estado* [in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs] *AHN, Estado*, Trata de ne-

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 660

Summarizing these cases, we reach the following conclusions: the short biographies (profiles) that can be extracted from the surviving documents as well as the names that are mentioned show that for the worlds of Atlantic Slavery – as a functioning system of slavery-regimes and slave trades, this is what I mean with the concept "*in* Slavery" – the omnipresence of extreme cruelty and violence can be proved.[75] But there was also a high ambiguity between temporary liberation, other forms of dependency, manumission, re-enslavement, and 'voluntary' enslavement. Atlantic slavery also produced specific jobs, for instance that of translators or those of the final sellers of individual slaves (often free Black or colored people, often also women). Each of these forms of dependency could result on a temporary basis, due to hunger, political conditions, violence, or transport costs, and might alternate with a life as a sailor or doing another job on board or as dock worker in the ports of the Atlantic.

7 Talking Commodities and Writing Slaves

In the following part, I will briefly review some particularly interesting cases. For a long time, I had the impression that only a micro-historical approach can help us identify narrative self-representations of enslaved people. We know of at least one 'talking commodity' in self-representation: Roberto Botefeur. That is one of the most important cases of a courageous slave speaking for himself. Roberto Botefeur, as we will see, even talks about his work and his personal circumstances (appendix 2). Iberian slave traders have always considered themselves less 'capitalist' than slave traders of other religions, particularly the English and the Dutch. This is a recurring theme regarding slave owners and slave traders (as well as the respective slave-owning societies) from Brazil to Cuba, from Portugal to Spain, from Simón Bolívar to Francisco de Arango, during the period of slavery's existence.

In the Spanish colony of Cuba, however, some 'new' slavers were more capitalist than those in other societies. The Hanoverian surgeon, slave trader and slave owner Daniel Botefeur (c. 1770–1821) was a pioneer of the cosmopolitan and Atlantic slavery capitalism. He was most likely a Lutheran before his career as Catholic slave trader. After his time in Africa (Gallinas), he fought in a real and symbolic way against the traditional rights of slaves in Cuba. Francisco de Arango called these traditional rights los *cuatro consuelos* ('the four consolations'); the *coartación* already analyzed, which

gros, leg. 8020/45, no. 8; see also: Michael Zeuske, "Slaving – Traumata und Erinnerungen der Verschleppung," in Michael Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negreros und Atlantikkreolen: Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015): 55–115.

75 See the book about the slaveholder and plantation owner Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica (1750–1786), in which violence had an extremely sexual dimension (Thistlewood records 3,852 sexual assaults, mostly rapes of enslaved women), see: Trevor Burnard, *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

only became a law in 1842 but was practiced before, is an example of these rights. Daniel Botefeur sued his own *esclavo de confianza* (slave of trust) Roberto Botefeur, who wanted to become a *coartado* by paying money in 1818; he wanted to buy the freedom of his entire slave family. But there was more than that. Daniel Botefeur also complained about the traditions of slavery in Cuba before 1820 that were mentioned above. He was a pioneer of modern, capitalist second slavery. The interesting thing is that Daniel Botefeur was successful in this specific case (and maybe for a few years in relation to the climate of self-purchase/enslavement), but not in general. *Coartación* became a mass phenomenon in Cuba, despite the appalling hardships and many years of extra labor demanded from the enslaved.[76]

First, Daniel Botefeur, a man who was experienced in dealing with legality and illegality, accused his slave Roberto of stealing 2,000 pesos from what he himself refers to in a record as an "iron box in which I deposit my cash". He then talks about the real reason for his conflict with his "trusted" slave: "My suspicion has been confirmed that the negro Roberto is the thief, because his wife has been telling his companions these days that the husband [Roberto, MZ] must free her and four children". As mentioned above, Roberto Botefeur wanted to achieve the *coartación* of his whole family in one fell swoop. Being also a very experienced and cosmopolitan man, he appeared in the office of the mayor of Havana and dictated what we might call a *representación*, which is actually a document of a 'talking commodity' and a slave who legally could not represent himself, but does so before the *coartación* becomes legal (in 1842):

> Robin Botefaud [sic] moreno esclavo de D.n Daniel Botefaud con el mayor rendimiento à V[os] dice: que [en] muchas ocasiones ha deseado salir del poder de su amo, y este le ha exigido 4000. p.s por el, la mujer y tres hijos menores, lo que no le ha permitido lograrlo por lo escandaloso de este precio; pero conciliando [. . .] tiene determinado libertarse, contribuyendo à su amo amas de las quince onzas que la tiene el demas dinero q.e llene su precio, regulado por un Perrito [a specialist]: en esa virtud AV suplica, [. . .] se haga saber [. . .] á su amo D.n Daniel, manifieste por [. . .] cuanta cantidad estima por la libertad al exponiente [. . .], La Hab.a y En.e 31 de 1818 – – – A ruego del esclavo
>
> Robin Botefaud [sic] *moreno* slave of Don Daniel Botefaud with the highest devotion to your [Excellency] says: that [on] many occasions he has wanted to leave his master's power, and that the latter demanded 4,000 pesos for him, the woman and three underage children, which did not permit him to achieve it due to the scandalous price; but seeking a reconciliation [. . .] he has determined to free himself, paying to his master the fifteen ounces that he has [and] the other money that is his price, as determined by a *perrito* [a specialist]: in virtue of which AV begs [your [Excellency]], [. . .] let [. . .] his master Don Daniel know, [and] state [. . .] how much he estimates for the freedom of the exponent [. . .], Havana and Jan. 31, 1818 – – – At the request of the slave.[77]

76 Varella and Barcia, *Wage-Earning Slaves*: passim.

77 "Representación al Señor Alcalde Ordinario, La Habana y Enero 31 de 1818," *ANC, Escribanía de Daumy*, leg. 370, no. 1 (1818): Daniel Botefeur, contra su esclavo Roberto sobre hurto, f. 4r-v.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 662

On February 26, 1818, Daniel Botefeur wrote to the tribunal convened by the mayor, demanding "that my slave be brought before the S.or [Señor] Assessor and respond to the details of the closed interrogation that I sent S[u] S[eño]ria [your reignship]]". Daniel Botefeur had compiled a questionnaire entitled "Interrogation [closed], with which the negro Roberto, slave of Don Daniel Botefeur, should be questioned". The owner is asking his slave to represent himself – albeit in a closed, non-public session of a tribunal.

That list of questions and answers in appendix 2 allows us to reconstruct much of the daily life of a house slave under almost full control of his master. His master is basically fighting all agency of his slave.

The source describes what happened next. Robin Botefeur must go to a *depósito* (a Slave Depot – we do not know which one) and from there he must appear in court, swear an oath and answer (which shows that a slave could have legal personality): "appeared before the Assessor the moreno Roverto slave of Don Daniel Botefour from whom the oath was received". The written trace of his voice is found in the "Declaration", made in Havana, March 2, 1818.[78] It contains scenes from the life of an enslaved person, narrated by himself (appendix 3). Roberto was manumitted in 1821 or 1822, according to the will of Daniel Botefeur. He continued to work on one of the Botefeur family's *cafetales* (coffee plantations) to buy the freedom of his whole family.

8 Writing Slaves: Margarito Blanco and his Club of Stevedores-*Abakuás*

There were also slaves who perhaps wrote themselves. Two specific sources are examples in which the enslaved 'speak' to us by writing themselves. Neither of the writers of these two sources had been subject to forced migration or the Atlantic slave trade, since both had been born in Cuba as Creole house slaves (*esclavos criollos*), but they nevertheless were 'talking commodities', because they always faced the risk of being sold on by their respective owners. One of these examples, that of Juan Francisco Manzano, is very well-known. Manzano, while still a slave in Cuba, wrote and recited poetry that the slave owners (and possibly his co-enslaved) liked to hear. His freedom was purchased by a group of slave owners and writers, and he wrote an autobiography.[79]

78 "Declaracion del esclavo Roberto," La Habana, 2 de Marzo de 1818 (original spelling) *ANC, Escribanía de Daumy*, leg. 370, no. 1 (1818): Daniel Botefeur, contra su esclavo Roberto sobre hurto, f. 9r–13r.

79 Letter to José Luis Alfonso stating that they have already paid Manzano's ransom to María de Zayas and commenting on her reaction. He expresses that Manzano has put a candy shop, Habana, julio 23, 1836 *Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba* (BNC), Colección Manuscritos (C.M.) Monte, no. 5: Monte y Aponte, Domingo del, 1804–1853 (2 pages); José Luciano Franco, ed., *Autobiografía, cartas y versos de Juan Fran-*

The other possible writer, by contrast, is much less known: a young slave in Havana, Margarito Blanco, who, with the written permission of his master, had his own house and looked for work on the streets or in the harbor. What we know of him comes from his recorded testimony before the Military Commission in 1839: he was 22 years old, a Creole slave, married, living in the quarter Jesús María (outside the walls, but near to them and to the harbor of Havana), and he had two jobs, as a cook and a harbor worker. He had asked the authorities for permission to hold a nightly dance with a drums event (*bailar Diablito* – "dancing little devil",[80] i.e., *abakuá* dances with *ekpe*-masquerade as a leopard [see Figs. 4a–b]) with drums at the walls of Havana.[81] Not only did Margarito speak as a 'talking commodity'; he also left some texts written in his own hand on pieces of paper.[82] From other sources it seems that Margarito was

cisco Manzano (La Habana: Municipio de la Habana, 1937); Juan Francisco Manzano, *Autobiografía de un esclavo*, introduction, notes and modernization of the text by Ivan A. Schulman (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, S.A., Madrid, 1975); Gera C. Burton, *Ambivalence and the Postcolonial Subject: The Strategic Alliance of Juan Francisco Manzano and Richard Robert Madden* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004); Alain Yacou, ed., *Un esclave-poète à Cuba au temps du péril noir: Autobiographie de Juan Francisco Manzano (1797–1851)* (Paris: Karthala, 2004); Matthew Pettway, *Cuban Literature in the Age of Black Insurrection: Manzano, Plácido, and Afro-Latino Religion* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2020). In addition to Manzano and the free man Gabriel de la Concepción Valdés, Plácido (1809-1844), there are some more examples of enslaved or free Black and colored writers / poets; see Francisco Calcagno, *Poetas de color* (Havana: Imprenta militar de la v. de Soler y compañía, 1978): 47-48.

80 "Declar.n del comisario del Barrio de S.n Ysidro" [Declaration of the commissar of the neighborhood of San Ysidro], La Habana, 22 de Julio de 1839 *ANC, Comisión Militar* (CM), leg. 23, no. 1 (2 Tomos): Contra los morenos, Cap.n Leon Monzon, Sub.tes José del Monte del Pino, Pilar Borrego, y Ambrosio Noriega, Sarg.to José Florencio Daván, José Andrade, José Felipe Cabrera, Agustin Toledo, Margarito Blanco, Tomas Peñalver, Eusebio de Mora, Serapio Villa, Gabriel Rodriguez Padrón, Regino Abad, Bartolomé Villena, Tadeo Abrantes, José Nemesio Jaramillo y los profugos Fran.co Valdes Nogares, y Fran.co Valdivia, acusados de haberse reunidos clandestinamente con el fin de trastornar el orden publico (1839), 1ª Pieza (Tomo I), *ANC, Comisión Militar* (CM), legajo (leg.) 23, no. 1 (2 tomos), (in the following quoted as: ANC, Comisión Militar (CM), legajo 23, no. 1 (2 vols.): Contra los morenos . . . (1839)), f. 86v–87v, f. 86r.

81 Original copies of the interrogation protocols, signed by Juan Almansa, La Habana, 13 a 15 de Julio de 1839 *ANC, Comisión Militar* (CM), legajo (leg.) 23, no. 1 (2 tomos): Contra los morenos . . . (1839), f. 18r–32v, f. 27v–29v [original spelling]; see: Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, "Margarito Blanco, el 'Ocongo de Ultan'," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia y del Archivo Nacional* 65 (1964): 95–109; Tato Quiñones, "De la causa seguida contra Margarito Blanco y otros por asociación ilícita. Barrio de Jesús María, La Habana, 1839," in Tato Quiñones, *Asere. Núncue Itiá. Ecobio Enyene Abacuá de la ciudad de La Habana* (La Habana: Editorial José Martí, 2016): 24–31, see also: Gloria García Rodríguez, "El complot del capitán Monzón," in García Rodríguez, *Conspiraciones y revueltas: La actividad política de los negros en Cuba (1790–1845)* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2003): 107–13.

82 "Papeles aprehendidos á los 7. Negros q.e expresa el anterior oficio," *ANC, CM*, leg. 23, no. 1, f. 11r–17v, f. 14r–v. Margarito stated in his deposition that he has not written these papers and it was written by a friend (a free taylor named Francito), but this is because slaves should not learn to write and read; see: "Instructiva de Margarito Blanco," [Instruction of Margarito Blanco] La Habana, 14 de Julio de 1839 *ANC, Comisión Militar* (CM), leg. 23, no. 1 (2 Tomos): Contra los morenos, Cap.n Leon Monzon, Sub.tes José del Monte del Pino, Pilar Borrego, y Ambrosio Noriega, Sarg.to José Florencio Daván,

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 664

a senior member of a secret mutualistic society (*asociación clandestina*[83]), known in Cuba as *abakuá* or *ñáñigos*.[84] He held the rank of *ocongo* or *mocongo*, considered to be the highest leader and warrior, responsible for making the sacred drum sound (which is considered the voice of the leopard). Men like Margarito Blanco worked as well as "labor contractors who used their position to provide favors and jobs to society members, but also to exploit them".[85] The heads of the secret society were often required to sign contracts for their members in the ports.[86]

For this reason, such slaves and former slaves learned to read and write. But there were also those who arrived as slaves from Africa and were already proficient in Latin alphabetical script. This was the case with the Efik people from the Cross River region between today's Nigeria and Cameroon as well as the *ambakistas* (*ambaquistas*) or *ambacas* from the Congo and Angola regions, Black slave traders from the town of Ambaca.[87] As very active slavers and merchants in Africa, the Efik interacted with the mainly English-speaking slave traders and captains of European, Cuban, and North

---

José Andrade, José Felipe Cabrera, Agustin Toledo, Margarito Blanco, Tomas Peñalver, Eusebio de Mora, Serapio Villa, Gabriel Rodriguez Padrón, Regino Abad, Bartolomé Villena, Tadeo Abrantes, José Nemesio Jaramillo y los profugos Fran.co Valdes Nogares, y Fran.co Valdivia, acusados de haberse reunidos clandestinamente con el fin de trastornar el orden publico (1839), 1ª Pieza (Tomo I), f. 27v–29v, f. 28v.

83 Gloria García Rodríguez, "El complot del capitán Monzón," in García Rodríguez, *Conspiraciones y revueltas: La actividad política de los negros en Cuba (1790–1845)* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2003): 107–13, 107.

84 Lydia Cabrera, *La sociedad secreta Abakuá, narrada por viejos adeptos* (La Habana: Ediciones C.R., 1958); Enrique Sosa Rodríguez, *Los Ñáñigos* (La Habana: Ediciones Casa de las Américas, 1982); Enrique Sosa Rodríguez, "Origen y expansión del ñañiguismo," in *España y Cuba en el siglo XIX*, Estudios de Historia Social 44–47 (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Cultura, 1988): 539–50; Tato Quiñones, "Los 'Íremes' o 'diablitos' de los ñáñigos cubanos," in Tato Quiñones, *Ecorie Abakuá. Cuatro ensayos sobre los ñáñigos cubanos* (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 1994): 13–22; Stephan Palmié, *Wizards & Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity & Tradition, Durham and London* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002); María del Rosario Díaz, "The Tragedy of the Ñáñigos: Genesis of an Unpublished Book," *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 79, no. 3–4 (2005): 229–37; Ivor L. Miller, *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009); Manuel Martínez Casanova and Nery Gómez Abreu, *La Sociedad Secreta Abakúa (Visión de la única sociedad iniciática de guerreros africanos que sobrevivió en América)* (Santa Clara: Universidad Central de Las Villas, no year); Stephan Palmié, "Ekpe/Abakuá in Middle Passage: Time, Space and Units of Analysis in African American Historical Anthropology," in *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic*, ed. Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010): 1–45.

85 Rafael López Valdés, "*Abakuá*," in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, Alfredo Prieto and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019): 201; see also his early anthropological work: Rafael López Valdés, "La Sociedad Secreta 'Abakuá' en un Grupo de Obreros Portuarios," *Etnología y Folklore* 2 (1966): 5–26.

86 López Valdés, "*Abakuá*": 201. In the survey of the group of men, the question of the ability to 'read and write' was also asked. Almost everyone could do it to varying degrees, see: "Instructiva," *ANC, CM*, leg. 23, no. 1, f. 18r–32v (several interviews [*instructivas*]).

87 Jan Vansina, "Ambaca Society and the Slave Trade, c. 1760–1845," *Journal of African History* 46 (2005): 1–27.

Fig. 4a–b: (a) Día de los Reyes (Epiphany) (b) Diablito (Little Devil). Both painted by Víctor Patricio de Landaluze. Public domain. Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn); see: *Colección de artículos: Tipos y costumbres de la isla de Cuba por los mejores autores de este género. Obra ilustrada por D. Víctor Patricio de Landaluze, fototipia Taveira* (La Habana: Editorial Miguel de Villa, 1881 [Facsimile edition, La Habana: Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí, 2009]).

American slave ships, the *ambaquistas* interacted mainly with Luso-Africans and Portuguese. As slaves they were called *ladinos*. As in all enslavement societies and slavery regimes, slave traders also lived dangerously – some of them were enslaved themselves and were forced to migrate across the Atlantic as 'talking commodities'.

One of those arrested in the case of Margarito Blanco, a free man, "Bartolomé Villena, natural del partido de Tapaste, vecino del Barrio de Jesús estramuros de esta Ciudad, Soltero de oficio albañil y de edad de diez y siete años de condición libre [Bartolomé Villena, a native of the Tapaste district, a resident of the Jesús Estramuros neighborhood of this city, single, bricklayer, age seventeen, free status]".[88] The coroner asks him when, where and why he was arrested. The man said before the Teniente de Gobernador (coroner):

88 "Instructiva Bartolome Villena," *ANC, CM*, leg. 23, no. 1, La Habana, 13 de Julio de 1839, f. 18r–20r, f. 18r.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 666

Fig. 4a–b (continued)

> Preguntado: quién lo aprehendio, en que día, a que hora, porque causa y de orden de que Señor Juez, dijo: Que el capitán y dos tenientes del Barrio de Jesús María el dia dies del corriente a las cinco de la tarde, hallándose en la casa de la morena Dominga su hermana; y que la causa fue porque dicho Capitán creyó que el declarante estaba reunido con otros negros que había en la Casa inmediata a la de su referida hermana, no siendo así, porque lo que sucedió fue que habiendo salido el esponente para el patio como este no tiene división y es uno mismo el de las dos casa alcanzo a ser allí varios individuos de color que estaban escribiendo y disputando a cual lo hacia mejor y acercándose a ver lo que hacían llegó entonces la justicia y les prendieron a todos sin saber la causa
>
> Asked: who apprehended him, on what day, at what time, for what reason and by order of which Lord Judge, [Villena] said: That the captain and two lieutenants of the Barrio de Jesús María on the tenth day of the current [month] at five in the afternoon, he being in the house of the *morena* Dominga, his sister; and that the cause was because the said Captain believed that the deponent was meeting with other blacks who were in the house next door to that of his sister; but that this was not the case, because what happened was that, the speaker having left by way of the patio, which does not have a division and so is only a single one for both houses, there were several individuals of color there who were writing and arguing over which one was doing better, and he approached to see what they were doing, whereupon the judiciary arrived and arrested all of them without knowing the cause.

The very important statement for the argument of this chapter, which comes up several times in the depositions, is: “varios individuos de color que estaban escribiendo y

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 667

disputando a cual lo hacia mejor" [several individuals of color [. . .] who were writing and arguing over which one was doing it better][89] – meaning writing and reading.

It is striking that these sources, written by enslaved people, are not texts with descriptions of living and working conditions. They are rather texts with a religious function, mixed with economic and cultural matters (chiefs of working gangs of stevedores) and, in the case of Blanco, perhaps with intentions of secret actions. But that probably corresponds to the fact that these papers were preserved. I am sure that more narrative sources of this kind will turn up in archives if we search more intensively.

9 Memories and Other Self-Representations: Individual Cases and Performances

Of course, there were contemporary self-representations of formerly enslaved people (or emancipated slaves) in the form of memories. These are also essentially based on interrogations by others (either depositions or interviews by abolitionist newspapers). But there are also memories and short life stories.

a) The *Emancipado* Lorenzo Clarke: An ex-state slave who did not want to stay in slavery Cuba

An exceptionally valuable self-representation of an ex-enslaved and later emancipated slave (*emancipado*) is that of Lorenzo Clarke (1854). He testified that he was between 35 and 38 years old in 1854 and had arrived in Cuba on the slave vessel *El Negrito* about 22 years earlier (in 1832) (see Fig. 5). Clarke was from Lagos (Oyo) and was captured there in a war between *jefes nativos* (native chiefs).[90] He had to make the passage to Cuba on the large brigantine *El Negrito* together with 560 other abducted and sold people, many of whom were women. (This brigantine was a notorious *negrero* of over 500 tons, which, among other things, had already been hijacked by the English in 1829 under the name *Octavio* and sold to a Spaniard in Sierra Leone under the name *El Negrito* for 5,000 pesos.[91]) On the ship, the women were separated from the men. Many of the en-

89 "Instructiva Bartolome Villena," *ANC, CM*, leg. 23, no. 1, La Habana, 13 de Julio de 1839, f. 18r–20r, f. 18r.

90 Juan Pérez de la Riva, "Antiguos esclavos cubanos que regresaron a Lagos," in *Contribución a la historia de la gente sin historia*, ed. Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux and Juan Pérez de la Riva (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1974): 163–90.

91 See the 1832 crew employment contract for this voyage: "Contrata," Bergantin Negrito, Francisco Antonio de Sarria, capitan y maestre, La Habana, 14 de Junio de 1832, expedicion a las islas del Principe y Santomé, *ANC, Notaría Marina* 1832, f. 264v–265v. On the sale of 1829: "Certification" *ANC, Notaría Marina* 1830, f. 452r William Cole, Colony of Sierra Leone, 26 of December 1829; see also "V.ta de Buq.e" [Sale of Ship], D.n Antonio Malvan, La Habana, 10 de Julio 1830 (sale to Antonio Maria de Viniegras for 5000 pesos), ibid., f. 452r–468r. The 1829 Sierra Leone acknowledgment of sale is part of the

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 668

slaved were ill and 22 people died. They were extremely cramped on the steerage decks, and it was difficult to sit down. An English cruiser raised the *Negrito* and directed it to Havana.[92] Clarke's African name was *Ocusona* or *Okusona* (Òkúsọ́ná = *lucumí*, meaning *nación lucumí*).[93] Lorenzo Clarke remembered his crossing on the slave ship *El Negrito* very well and also talked about his time in the Alameda barracks (*barracones del Consulado*) and other barracks (Consulate del Lucillo [Husillo]).[94] They were held there for 22 days, until they regained their strength. Then some of the enslaved were taken to the *Consulado del Cerro* [*barracón* Misericordia at the end of the *Paseo Militar* (today Carlos III)], where their names were noted in a book. Clarke had to work as an *emancipado* in road construction and in the construction of the railway from Havana to Güines. While building the railroad, Lorenzo became a personal slave to an American engineer named Clarke (who is also the source of Lorenzo's last name). Clarke cheated him out of 300 pesos out of earnings (*ahorros*) and a lottery win; so Lorenzo Clarke sent a complaint (*queja*) to the Captain General, who ordered him to a *síndico*. The *síndico* questioned him about his history (life history) and his status, informed him about his rights as an *emancipado* and forced the engineer to hand over the

Havana sale contract. There is a list of the crew who brought the ship to Praia, Cape Verde, and from there to Havana (38 men, very cosmopolitan, including people from Bremen, New York, Pernambuco, Ibiza, Madeira, Philadelphia, Gallinas, Cape Verde, London, Maracaibo, Bordeaux, Vienna, Faro, Baltimore, Praia, 22 de Março de 1830, Secretario do Governo Antonio Marques da Contabares, in ibid., f.460r. See "Contrata,", la Habana, 25 de octubre de 1830, Don Francisco Azpeitiya, segundo piloto (second pilot), for another human trafficking voyage, an "expedicion de este Puerto á las Yslas de Prinipe y Santomé [expedition from this Port to the Islands of Principe and Santomé]" (f. 650v), in ibid., 1830, f. 650v–651v. For the voyage that took place from June 1832, back to São Tomé; see "Contrata," La Habana, 14 de Junio de 1832, in ibid., f. 264v–265v, with 9 officers, boatmen, craftsmen, a surgeon (Don José Sacramento, 25 pesos), cook as well as 9 seamen (25 pesos) and 10 novice seamen (*mozos*, 20 pesos), 1 page (15 pesos), the two 2nd officers got 50 pesos each (everything for 265r) – very high earnings.

92 Anon., "Cuban Slaves in England," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter. Under the Sanction of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, vol. 2, Third Series (London: Peter Jones Bolton, 1854): 234–39; Pérez de la Riva, "Antiguos esclavos cubanos que regresaron a Lagos": 163–90; Michael Zeuske and Vicent Sanz, "*El Negrito* y la microeconomía política de la trata negrera en el Atlántico: La arribada a puerto con un cargamento de esclavizados," in *Reflejos de la esclavitud en el arte: Imágenes de Europa y América*, ed. Aurelia Martín Casares, Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco and Andrea Schiavon (Valencia: tirant humanidades, 2021): 138–60.

93 Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824–1841," *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 23–44, 32; see also: Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Transcription Methodology and Statistical Analysis," *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 107–35.

94 Henry B. Lovejoy, "New Lucumí from Òyó," in Henry B. Lovejoy, *Prieto: Yorùbá Kingship in Colonial Cuba during the Age of Revolutions* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018): 96.

money. Lorenzo received his papers as a *liberto* (newly liberated ex-slave)[95] and worked as a stevedore in the port.[96]

Lorenzo Clarke returned to Lagos with other ex-enslaved/*emancipado* people.[97]

Fig. 5: Slave vessel El Negrito. Privately owned; courtesy of the owner. Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn); see also: Pablo Diener, Katherine Manthorne and François Mathurin Adalbert, Barón de Courcy, *Ilustraciones de un viaje, 1831–1833* (México: Artes de México, 1998): 29, 93; Michael Zeuske and Vicent Sanz, "El Negrito y la microeconomía política de la trata negrera en el Atlántico. La arribada a puerto con un cargamento de esclavizados," in *Reflejos de la esclavitud en el arte. Imágenes de Europa y América*, ed. Aurelia Martín Casares, Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco and Andrea Schiavon (Valencia: tirant humanidades, 2021): 139–60.

b) Ex-slave and free *morena* Belén Álvarez

The most interesting information about Africa (the Oyo Empire in what is now Nigeria) has been written down in the case of an ex-slave named Belén Álvarez. Belén,

95 Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes, "Los libertos," in Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes, *Para librarse de lazos, antes buena familia que buenos brazos: Apuntes sobre la manumisión en Cuba* (La Habana: Editorial Oriente, 2009): 152–69.

96 Pérez de la Riva, "Antiguos esclavos cubanos que regresaron a Lagos": 163–90, 172.

97 Pérez de la Riva, "Antiguos esclavos cubanos que regresaron a Lagos": 163–90.

morena libre, *lucumí*, was born in Africa and taken to Cuba, single and without children. She died in Havana in 1887 (one year after the final abolition of slavery) at the age of 65.[98] She had suffered from heart disease for a long time, but did not leave a will. When she died she owned two stone houses with tiled roofs, an eight-room built *solar* for rent, expensive furniture and trinkets, and a 6,500 pesos account in the *Banco Español de La Habana*. Two white caretakers were in her service. Belén was rich. For a time, she also owned and traded slaves. One slave sale is documented in a record (notary's protocol) from 1845. Belen Alvarez, as she is called in this document, sells a young mother with a six-month-old infant:

> Maria Belen Alvarez morena libre viuda vecina de esta Ciudad otorgo que vendo en favor de D.a Toribia Martinez viuda vecina del Barrio de Jesus Maria extramuros una negra mi esclava nombrada Carmen de nacion Mandinga como de veinte y cinco años de edad y su hija nombrada Trinidad [. . .] expresada negra [. . .] compré á Da Ysabel Miranda [. . .] [es] labandera y planchadora [. . .] [precio] trescientoscincuenta pesos [. . .] trescientos la madre en que se halla coartada para no poder ser vendida en mayor suma
>
> Maria Belen Alvarez, free *morena*, a widow and resident of this City, I declare that I sell in favor of Doña Toribia Martinez, a widow from the Barrio de Jesus Maria outside the walls, a black woman, my slave named Carmen of the Mandinga nation, about twenty-five years old, and her daughter named Trinidad [. . .] the said black woman [i.e. the slave] [. . .] I bought from Doña Ysabel Miranda [. . .] [she is] a laundress and ironer [. . .] [price] three hundred and fifty pesos [. . .] three hundred for the the mother, to which she is limited so she may not be sold for a larger sum.[99]

Belén Álvarez had no husband and no children. As mentioned, she also left no will (*intestado* = i.e., a legal case when a person had died without a will). Her niece Evarista González y Gómez was her direct heir. However, the niece could not accept the inheritance easily. Evarista had to prove, first, that Belén's parents (Evarista's grandparents in Africa/Oyo) had been legally married and, second, that her father Agustín González really was Belén Álvarez's biological brother and Belén thus her aunt. To this end, Evarista filed a *juicio intestado* with the help of a lawyer (*procurador*) named Juan Martí. The testimonies in this court case show how much the slave trade and slavery destroyed traditional social relationships and names and transculturated the identities of those who were abducted from Africa. Belén's parents had married in Oyo according to local rites and had always stayed in Africa.[100] There was no written document about

---

98 Intestado de la morena Belén Álvarez ANC, *Escribanía de Gobierno*, leg. 864, exp. 9; see also: Ohilda Hevia Lanier, "Reconstruyendo la historia de la exesclava Belén Álvarez," in *Afrocubanas: Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales*, ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo and Inés María Martiatu Terry (La Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2011): 30–53.

99 "Venta de esclavas,", La Habana, 14 de noviembre de 1845 *ANC, Notaría Marina 1845*, f. 559r–v; Belén Alvárez Belén probably could not write but had a signature; she signs this way: "Belenalbares".

100 Intestado de la morena Belén Álvarez ANC, *Escribanía de Gobierno*, leg. 864, exp. 9, f. 112r–118r, Juan Martí, La Habana, 15 de noviembre de 1887 (Martí opens *juicio intestado* and explains his motives as well as the procedure, questions and the results of questioning the witness).

the African wedding. Moreover, there was nothing written about the illegal import (after 1820 the Atlantic slave trade was illegal in the Spanish Empire) as abductees of an *expedicion negrera*, as lawyer Juan Martí emphasized several times, there "no había [. . .] traza alguna"[101] – there was not a trace – of a written form (a lie). Evarista was therefore unable to prove immediately in written form that her father and Belén were the children of a legitimately married couple and that they were actually biological siblings. However, the *Ley de Enjuiciamiento Civil* allowed witnesses to be questioned who might have seen the wedding and who could also testify that Evarista's aunt (Belén) and father (Agustín) were siblings. The testimonies state that the parents of the enslaved siblings were Esin (or Esí) and Dadá and that Agustín had borne the name Oyó and Belén Luoco in Oyo. According to their statements, both siblings (and the witnesses) came from the "tribu de Oyó", i.e., from the famous Oyó empire (or Oyo) in today's Nigeria, had arrived in Cuba on the same (illegal) slave ship and had been sold to different owners there. As urban house slaves they bore the surnames (*apellidos*) Álvarez and González. Agustín was married to María Loreto Gomez (Evarista's mother). Slaves should marry; then they were considered "casados y seguros [married and safe]".[102] Although all friends and other relatives knew that both were siblings and treated them as such, it was difficult to provide legal proof for Martí's "slavery reasons" mentioned above. The lawyer searched and found five elderly former slaves. All of them lived in Regla near to Havana and belonged to the "tribu de Oyó". They came from the same area in Africa and had been abducted with the siblings in the same slave vessel. All had lived in the same African *caserío* (settlement) as Agustín and Bélen's parents and had seen their wedding. Martí made them testify. A man who apparently used an African name as surname, Manuel Curunié, for example, remembered and stated: "Preguntado si conocio a Agustin y Belen en Africa y á los padres de ellos dijo: que vivian muy inmediatos y por eso los conocia y sabe cuanto ha dicho [Asked if he knew Agustin and Belen in Africa and their parents, he said: that they lived very close and that is why he knew them and knows how much he has said]". A memory and a narrative presentation of a life history covering several generations (and their African roots) very close to the time of slavery and of life *in* slavery.

c) Ex-Slave and Free *moreno* Antonio Pérez

The ex-slave Antonio Pérez declares paternity of a boy and gives the child his African genealogy as a memory and as part of his life history:

> [. . .] Ante mi [. . .] comparece el moreno libre Antonio Perez, sin segundo apellido, natural del pueblo de Yisá, de nacion Lucumí, en Africa, soltero, de edad de cincuenta y un años, labrador de campo y de este domicilio, [. . .] y dice: que con motivo de las relaciones amorosas que llevó con la de su clase, morena libre Regina Pared, natural y vecina de esta ciudad, soltera, mayor de

101 Ibid., f. 115v.

102 María del Carmen Barcia, "Desbrozando caminos para el estudio de la familia esclava en Cuba," *Anales de Caribe* (2004): 79.

> edad, y ya difunta, de sus resultas dió luz la misma el dia veinte de Diciembre de mil ochocientos setenta y ocho [1878] un niño, que cual hijo de ella y de padre no conocido, fué bautizado [. . .] con el nombre de Julio Domingo [. . .]. Respecto a dicho niño, por la presente [. . .] otorga: que declara y reconoce por su hijo natural al nombrado Julio Domingo [. . .] y por lo tanto le corresponde el derecho á los alimentos y educacion, y á sucederle como heredero forzoso [. . .] facultándole para que desde luego pueda usar su apellido; queriendo dejar consignado á los efectos oportunos que los abuelos paternos del niño reconocido eran Yícocun Hova y Fá Chipe, ambos naturales de dicho pueblo de Yisá, y ya difuntos [. . .]
>
> Before me [. . .] appears the *moreno* Antonio Perez, without a second surname, a native of the town of Yisá, of the Lucumí nation, in Africa, single, fifty-one years old, a farm worker from this place [. . .] and says: that with respect to the amorous relations he had with a free *morena* of his class, Regina Pared, native and resident of this city, single, of legal age, and already deceased, as a result of which she gave birth on December twentieth, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight [1878], to a child, who as a son of hers and of an unknown father, was baptized [. . .] with the name of Julio Domingo [. . .]. With respect to the said child, hereby [. . .] [Antonio] declares: that he declares and recognizes as his natural son[103] the aforementioned Julio Domingo [. . .] who therefore has a right to food and education, and to succeed him as his legal heir [. . .] – so that as of now he is entitled to use his last name; wanting to record for the appropriate purposes that the paternal grandparents of the acknowledged child were Yícocun Hova and Fá Chipe, both natives of said town of Yisá, and already deceased [. . .][104]

The memory of the father Antonio is linking a sugar mill in middle Cuba and a barrio in Cienfuegos, where his 'natural son' Julio Domingo was living, with the collapsed Oyo empire in what is now Nigeria – what a transatlantic life history!

d) *Negra* María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno

These biographical transatlantic references to Africa form something like a known, but hidden tradition in Cuba. Reyita (María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, 1902–1997), who told her biography and life story to her daughter Daisy Rubiera, a famous Black historian of Cuba, remembers her grandmother from Angola.[105] Daisy Rubiera's mother, nicknamed Reyita, told her daughter what she had heard about the fate of her beloved grandmother, nicknamed Tatica, as a child. Tatica was from Cabinda (Portuguese Congo). She was kidnapped from her village as a child and, together with two sisters, crossed the Atlantic, and was taken to a sugar plantation (*hacienda* Hechavarría) in eastern Cuba.

---

103 Karen Y. Morrison, "Creating an Alternative Kinship: Slavery, Freedom and the Nineteenth-Century Afro-Cuban hijos naturales," *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 1 (2007): 55–80.

104 "Acta de reconocimiento de hijo natural por el M.eno [Moreno] Antonio Perez," Cienfuegos, 28 de Febrero de 1885 *AHPC, Protocolos José Rafael de Villafuerte y Castellanos*, 1885, t. 1 (Enero–Abril), fols. 164r–166v (escritura no. 27).

105 Michael Zeuske, "Schwarze Erzähler – weiße Literaten. Erinnerungen an die Sklaverei, Mimesis und Kubanertum," in *Ich, Reyita. Ein kubanisches Leben*, ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo, trans. Max Zeuske (Zurich: Rotpunktverlag, 2000): 211–62 (Spanish original: Daisy Rubiera Castillo, *Reyita, sencillamente (Testimonio de una negra cubana nonagenaria)* [La Habana: Prolibros, 1997]; in English: *Reyita. The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century. By María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, as Told to her Daughter Daisy Rubiera Castillo* [Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000]).

One of her daughters, Isabel, Reyita's mother, was later a domestic slave and raped by a male member of the *amo* family at the Hechavarría sugar mill. The owners had the surname (*apellidos*) Castillo Hechavarría. When slavery came to an end (abolition in 1886), the slaves of the Hechavarría plantation had to adopt the Hechavarría name as their civil surname. Since many members and relatives of Reyita's family were *mambises* (an African-Cuban slang term for fighters for Independence) in the 1895 War of Independence, they thereafter, as veterans, changed their name from that of the enslaver and enlisted in the registers with the surname Castillo Bueno.[106]

e) Esteban Montejo – The *cimarrón* Boy who Remembers his Life *in* Slavery Eighty Years Later

There are also less timely 'memories from the future'. The most important memory from the future is the *testimonio* by Esteban Montejo 1860 (1868)–1974 (Fig. 6). The Cuban revolutions in the twentieth century (1930s, 1950s) took place at a time when many people from the time of Atlantic slavery (1500–1886) were still alive in Cuba or at least the first and second generations of their descendants were active. Ex-slaves and their descendants, too. There is a tradition among Cuban intellectuals dealing with the subject of slaves, slavery, and the slave trade to seek advice from informants from this group.[107] They listened to their narratives and wrote them down. The informants were a *fuente viva* (a 'living source'). The writer Miguel Barnet founded a book series using this title (*Colección la Fuente Viva*) in his foundation (*Fundación Fernando Ortiz*) and published a book with this title.[108] Since the plantation proprietor and slave-owning writer Anselmo Suárez y Romero (who turned the life of the slaves on his sugar mill *Suriname* into literature) this tradition was an important basis for all research – including the works of Lydia Cabrera and Fernando Ortiz and many others. After all, Ortiz published a book with the title *Los esclavos negros* and not with the title "Slavery" or "The Slave Trade".[109] Ortiz subordinated the two structural concepts to his cultural history of people *in* slavery – even if it did not yet use the concept of life history.

Miguel Barnet did so, too. Esteban Montejo, in the parts of the book about the slavery era, recalled the 'normal' life of slaves in the *barracones* (barracoons: the nineteenth-century 'modern' plantation slave housing) (see Fig. 7). He talks less about work than about social relationships, resistance, dance, music, festivals, women, sex,

106 See "Anmerkungen," in Rubiera Castillo, ed., *Ich, Reyita*: 189–96, 189, footnotes 2 and 3; Zeuske, "Schwarze Erzähler – weiße Literaten": 211–62.

107 For a more general picture see: Martin Lienhard, *Disidentes, rebeldes, insurgents: Resistencia indígena y negra en América Latina. Ensayos de historia testimonial* (Vervuert: Iberoamericana, 2008).

108 Miguel Barnet, *La fuente viva* (La Habana: Editora Abril, 2019) [first edition: 1970].

109 Fernando Ortiz, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos. Estudio sociológico y de derecho público* (La Habana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916) [rev. edition: Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1975)].

Fig. 6: Photo of Esteban Montejo. Collection of images. Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn).

food, colors, clothes, love affairs, bets, Chinese coolies, *naciones*, as well as short escapes to the pubs (*cantinas*) surrounding the plantations to do business, drink, and gamble. According to the book's perspective, there were also joys in slavery. The problem with this form of memory, self-presentation and its being written down by a white writer is that we do not know what Esteban Montejo portrays in a glorified way from the perspective of an old man (who was between 90 and 100 years old when narrating [appendix 4]) and what the writer did not include in his documentation of the narration. Despite these reservations, the book is the best, most colorful and most interesting account of the inner life of the slaves in the barracoons on sugar-plantations of the second slavery. It is also a coherent biography of important stages of an actor's life history, something like an aria in a huge choir of less individual subaltern voices and profiles.

In addition to a chapter on the 1895 War of Independence and the involvement of sons of enslaved mothers, such as Esteban Santa Teresa (this was his 'first' slave name, because he was born and lived as a formally 'free' boy on the sugar mill Santa Teresa), a later chapter shows that not much had changed for ex-slaves and black

Fig. 7: Ingenio with barracón. Ingenio Unión (Cantero/Laplante). Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn). Taken from: Luis Miguel García Mora and Antonio Santamaría García, eds., *Los Ingenios. Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid: CEDEX_CEHOPU; CSIC, Fundación MAPFRE Tavera y EDICIONES Doce Calles, S.L., 2005): 182.

sugar workers in the 'post-slavery' labor regimes.[110] Esteban Montejo, as a *mambí* (freedom fighter), also changed his slaver surname after the War of Independence and entered the civil register with the status of two *apellidos*: Esteban Montejo y Mera.[111] There is a slave who could probably tell more about the birth and early life of Esteban Santa Teresa. In a notary's protocol we can read:

> Sagua la Grande en veinticuatro de noviembre [1869] . . . ante mi [. . .] compareció D. Francisco Santos de Lamadrid, de este vecindario [. . .] dijo: que con poder bastante [. . .] de D. Tomás Ribalta [. . .] ahorra de cautiverio y servidumbre y dá libertad á la negra gangá nombrada Trinidad Machado, como de cincuenta años y perteneciente á la dotación del Yngenio Santo Tomás propiedad de su representado; y procede por la suma de mil ochenta y ocho escudos á sean quinientos

110 The latest German edition: Miguel Barnet, *Der Cimarrón. Die Lebensgeschichte eines entflohenen Negersklaven aus Cuba, von ihm selbst erzählt*, trans. Lisa Grüneisen (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999); English translation: Miguel Barnet, *Biography of a Runaway Slave*, trans. W. Nick Hill (Evanstone: Curbstone/Northwestern University Press, 2016).

111 Zeuske, "Schwarze Erzähler – weiße Literaten": 211–62.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 676

> cuarenta y cuatro pesos que de dicha morena ha recibido el otorgante en monedas corrientes a su satisfacción [. . .]. Fran.co S. de Lamadrid
>
> Sagua la Grande, the twenty-fourth day of November [1869] . . . before me [. . .] appeared D.[on] Francisco Santos de Lamadrid, of this neighborhood [. . .] [and] said: that with sufficient power [. . .] of D.[on] Tomás Ribalta [. . .] he saves from captivity and servitude and gives freedom to the black *gangá* woman named Trinidad Machado, about fifty years old and belonging to the staff of the Yngenio Santo Tomás [the other sugar mill owned by Tomás Ribalta, MZ], his client's property; and further that the grantor has received from the said *morena* the sum of one thousand eighty eight escudos, or five hundred forty four pesos, in current coins to his satisfaction [. . .] Fran.co S. de Lamadrid.[112]

Unfortunately, we have no other sources about and from Trinidad Machado.

10 Body Markers and Corporal Representations: Dancing Devils

Special cases of self-representations were body markers, performances, and religious masquerades. They are special because they are not written texts, but visualizations. Almost all enslaved people from Africa had body markings and/or tattoos, denture mutilations, and scarifications.[113] In Africa, these were primarily affiliation and status markers.[114] Raid enslavers and slave traders in Africa and – as Atlantic slave traders – on the coasts of Africa recognized enslaved people based on these markers and assigned them to *naciones*. Enslaved people on ships formed groups, often lifelong friend-

112 N.o 284 "Libertad.", Sagua la Grande, 24 de Noviembre de 1869, *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Villa Clara*, Santa Clara (*AHPVS*), Protocolos Notariales de Antonio Ponce, 1869 Enero-Diciembre, f. 290v–291v.

113 Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby, eds., *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010); João José Reis and Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004): 77–110; Sandra Estévez Rivero, Pedro Castro Monterrey and Olga Portuondo Zúñiga, eds., *Por la identidad del negro cubano* (Santiago de Cuba: Ediciones Caserón, 2011); Michael Zeuske, *Sklavenhändler, Negreros und Atlantikkreolen: Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015); José Antonio Piqueras, ed., *Orden político y gobierno de esclavos: Cuba en la época de la segunda esclavitud y de su legado* (Valencia: Centro Francisco Tomás y Valiente UNED Alzira; Fundación Instituto de Historia Social, 2016).

114 Paul E. Lovejoy, "Scarification and the Loss of History in the African Diaspora," in *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic*, ed. Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010): 99–138.

ships and quasi-kinship relationships (*carabelas*) based on these visual identification markers.[115] Those who were enslaved by Iberian slave traders and slave owners as well as ex-slaves adopted the term associated with their respective *nación* and activated the African symbols, here the tattoos, dermographs and corporal markers/scarifications, of their life histories for their re-socialization in the Americas (see Figs. 4a–b). In the religious masquerades for (permitted) catholic processions/celebrations, the masked religious leaders of the legal (*cabildos*[116]) and illegal associations of ex-slaves, free blacks as well as *pardos* and *mulatos* presented themselves as cultural counter-hegemony. Free ex-slaves also formed one of the first street cultures in the world and dressed/masked in the latest fashions (see Fig. 8). This was *transculturación*.[117]

But there was also control and oppression: The latest technologies were also used to recognize escaped slaves, to fight diseases/epidemics or to prove racist theories through visualization. Often all three problem areas together.[118]

One of the many descriptions of body markers and their use for control and as emerging biotechnology for person recognition is that of a *cimarrón* named Julián macuá in the *depósito de esclavos* [penal depot]: "como de 28. a.s buena estatura, embuelto en carnes, cabal dentadura y afilados los de arriba, rallitas [rayitas] en la f. [ren]te dijo ser de D. José Maria de la Cruz: vecino del Aguac.te [about 28 years old, good build, muscular, good teeth and filed the upper [incisors] to a point, scratches

115 Gabino La Rosa Corzo, *Tatuados: Deformaciones étnicas de los cimarrones en Cuba* (La Habana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 2011).

116 *Cabildos* were corporate councils with their own houses as part of Spain's political culture; see: "Expediente donde se relacionan cabildos de distintos barrios, con sus nombres, calles donde hacen sus diversiones y capataces y matronas de que se compónen," *GSC, Cabildo*, leg. 1677, no. 83995 (1843); "Relación de Cabildos del cuarto Distrito," *GSC, Cabildo*, leg. 1677, no. 84010 (1868); "Expediente en que se solicita la aprobación de capataces y matronas para el Cabildo de la nación Carabalí bricamo," *GSC, Cabildo*, leg. 1677, no. 83987 (1864); "Tomas de razón de las patentes de capataces y matronas de los Cabildos de la Santísima Trinidad y de Arará Magino Segundo," *GSC, Cabildo*, leg. 1677, no. 83982 (1865); "Expediente en que el Cabildo de la nación carabalí Isicuato y titulado S. Benito de Palermo solicita permiso para efectuar la reunión con objeto de proceder a la elección de capataz," *GSC, Cabildo*, leg. 1677, no. 83999 (1863); see also: Rafael L. López Valdés, *Pardos y morenos esclavos y libres en Cuba y sus instituciones en el Caribe Hispano* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 2007).

117 Fernando Coronil, "Transculturation and the Politics of Theory: Countering the Center, Cuban Counterpoint," in *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, ed. Fernando Ortiz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995): IX–LVI.

118 Henry Dumont, *Antropología y patología comparadas de los negros esclavos*, trans. L. Castellanos (La Habana: Calle L, esq. a 27, 1922 [1876]); Gabino La Rosa Corzo, "Henri Dumont y la imagen antropológica del esclavo africano en Cuba," in *Historia y memoria: sociedad, cultura y vida cotidiana en Cuba, 1878–1917*, ed. José Amador and Fernando Coronil (La Habana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello; Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program of the University of Michigan, 2003): 175–82; Michael Zeuske, "Doktoren und Sklaven: Sklavereiboom und Medizin als 'kreolische Wissenschaft' auf Kuba," *Saeculum* 65, no. 1 (2015): 177–205.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 678

Fig. 8: Negros curros (Free Blacks). Painted by Víctor Patricio de Landaluze. Public domain. Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn); see: *Colección de artículos: Tipos y costumbres de la isla de Cuba por los mejores autores de este género. Obra ilustrada por D. Víctor Patricio de Landaluze, fototipia Taveira* (La Habana: Editorial Miguel de Villa, 1881 [Facsimile edition, La Habana: Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí, 2009]).

[decorative scars] on the forehead he says he is [slave] to Don José María de la Cruz: citizen of Aguacate]".[119] (Fig. 9)

119 Negros cimarrones que quedaron existentes en las obras de caminos en 31. de Diciem. de 1830 (La Habana), Noviem.e 25 (1831) *ANC, Miscelánea de Libros*, no. 2370, f. 190r.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 679

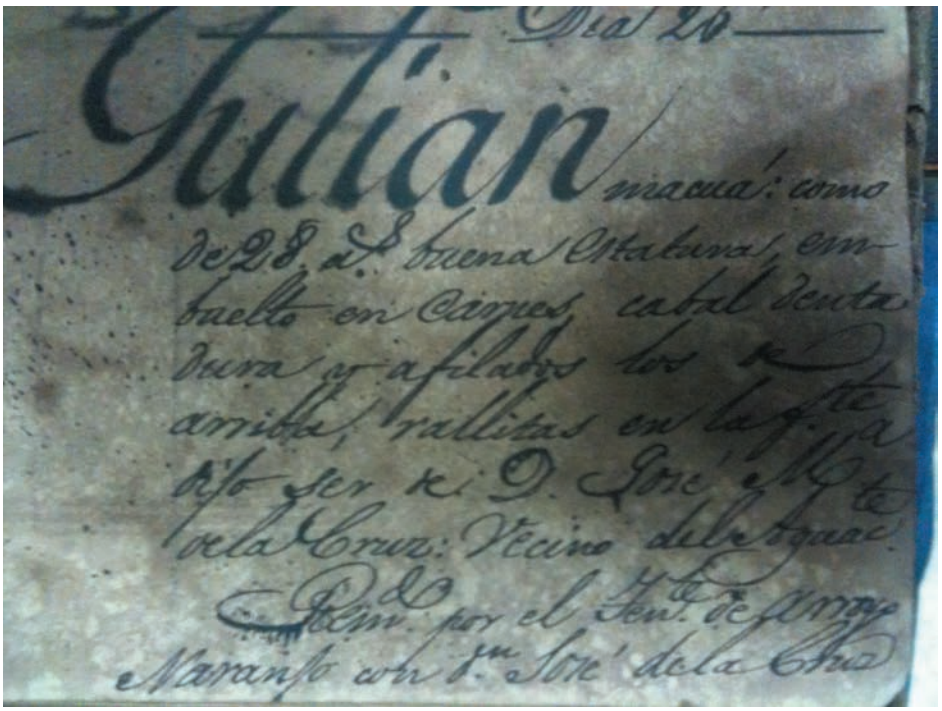


Fig. 9: Description of a *cimarrón* named Julián. From ANC, Miscelánea de Libros, no. 2370: Negros cimarrones que quedaron existentes en las obras de caminos en 31. de Diciem. de 1830 (La Habana), Noviem.e 25 (1831), f. 190r. Private archive of Michael Zeuske (Leipzig/Bonn).

11 A Short Conclusion

Self-representations of enslaved people *in* slavery are not a myth. They existed. They are in the archives. But they are extremely rare, hard to find and, with very few exceptions, not written by slaves themselves. The words of slaves were almost always heard (and written down) by men in functions of control and oppression or members of slavery society who benefited from slaves and slavery/the slave trade or had jobs in and because of slavery as an economic system. Few were friendly to enslaved people. But there are touching examples of people who listened to slaves or ex-slaves and wrote down their words. It is still a kind of non-history, primarily *in* slavery.[120] Immediately after the formal end of slavery, ex-slaves themselves, first of all women, started to use the notary offices.[121] We can start to fill this void of non-history with

120 Michael Zeuske, "Die Nicht-Geschichte von Versklavten als Archiv-Geschichte von 'Stimmen' und 'Körpern'," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 16 (2016): 65–114.

121 Rebecca J. Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Property in Writing, Property on the Ground: Pigs, Horses, Land, and Citizenship in the Aftermath of Slavery, Cuba, 1880–1909," *Comparative Studies in Society and History. An International Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (2002): 669–99; Rebecca J. Scott and Michael Zeuske, "Le 'droit d'avoir des droits'. Les revendications des ex-esclaves à Cuba (1872–1909)," *Annales HSS*, no. 3 (2004): 521–45.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 680

life histories, depositions, images, and artifacts, as well as reports on legal and illegal associations (often connected with the so-called slave religions, such as *santería, palo monte*, *vudú*, *espiritismo*, *abakuá*, ancestor invocations, etc.[122]). I wish we could fill the void with music, performances, songs, rhythms and lyrics too, but this extremely interesting type of sources is almost impossible to date at all.

Appendix

1) Examinations

> At Nassau, New Providence, between the 8th and 15th of February 1841; before the Governor, Colonel Francis Cockburn, the Hon. W.^{m} Hamlyn, a member of H.M.'s Council of Collectors of H.M.'s Customs; Robert Duncome Esq.^{re}, Police Magistrate of the Colony, Charles R. Nesbett Esq.^{re} Provincial Secretary, and Keeper of the Records, and John Richardson Esq.^{re}, Principal Medical Officer, and which took place in consequence of a Letter, a copy of which is hereto attached from David Turnbull Esq.^{re}, Her Britannic Majesty's Consul and Agent for Captured Slaves at Havana, referring to the treatment of certain Africans, on their passage from Africa to Havana, by one Vicente Morales, the Master of a Slave Vessel called "Jesus Maria" and which was captured by Her Majesty's Ship "Ringdone" [. . .] [a huge list of crimes and raped as well as killed children follows; here are some excerpts] No. 139. Crossy. – an African Girl of about the age of 14 years, one of the Witnesses named in the Despatch, being examined through an Interpreter named Thomas Weatherfield, a Private Soldier in H. M.'s 2.d W.I. Regiment [a colored or Black soldier, MZ], states that while on board the "Jesus Maria", Manual [sic], an African, one of the Captain's servants broke a Demyohn [a clay bottle, MZ] containing Rum, on account of which the Captain, Vicente Morales, took a stick and severely beat him, which caused his Death, in about two days after, as the Examinant believes, and that the Cotton steeped in Rum and Gunpowder was put up the Fundament of several of the Africans for the avowed purpose of destroying worms.- No. 150.- Mahuma and 146 *Mamboisi*, African Females about 12 years of age, examined, and fully corroborate the foregoing statement of Crossy No. 139. No. 147.-Cunha a Female, -No. 7 Barron and No. 3 Duba, Males, also corroborate the statement of Crossy in the fullest manner. In reference to the cruelties and abuses committed on the Females on board the Schooner "Jesus Maria" and alluded to in the Despatch the following examinations were taken viz:

---

122 Joel James [Figarola], José Millet and Alexis Alarcón, *El Vodú en Cuba* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 1998); Margerite Fernández Olmos and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santería to Obeah and Espiritismo* (New York: New York University Press, 2003); Jesús Fuentes [Guerra] and Grisel Gómez Gómez, *Cultos afrocubanos: Un estudio etnolingüístico* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1994); Fuentes Guerra, *La nganga africana: Un tratado de magía blanca y medicina tradicional* (Cienfuegos: Ediciones Mecenas, 2000); Fuentes Guerra and Armin Schwegler, *Lengua y ritos del Palo Monte Mayombe. Dioses cubanos y sus fuentes africanas* (Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana, 2005); Claudia Rauhut, *Santería und ihre Globalisierung in Kuba: Tradition und Innovation in einer afrokubanischen Religion* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2012); Montserrat Becerril García and Anne-Marie Brenot, *Diccionario negro de Cuba. Palabras y testimonios del siglo XIX* (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert-Iberoamericana, 2016).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 681

No. 167. Jumer, African Girl, about 12 years, examined and states that no Spaniard, or other Person had any connection with her.
No. 148. Jaddy, an African Girl about 14 years examined, states that one of the sailors of the "Jesus Maria", had connection with her against her will, and that she was previously a Virgin.
No. 147. Cunha, a Girl about 14 years of age examined, states that one of the crew of the "Jesus Maria", a Black Man, forced her to have connection with him, and against her will.
No. 171. Mamber, a Girl about 11 years of age, states that one of the Crew of the "Jesus Maria" held her while another had connection with her, they were black men, she was much hurt at this time.
No. 168.-Mania, a Girl about 13 years of age, examined, states that the Captain of the "Jesus Maria" held her nose and mouth to keep her from screaming and had connection with her, she was hurt at the time.
No. 140.-Matta, a Girl about 15 years of age, states that a Black Man, one of the Crew of the "Jesus Maria" held her mouth and beat her with a Rope to have connection with her, and that she cried after the Rape had been perpetrated.
No. 157.-Lah, a Girl about 11 years of age, states that one of the Sailors of the "Jesus Maria" threatened to kill her, if she did not allow him to have connection with her and that he hurt her very much at the time. [. . .]
Examinations taken at the African Hospital on the 9th February 1841, through Interpreters named Jenny Colebrooke and Bella Dalzell.
No. 47.-Cattaway, a boy about 8 years of age examined and states that a boy named Quallabo was thrown into the Sea, by order of the Captain of the Slave Schooner "Jesus Maria", and drowned, in consequence of the Boy refusing to take medicine: – this examinant fully corroborates the statement of Crossy No. 139 regarding the murder of Manuel.
No. 2.-Fooly, a Boy about 12 years of age, states that he saw Quallabo thrown into the Sea and drowned, it was by orders of the Captain of the "Jesus Maria", he was thrown overboard by the Sailors."[123]

2) Representación al Señor Alcalde Ordinario [Representation to the Lord Mayor] (1818)[124]

Primeramente diga como es verdad que lo compré en la costa de Africa en el año de mil ochocientos, y desde entonces lo apliqué á mi servicio.
2 Ytt [Item, MZ]. Como tambien es cierto que lo puse á aprehender el oficio de herrero en una fortaleza inglesa q.e está, en la misma costa de Africa, y en efecto aprehendió bien este oficio y arte.
3 Ytt. Como lo es que situado yo en esta Ciudad y antes de casarme, tenia yo una herreria en mi propia casa, en la que p.r mi cuenta, y a mi vista trabajaba el q.e absuelve.
4 Ytt. Como tambien es verdad q.e luego q.e me case, quité aquella herreria, y apliqué al q.e absuelve como antes a mi servicio domestico.

123 Attachment of a letter from Francis Cockburn of New Providence, Nassau, Bahamas, February 24, 1841 to Lord John Russell (original copy) *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid (*AHN*), Estado, Trata de negros, leg. 8020/45, no. 4.

124 "Representación al Señor Alcalde Ordinario," La Habana y Enero 31 de 1818 *ANC, Escribanía de Daumy*, leg. 370, no. 1 (1818): Daniel Botefeur, contra su esclavo Roberto sobre hurto, f. 7r–9r (original spelling).

5 Ytt. Como tambien es cierto q.e le entregué las llaves de mis almacenes de azucar, café, y otros efectos q.e guardaba en aquellos.
6 Ytt. Como tambien es verdad q. era el único esclavo de /[f. 8v] mi confianza, y p.r este motivo estaba encargado de barrer y asear diariam.te el cuarto escritorio, y atender la cama del dependiente q.e alli dormia, p.r cuyo fin tomaba libremente la llave para hacer este servicio en dicho escritorio, donde entraba y salia sin embarazo.
7 Ytt. Diga como es verdad q.e en dicho cuarto escritorio, q.e está en el descanso de la escalera, tengo una caja grande de hierro en que guardo todo mi dinero.
8 Ytt. Diga como es verdad que habrá ocho meses mas o menos q.e lo llamé un dia para q.e viera y examinara la dicha caxa y su maquina, y en efecto abrió, desarmó la cerradura, untó aceyte á sus piezas, limpiandolas, cuya operacion executó delante de mi, hasta volver á armar la cerradura y dexarla como estaba.
9 Ytt. Como es cierto q.e todos los domingos le daba yo ocho reales [1 peso de a ocho[125]] para cigarros, los que gastaba en este objeto y en su muger é hijos mis esclavos.
10 Ytt. Como tambien es cierto q.e yo le visto á el y á su muger con todo aseo, q.e cuanto me ha pedido siempre tanto le he facilitado: que le he advertido constantemente q.e me pidiese quanto necesitara, y en / [f. 9r] efecto siempre la daba las cosas q.e me pedia.
11 Ytt. Diga como es cierto q.e yo tenia prevenido q.e si alguna persona le hacia algun regalo, especialmente de dinero, o si lo adquiria p.r algun otro motivo justo, me lo dixese, me lo enseñare, no para cogerlo yo, sino para saber con q.e titulo ó razon habia adquirido.
12 Ytt. Como es verdad que nunca me dió aviso de que tuviere dinero alguna; y como tambien le es q.e preguntandole yo una vez si tenia dinero, me contestó que no, haciendome la reconvencion de q.e ¿como podia èl tener dinero?
13 Ytt. Diga como es cierto que habrá un año y medio que se me desaparecieron dos pares de pantalones de casimir nuevos del todo; y q.e preguntandole yo p.r ellos me contestó que los habia tomado un cuñado mio.
14 Ytt. Como tambien es verdad que algun tiempo despues de esta ocurrencia, y durmiendo el q.e contesta en una casa extramuros, donde yo tenia unos negros bosales, lo sorprendí una mañana en que estaba vestido con un par de aquellos pantalones.
15 Ytt. Como es verdad q.e habiendolo yo mandado á una diligencia desde dicha casa extramuros á la q.e tengo en esta Ciudad, al presentarse el q.e absuelve á mi muger vestido con los mismos pantalones, dixo ésta sorprehendida, esos son los pantalones que decías tu haber tomado mi hermano.
16 Ytt. Diga como es cierto que habiendome dicho, habrá tres ó /[f. 9v] cuatro meses, q.e queria ganar jornal, me le niegué à ello diciendole que no estaba en necesidad de tal cosa. –
17 Ytt. Diga como es cierto que habiendome dicho q.e tenia quien lo comprara, le di papel p.r tres dias, el q.e me devolvió el q.e contesta al cabo de media hora, pidiendome perdon.
18 Ytt. Diga quien le ha dado dinero para libertarse á si mismo, á su muger, y a sus hijos segun lo ha dicho en el Tribunal.
19 Ytt. Diga de donde ha adquirido tanta cantidad como necesita para libertarse él, su muger y cuatro hijos.

125 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 Frank Zephyr (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006): 25–52.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 683

20 Ytt. Exprese claramente, y sobre esto llamo la atencion del S.or Asesor el origen de la adquisición del dinero, los medios de haberlo proporcionado, el tiempo q.e hace q.e lo este juntando, la cantidad q.e tenga, quien es su depositario en el dia, quien lo ha sido hasta aqui, sobre lo cual no se omitira circunstancia alguna.
21 Ytt. Diga como es cierto q.e compré á la muger del q.e absuelve en la costa de Africa, bosal, q.e en mi poder se casaron, y q.e los dos no han conocido otro amo q.e yo.
Ytt [sin numeración] Diga como es verdad q.e nunca lo he separado de mi lado que siempre ha estado destinado á mi servicio, q.e nunca ha ganado jornal, y q.e ha sido el criado de todas mis confianzas. Havana y Febrero 26 de 1818.----------
Daniel Botefeur D.r Sebastian Fernandez de Velasco

Firstly I state that it is true that I bought him on the coast of Africa in the year one thousand eight hundred, and from then on, I employed him in my service.
2 Item. Just as it is also true that I put him out to learn the trade of blacksmith in an English fortress that is on the same coast of Africa, and in effect he learned this trade and art well.
3 Item. As it is that located in this City and before I got married, I had a forge in my own house, in which on my own account, and in my own sight, the one who is acquitted worked.
4 Item. As it is also true that after I got married, I removed that forge, and I employed the one who is acquitted as before to my domestic service.
5 Item. As it is also true that I gave him the keys to my stores of sugar, coffee, and other effects that I kept in them.
6 Item. As it is also true that he was the only slave I trusted, and for this reason he was in charge of sweeping and cleaning the writing room daily, and tending the bed of the clerk who slept there, for which purpose he freely took the key to perform this service in said room, where she went in and out without embarrassment.
7 Item. I also state that it is true that in said writing room, which is on the landing of the stairs, I have a large iron box in which I keep all my money.
8 Item. I also state that it is true it will have been about eight months ago that I called him one day to see and examine the said box and its mechanism, and in effect he opened, disassembled the lock, oiled its pieces, cleaning them, which operation he carried out in front of me, until I put the lock back together and left it as it was.
9 Item. As it is true that every Sunday, I gave him eight reales [=1 *peso de a ocho reales*, peso of eight reales[126]] for cigars, which he spent on this object and on his wife and children, my slaves.
10 Item. As it is also true that I dress him and his wife with all cleanliness, that whatever he has asked of me I have given him: that I kept telling him to ask me for whatever he needed, and in effect always have him the things he asked me for.
11 Item. I also state that it is true that I warned him that if someone gave him a gift, especially money, or if he acquired it for some other just reason, he should tell me, he should show it to me, not to take it myself, but to know for what cause or reason he had acquired it.
12 Item. As it is true that he never gave me notice that he had any money; and as it is also [true] that when I asked him once if he had money, he answered no, putting to me the question of how he could have money?

126 Marichal, “The Spanish-American Silver Peso”: 25–52.

13 Item. I also state that it is true that about a year and a half ago two pairs of brand-new cashmere pants disappeared; and that when I asked him about them he replied that a brother-in-law of mine had taken them.
14 Item. As it is also true that sometime after this occurrence the accused was sleeping in a house outside the city walls where I had some *bosal* blacks, where I surprised him one morning as he was wearing a pair of those pants.
15 Item. As it is true that having sent him in a diligence from the said house outside the walls to the one I have in this City, he appeared to my wife dressed in the same pants, whereupon she said, surprised, Those are the pants that you said my brother had taken.
16 Item. I also state that it is true that three or four months ago he told me that he wanted to earn wages, which I refused, telling him that he was not in need of such a thing. –
17 Item. I also state that it is true that having told me that he had someone who would buy him [one of the legal operations of *coartación*, see above, MZ], I gave him a paper for three days, which he returned to me after half an hour, asking for my forgiveness.
18 Item. I ask who gave him money to free himself, his wife, and his children, as he said in court.
19 Item. Where did he acquire the sum of money he needs to free himself, his wife and his four children?
20 Item. He must state clearly, and to this I call the attention of the Assessor, the origin of the the money he acquired, the means by which he obtained it, how much time he has been collecting it, the amount that he has, who kept it for him until now, about which no circumstance must be omitted.
21 Item. I also state that it is true that I bought the woman he acquitted on the coast of Africa, bosal, that they got married in my power, and that the two of them have not known another master than me.
Item. [no number] I also state that it is true that I have never separated him from my side, that he has always been assigned to my service, that he has never earned a wage, and that he has been the servant of all my trust.
Havana and February 26, 1818.----------Daniel Botefeur Mr. Sebastian Fernandez de Velasco[127]

3) Answers to the Interrogation Questionnaire by Roberto Botefeur

[respuestas a las preguntas de la lista arriba] Al prim.o que es exacto que sólo su S.or lo compro en la costa de Africa, y que no / [f. 9v] save si fue el año de ochocientos pero si que era muy joven habiendolo á su servicio desde su adquisicion --------
Al segundo: que el sugeto q.e tenia por amo quando lo compró el q.e interroga lo tenia puesto a aprender el oficio de herrero en una fortaleza Ynglesa cituada en la costa de Africa y que continuo en su aprendizaje en la misma Fortaleza por Ord.n y designa.n de su actual S.or hasta perfeccionarse en el oficio ----------[128]
[Las respuestas de Robin Botefeur en cuanto a la tercera y cuarta pregunta fueron:] “es cierto el contenido de la pregunta”,[129] lo que deja reconocer qué el esclavizado tenía conocimientos legales.

127 Ibid., f. 7r–9r.
128 Ibid., f. 9r–v.
129 Ibid., f. 9v.

"Al quinto: que su amo no le encargo la llabes de sus almacenes como supone en la pregunta aunq.e alguna ves se las franqueaba p.a / [f. 10r] sacarse algunos efectos lo que executaba á su presencia debolvíendosela inmediatam.te que serraba ----------
Al sexto: que si merecia la confianza de su S.or y que entraba diariam.te en el quarto escritorio aseandolo y limpiandolo aunque no tendia la cama donde dormia el dependiente pues esto lo hacia una neg.a [negra] su compañera, que para este servicio tomaba librem.te la llabe [llave] de la referida pieza [cuarto] en la q.e entraba y salia sin embarazo pero siempre á vista de su S.or ó del depend.te ----------
Al septimo: que es cierto que en el precitado quarto escritorio esta la caxa grande de hierro donde el S.or . . . /[f. 10v] . . . guarda todo su dinero ----------
Al octavo: que es cierto todo el contenido de la pregunta ----------
Al noveno: que es cierto q.e su S.or le daba todos los domingos un peso p.a cigarros pero lo guardaba p.a juntar el cap.[ital] de su libertad ó la de su hijo si acaso falleciera sin haverlo ganado jamas ----------
Al decimo: que es cierto que su S.or le tenia prevenido que quando alguna otra persona le hiciera algun regalo de dinero ó si el declarante adquiria algunos reales por algunos medios ilicicizo [ilicitos] se le abisare è instruyese, no para apropiarselo sino para saver la legitimidad de su adquisicion pero que como en cierta ocacion le presentase quatro p.[eso]s y se quedare con / [f. 11r] tres entregandole solo uno, no le bolvio á enseñar otra canti.[dad] de las que adquiria dejando de cumplir aquel presepto [eso significa qué Robin no siguió a los avisos de su amo – eso es importante para la realidad del llamado *peculium* (peculio), MZ].
Al duodecimo: que despues q.e le presento los cuatro p.s de que ha hecho referencia en su ant.r contesta.n no le dio abiso [aviso] ni le comunico que hubiese alg.n dinero y que su S.or no le pregunto jamas ni tenia dinero con cuyo motivo no tubo que hacerle la reconvencion que indica la pregunta ----------
Al decimo tercio: que es cierto que habra tiempo de mas de un año que su S.or le pregunto por dos pares de pantalones de casimir, q.e habian desaparecido, y que le contesto q.e ignoraba su paradero siendo falso el que hubiese asegurado de que los tuvo un cuñado del q.e interroga -------
Al decimo quarto: que le encontro con /[f. 11v] unos pantalones de mesclilla picaros que habia desechado el mismo q.e pregunta no siendo de los pares que le habian robado ó desaparecido ----------
Al decimo quinto: que es falso el cont.o de la pregunta [¡un esclavizado valiente! – MZ] ----------
Al decimo sexto: que es cierto que habrá dos o tres meses, que manifesto a su S.or que queria ganar jornal ò lo vendiese habiendole contestado q.e no tenia necesidad de semejante cosa ----------
Al decimo septimo: que es cierto que pidió a su S.or pap.l [papel – uno de los 'cuatro consuelos', MZ] para buscar amo no por que entonces tubiese qui.[e]n lo comprase, pero q.e habiendole expresado el mismo su S.or que si salia / [f. 12r] de la parte afuera de su casa no bolvia á entrar le debolvio el pap.l q.e ya le habia ministrado pidiendole perdon ----------
Al decimo octabo: que solo tiene dinero para libertarse asi mismo y no á su muger è hijos: que lo habia reunido con los pesos que su amo le daba todos los Domingos, y con otras partidas pequeñas de dinero que le franqueaban algunos amigos del propio su S.or en cuyo servicio se ocupaba algunas veces por mandato de aquel
Al decimo nono: que se remite á su anterior contesta ----------
Al vigesimo: que tendra un capital de / [f. 12v] quinientos p.s poco mas ò menos el que ha podido reunir en los terminos y por los medios q.e lleba inaugurados desde que bino á esta Ciudad [18 años con más o menos 40–50 pesos – es probable, MZ]: que aquella suma la tiene depositadas, doscientos cinquenta y cinco p.s y una onza mas en un dependiente de que le interroga nom-

brado D.n José y el resto lo tiene entregado á una señora blanca, que vive en el Barrio del Monserrate cuyo nombre ignora-
Al vigesimo primo: que es cierto el con.t de la pregunta ----------
Al vigesimo nono [sic, en vez de secundo]: que igualmente es cierto y responde que lo que ha declarado es la verdad no cargo de su juramento se le leyo y espuso estar conforme que es mayor de veinte y cinco a.[demá]s no fir / [f. 13r] mo por que dijo no saver [. . .] el S.or Asesor de que doy fe
Benito [escribiente] Antemi
José Rafael Dequesa

With [?] two attendances [witnesses] To the first [question he said that] it is correct that only his master bought him on the coast of Africa, and that he does not / [f. 9v] know if it was the year eight [een] hundred, but that he was very young, having been at his service since his acquisition ---------
To the second: that the subject he had for a master when he bought him, the one who interrogated him, had him learn the trade of blacksmith in an English fortress located on the coast of Africa and that he continued his apprenticeship in the same Fortress by the order and designation of his current master until completionin the trade-"
[Robin Botefeur's answers to the third and fourth questions were:] "the content of the question is true", which shows that the enslaved person had legal knowledge.
To the fifth: that his master did not entrust him with the keys to his stores as he stated in the question, although he sometimes opened them to [f. 10r] remove some effects, which he did in his presence, returning them to him immediately after closing it ----------
To the sixth: that he did deserve the trust of his master and that he entered the writing room daily tidying and cleaning it although he did not make the bed where the clerk slept because this was done by a *negra* [Black woman], his companion [wife], [and that] for this service he freely took the key of the aforementioned room in which he entered and left without embarrassment but always in view of his master or the clerk–
To the seventh: that it is true that in the aforementioned writing room is the large iron box where the master . . . /[f. 10v] . . . keeps all his money –
To the eighth: that all the content of the question is true –
To the ninth: that it is true that his master gave him a peso every Sunday for cigars, but that he kept it to save up the capital for his freedom, or that of his son in case he died without ever having earned it-
To the tenth: that it is true that his master had warned him that when some other person made him a gift of money or if the declarant acquired some *reales* [money] by some illicit means, he [the master] should be told and advised, not to appropriate them but to be aware of the legitimacy of his acquisition, but that as on a certain occasion he presented him with four pesos and [the master] kept / [f. 11r] three and returned only one to him, he did not again show him [the master] any money that he acquired and so failed to comply with that order [in other words Robin did not follow his master's warnings – that is important for the reality of the so-called *peculium*, MZ].[130]
To the twelfth: that after he showed him the four pesos mentioned in his previous reply, he did not give him notice or inform him that there was any money, and that his master never asked him nor did he have any money, for which reason he did not have to make the reply mentioned in the question –
To the thirteenth: that it is true that it had been more than a year ago that his master asked him about two pairs of cashmere pants which had disappeared, and that he had answered that he did not know their whereabouts, it being false that he had replied that his brother-in-law had them –

130 Question and answer no. 11 are missing in the original.

To the fourteenth: that he [the master – MZ] found him with / [f. 11v] some pantaloons he himself had discarded, not one of the pairs that had been stolen or had disappeared – –
To the fifteenth: that the content of the question is false [a brave enslaved person!, MZ] –
To the sixteenth: that it is true some two or three months ago he told his master that he wanted to earn wages or buy himself, his master answered that he had no need of such a thing –
To the seventeenth: that it is true that he asked his master for a *papel* [paper – written permission to look for a new buyer, one of the so-called 'four consolations', MZ] to look for a [new] master [but] not because he had someone to purchase him, but that having stated the same, his master [said] that if he went outside of his house he need not return again, he returned the paper he had already been given asking for forgiveness –
To the eighteenth: that he only has money to free himself but not his wife and children: that he had saved it up from the pesos that his master gave him every Sunday, and with other small amounts of money that some friends of his master's gave him in whose service he sometimes occupied himself by order of that [master] –
To the nineteenth: that refers to his previous reply –
To the twentieth: that he has a capital of some five hundred pesos more or less, which he has been able to save up by those means ever since he came to this city [i.e. some forty or fifty pesos per year during eighteen years, which sounds feasible, MZ]: that he deposited [half] the money, two hundred and fifty-five pesos and an ounce more, with a clerk named Don José of he who interrogates him,[131] and that he had handed over the rest to a white lady living in the Barrio del Monserrate whose name he does not know.
To the twentieth-one: that the content of the question is true –
To the twenty-ninth [sic, not the twenty-second, MZ]: that it is also true, and he replies that what he has said is the truth, not under oath; it was read to him and he agreed that he is over twenty-five years of age. He did not sign it / [f. 13r] because he said he could not [write] . . . the Assessor that I attest Benito [clerk] Before me Jose Rafael Dequesa".[132]

4) Baptismal Record for the Child Esteban

Estéban Santa Teresa was baptized at the age of six months on August 5, 1869, on the plantation Santa Teresa (near Rodrigo, some kilometers south of Sagua la Grande) by the parish priest Francisco Sirola (from the church of Sagua la Grande) in north-central Cuba. Sirola wrote the following text in the Baptismal Book for Blacks of the Parish Church (Iglesia Parroquial de Ascenso de la Purísima Concepción de Sagua la Grande)[133]:

131 Roberto Botefeur evidently had supporters among the traditional *hacendado* elite (Creole landowners and slave owners who depended in a variety of ways on, and owed money to, slave traders like Daniel Botefeur); the clerk Don José must have been the straw man of this elite.
132 "Declaracion del esclavo Roberto," La Habana, 2 de Marzo de 1818 ibid., f. 9v–13r.
133 Registros parroquiales de bautizo, parroquía Inmaculada Concepción, Sagua la Grande, diocésis Santa Clara (Registros Sagua la Grande); Libro de bautismos de color 4 (domingo, 1 de Marzo de 1868 hasta domingo, 31 de Mayo de 1874), f. 66, nº. 188; on the importance of baptism for enslaved Africans in the diaspora, see: James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kingship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003): 196–97. On the fact that Esteban Montejo was born in 1868 and not in 1860, as claimed in Miguel Barnet's book, see: Michael Zeuske, "The Cimarrón in the Archives: A Re-Reading of Miguel Barnet's Biography of Esteban

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 688

"Nº. 188 Estéban Santa Teresa Mº.Eº. Libre por beneficio de la Ley de 23 de Junio de 1870 Por autorización de S.S.I.	Jueves cinco de Agosto de mil ochocientos sesenta y nueve años: Yo D. Francº. Sirola, Cura Beneficiado de la Iglesia Parroquial de ascenso de la Purísima Concepción de Sagua la Grande y Vicario Fóraneo de ella y su jurisdicción, bauticé solemnemente y puse por nombre Estéban[135] a un niño que nació el día veinte y seis de Diciembre del año próximo pasado [1868, MZ], hijo de la morena Dionisia conga, perteneciente al Ingenio Santa Teresa, de D. Tomas Ribalta. Fué su padrino Quintín criollo,[136] á quien advertí el parentesco espiritual y obligaciones que contrajo; y lo firmé = Francº. Sirola"
No. 188 Estéban Santa Teresa M[oreno].S[lave] Freed by charity of the law on June 23, 1870 [Ley Moret] By authorization of S.S.I.[[134]]	Thursday, August 5, eighteen hundred and sixty-nine: I, D[on] Francisco Sirola, parish priest in charge of the Parish Church of Ascenso de la Purísima Concepción de Sagua de Sagua la Grande and vicar forane of the church and its jurisdiction, solemnly baptized and gave the name Estéban to a child who was born on December 26 of last year [1868], son of the *morena* [Black woman] Dionisia conga who belongs to the *Ingenio* Santa Teresa, by D[on] Tomás Ribalta. His godfather was Quintín criollo, to whom I communicated the spiritual kinship and the commitments he has made;signed = Francisco Sirola.

Bibliography

Almeida, Marcos Abreu Leitão de. "African Voices from the Congo Coast: Languages and Politics of Identification in the Slave Ship Jovem Maria (1850)," *Journal of African History* 60, no. 2 (2019): 167–89.

Anon. "Cuban Slaves in England," *The Anti-Slavery Reporter. Under the Sanction of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, vol. 2, Third Series (London: Peter Jones Bolton, 1854): 234–39.

Apter, Andrew, and Lauren Derby, eds., *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010).

Arnalte, Arturo. *Los últimos esclavos de Cuba: Los niños cautivos de goleta Batans* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2001).

Atkins, Edwin F. *Sixty Years in Cuba* (New York: Arno Press, 1980) [1st ed.: *Sixty Years in Cuba: Reminiscences of Edwin A. Atkins* (Cambridge: At the Riverside Press, 1926)].

Bailey, Anne C. *African Voices of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Beyond the Silence and the Shame* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006).

Montejo," *New West Indian Guide*/*Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 71, no. 3–4 (1997): 265–79; Michael Zeuske, "Der Cimarrón und die Archive. Ex-Sklaven, ethnische Gewalt und Ideologie auf Kuba," *Grenzgänge: Beiträge zu einer modernen Romanistik* 4, no. 8 (1997): 122–39; Michael Zeuske, "Novedades de Esteban Montejo," *Revista de Indias* 59, no. 216 (1999): 521–25, http://revistadeindias.revistas.csic.es/index.php/revistadeindias/article/view/735/806 [accessed 27.01.2022].

134 "Su Santidad Ilustrísima" –"His Most Illustrious Holiness" refers to the bishop in charge.

135 Underlined in the original.

136 Most baptized children also had a godmother (*madrina*), Esteban Santa Teresa had only a godfather (*padrino*). Maybe Quintín criollo was his biological father.

Barcia, María del Carmen. "Desbrozando caminos para el estudio de la familia esclava en Cuba," *Anales de Caribe* (2004): 75–94.

Barnet, Miguel. *La fuente viva* (La Habana: Editora Abril, 2019) [first edition: 1970].

Barnet, Miguel. *Biografia de un cimarrón* (La Habana: Instituto de Etnología y Folklore, 1966).

Barnet, Miguel. *Biografía de un cimarrón* (La Habana: Ediciones Cubanas, ARTEX, 2014).

Barnet, Miguel. *Biography of a Runaway Slave*, trans. W. Nick Hill (Evanstone: Curbstone/Northwestern University Press, 2016).

Barnet, Miguel. *Der Cimarrón. Die Lebensgeschichte eines entflohenen Negersklaven aus Cuba, von ihm selbst erzählt*, trans. Hildegard Baumgart (Berlin: Rütten & Loening, 1970).

Barnet, Miguel. *Der Cimarrón. Die Lebensgeschichte eines entflohenen Negersklaven aus Cuba, von ihm selbst erzählt*, trans. Lisa Grüneisen (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1999).

Becerril García, Montserrat, and Anne-Marie Brenot. *Diccionario negro de Cuba. Palabras y testimonios del siglo XIX* (Madrid/Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert-Iberoamericana, 2016).

Bennett, Herman L. "Writing into a Void: Representing Slavery and Freedom in the Narrative of Colonial Spanish America," *Social Text* 25, no. 4 (2007): 68–89.

Borucki, Alex. "The U.S. Slave Ship Ascension in the Río de la Plata: Slave Routes and Circuits of Silver in the Late Eighteenth-Century Atlantic and Beyond," *Colonial Latin American Review* 29, no. 4 (2020): 630–57.

Branche, Jerome. "'Mulato entre negros' (y blancos): Writing, Race, the Antislavery Question, and Juan Francisco Manzano's Autobiografía," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 20, no. 1 (2001): 63–87.

Bryant, Jonathan M. *Dark Places of the Earth: The Voyage of the Slave Ship Antelope* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2015).

Burnard, Trevor. *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and his Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

Burton, Gera C. *Ambivalence and the Postcolonial Subject. The Strategic Alliance of Juan Francisco Manzano and Richard Robert Madden* (New York: Peter Lang, 2004).

Cabrera, Lydia, *La sociedad secreta Abakuá, narrada por viejos adeptos* (La Habana: Ediciones C.R., 1958).

Calcagno, Francisco. *Poetas de color* (Havana: Imprenta militar de la v. de Soler y compañía, 1978).

Castañeda Fuertes, Digna. "Demandas judiciales de las esclavas en el siglo XIX cubano," in *Afrocubanas: Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales*, ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo and Inés María Martiatu Terry (La Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2011): 17–29.

Coronil, Fernando. "Transculturation and the Politics of Theory: Countering the Center, Cuban Counterpoint," in *Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*, ed. Fernando Ortiz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995): IX–LVI.

Deschamps Chapeaux, Pedro. "Margarito Blanco, el 'Ocongo de Ultan'," *Boletín del Instituto de Historia y del Archivo Nacional* 65 (1964): 95–109.

Deschamps Chapeaux, Pedro. "Testamentaria de pardos y morenos libres en La Habana del siglo XIX," in *Contribución a la historia de gente sin historia*, ed. Pedro Chapeaux Deschamps and Juan Pérez de la Riva (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1974): 97–110.

Díaz, Carmen Guerra, and Isabel Jiménez Lastre. "La industria azucarera cienfueguera en el siglo XIX: Notas históricas para su estudio," *Islas* 91 (1988): 52–76.

Díaz, María del Rosario. "The Tragedy of the Ñáñigos: Genesis of an Unpublished Book," *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 79, no. 3–4 (2005): 229–37.

Diener, Pablo, Katherine Manthorne and François Mathurin Adalbert, Barón de Courcy. *Ilustraciones de un viaje, 1831–1833* (México: Artes de México, 1998).

Dumont, Henry. *Antropología y patología comparadas de los negros esclavos*, trans. L. Castellanos (La Habana: Calle L, esq. a 27, 1922 [1876]).

Estévez Rivero, Sandra, *Pedro Castro Monterrey and Olga Portuondo Zúñiga*, eds., Por la identidad del negro cubano (Santiago de Cuba: Ediciones Caserón, 2011).

Fede, Andrew. *Roadblocks to Freedom: Slavery and Manumission in the United States* (New Orleans: Quid Pro Quo Books, 2011).

Felipe-González, Jorge. "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.

Fernández Olmos, Margerite, and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert. *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santería to Obeah and Espiritismo* (New York: New York University Press, 2003).

Fett, Sharla M. "Middle Passages and Forced Migrations: Liberated Africans in Nineteenth-Century US Camps and Ships," *Slavery & Abolition* 31, no. 1 (2010): 75–98.

Fett, Sharla M. *Recaptured Africans: Surviving Slave Ships, Detention, and Dislocation in the Final Years of the Slave Trade* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

[Figarola], Joel James, José Millet and Alexis Alarcón. *El Vodú en Cuba* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 1998).

Franco, José Luciano, ed. *Autobiografía, cartas y versos de Juan Francisco Manzano* (La Habana: Municipio de la Habana, 1937).

Fuentes [Guerra], Jesús and Grisel Gómez Gómez. *Cultos afrocubanos. Un estudio etnolingüístico* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1994).

Fuentes Guerra, Jesús. *La nganga africana. Un tratado de magía blanca y medicina tradicional* (Cienfuegos: Ediciones Mecenas, 2000).

Fuentes Guerra, Jesús, and Armin Schwegler. *Lengua y ritos del Palo Monte Mayombe. Dioses cubanos y sus fuentes africanas* (Frankfurt am Main/Madrid: Vervuert/Iberoamericana, 2005).

García [Rodríguez], Gloria. *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud* (La Habana: Ciencias Sociales, 2003).

García Rodríguez, Gloria. *Conspiraciones y revueltas: La actividad política de los negros en Cuba (1790–1845)* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2003).

García Martínez, Orlando. "Estudio de la economía cienfueguera desde la fundación de la colonia Fernandina de Jagua hasta mediados del siglo XIX," *Islas* 55–56 (1976–1977): 117–69.

García Martínez, Orlando. *Esclavitud y colonización en Cienfuegos 1819–1879* (Cienfuegos: Ediciones Mecenas, 2008).

García Martínez, Orlando, and Michael Zeuske, "Notarios y esclavos en Cuba, siglo XIX," *Su "único derecho": los esclavos y la ley*, ed. Alejandro de la Fuente (Madrid: Fundación Mapfre/Tavera, 2004) [= *Debate y perspectivas. Cuadernos de Historia y Ciencias Sociales* 4 (2004): 127–70].

García, Mora, Luis Miguel, and Antonio Santamaría García, eds. *Los Ingenios. Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la Isla de Cuba* (Madrid: CEDEX-CEHOPU; CSIC, Fundación MAPFRE Tavera y EDICIONES Doce Calles, S.L., 2005).

Ginzburg, Carlo. "Checking the Evidence: The Judge and the Historian," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 1 (1991): 79–92.

Graden, Dale T. *Disease, Resistance, and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014).

Grinberg, Keila. "Freedom Suits and Civil Law in Brazil and the United States," *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 3 (2001): 66–82.

Guanche [Pérez], Jesús. *Africanía y etnicidad en Cuba (Los componentes étnicos africanos y sus múltiples denominaciones)* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2009).

Humboldt, Alexander von. *Cuba-Werk*, ed. Hanno Beck (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1992).

Johnson, Walter. "On Agency," *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–25.

Johnson, Walter. "White Lies: Human Property and Domestic Slavery aboard the Slave Ship Creole," *Atlantic Studies* 5 (2008): 237–63.

Johnson, Walter. "Agency: A Ghost Story," in *Slavery's Ghost: The Problem of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation*, ed. Richard Follett, Eric Foner and Walter Johnson (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011): 8–30.

Jones, Guno. "The Shadows of (Public) Recognition: Transatlantic Slavery and Indian Ocean Slavery in Dutch Historiography and Public Culture," in *Being a Slave. Histories and Legacies of European Slavery in the Indian Ocean*, ed. Alicia Schrikker and Nina Wickramasinghe (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2020): 269–93.

Kelley, Sean M. *The Voyage of the Slave Ship Hare: A Journey into Captivity from Sierra Leone to South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

Klooster, Wim. "Slave Revolts, Royal Justice, and a Ubiquitous Rumor in the Age of Revolutions," *William and Mary Quarterly* 71, no. 3 (2014): 401–24.

La Rosa Corzo, Gabino. "Henri Dumont y la imagen antropológica del esclavo africano en Cuba," in *Historia y memoria: sociedad, cultura y vida cotidiana en Cuba, 1878–1917*, ed. José Amador and Fernando Coronil (La Habana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello/Latin American and Caribbean Studies Program of the University of Michigan, 2003): 175–82.

La Rosa Corzo, Gabino. *Tatuados: Deformaciones étnicas de los cimarrones en Cuba* (La Habana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 2011).

Lanier, Ohilda Hevia. "Reconstruyendo la historia de la exesclava Belén Álvarez," in *Afrocubanas: Historia, pensamiento y prácticas culturales*, ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo and Inés María Martiatu Terry (La Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, 2011): 30–53.

Lapique Becali, Zoila, and Orlando Segundo Arias. *Cienfuegos, Trapiches, ingenios y centrales* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2011).

Lawrance, Benjamin N. "'Your Poor Boy No Father No Mother': 'Orphans,' Alienation, and the Perils of Atlantic Child Slave Biography," *Biography: An Interdisciplinary Quarterly* 36, no. 4 (2013): 672–703.

Lawrance, Benjamin N. *Amistad's Orphans: An Atlantic Story of Children, Slavery, and Smuggling* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014).

Lawrance, Benjamin N. "La Amistad's 'Interpreter' Reinterpreted: James Kaweli Covey's Distressed Atlantic Childhood and the Production of Knowledge about Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone," in *Slavery, Abolition and the Transition to Colonialism in Sierra Leone*, ed. Paul Lovejoy and Suzanne Schwarz (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2014): 215–56.

Lawrance, Benjamin N. "'A Full Knowledge of the Subject of Slavery': The Amistad, Expert Testimony, and the Origins of Atlantic Studies," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 36, no. 2 (2015): 298–318.

Lefèvre, Sébastien, and Paul Mvengou Cruzmerino. "Propuestas para una 'relectura' trasatlántica afrodiaspórica de las Américas negras a partir del caso mexicano," in *Nuestra América Negra. Huellas, rutas y desplazamientos de la afrodescendencia*, ed. Flor Márquez, Inés Pérez-Wilke and Eduardo Cobos (Caracas: Ediciones de la Universidad Bolivariana de Venezuela, 2016): 5–44.

LeGrand, Catherine, and Adriana Mercedes Corso. "Los archivos notariales como fuente histórica: una visión desde la zona bananera del Magdalena," *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 31 (2004): 159–208.

Lienhard, Martin. *Disidentes, rebeldes, insurgentes: Resistencia indígena y negra en América Latina. Ensayos de historia testimonial* (Vervuert: Iberoamericana, 2008).

López Valdés, Rafael. "La Sociedad Secreta 'Abakuá' en un Grupo de Obreros Portuarios," *Etnología y Folklore* 2 (1966): 5–26.

López Valdés, Rafael L. *Africanos de Cuba* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 2004).

López Valdés, Rafael L. *Pardos y morenos esclavos y libres en Cuba y sus instituciones en el Caribe Hispano* (San Juan de Puerto Rico: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe, 2007).

López Valdés, Rafael. "*Abakuá*," in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, Alfredo Prieto and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2019): 201–2.

Lovejoy, Henry B. "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Transcription Methodology and Statistical Analysis," *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 107–35.

Lovejoy, Henry B. "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824–1841," *Slavery & Abolition* 37, no. 1 (2016): 23–44.

Lovejoy, Henry B. *Prieto: Yorùbá Kingship in Colonial Cuba during the Age of Revolutions* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2018).

Lovejoy, Paul E. "'Freedom Narratives' of Transatlantic Slavery," *Slavery & Abolition* 32, no. 1 (2011): 91–107.

Lovejoy, Paul E. "Scarification and the Loss of History in the African Diaspora," *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic*, ed. Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010): 99–138.

Mamigonian, Beatriz G. *Africanos livres: A abolição do tráfico de escravos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017).

Manzano, Juan Francisco. *Autobiografía de un esclavo* (Madrid: Ediciones Guadarrama, S.A., Madrid, 1975).

Marichal, Carlos. "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 Frank Zephyr (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006): 25–52.

Martínez Casanova, Manuel, and Nery Gómez Abreu, *La Sociedad Secreta Abakúa* (*Visión de la única sociedad iniciática de guerreros africanos que sobrevivió en América*) (Santa Clara: Universidad Central de Las Villas, no year [1994]).

Martínez Heredia, Fernando, Rebecca J. Scott and Orlando García Martínez, eds. *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba 1878–1912* (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2003).

Meriño Fuentes, María de los Ángeles, and Aisnara Perera Díaz. *El universo de Hipólito criollo: Derecho, conflicto y libertad en el ingenio La Sonora, La Habana (1798–1836)* (Artemisa: Editorial Unicornio, 2011).

Miller, Ivor L. *Voice of the Leopard: African Secret Societies and Cuba* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2009).

Morrison, Karen Y. "Creating an Alternative Kinship: Slavery, Freedom and the Nineteenth-Century Afro-Cuban hijos naturales," *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 1 (2007): 55–80.

Mouser, Bruce L. "Baltimore's African Experiment, 1822–1827," *Journal of Negro History* 80, no. 3 (1995): 113–30.

Mouser, Bruce L. "The Baltimore/Pongo Connection: American Entrepreneurism, Colonial Expansionism, or African Opportunism?" *The International Journal of African Studies* 33, no. 2 (2000): 313–33.

n.n. *Colección de artículos: Tipos y costumbres de la isla de Cuba por los mejores autores de este género. Obra ilustrada por D. Víctor Patricio de Landaluze, fototipia Taveira* (La Habana: Editorial Miguel de Villa, 1881 [Facsimile edition, La Habana: Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba José Martí, 2009]).

Noonan, John T. *The Antelope: The Ordeal of the Recaptured Africans in the Administration of James Monroe and John Quincy Adams* (Berkeley: University of California, 1977).

Nwankwo, Ifeoma Kiddoe. *Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Americas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

Ortiz, Fernando. *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos. Estudio sociológico y de derecho público* (La Habana: Revista Bimestre Cubana, 1916) [rev. edition: Fernando Ortiz. *Los negros esclavos* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1975)].

Palmié, Stephan. *Wizards & Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity & Tradition* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).

Palmié, Stephan. "Ekpe/Abakuá in Middle Passage: Time, Space and Units of Analysis in African American Historical Anthropology," in *Activating the Past: Historical Memory in the Black Atlantic*, ed. Andrew Apter and Lauren Derby (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010): 1–45.

Peabody, Sue, and Keila Grinberg, ed., *Slavery, Freedom, and the Law in the Atlantic World: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford St. Martin's Press, 2007).

Peabody, Sue. "Political and Legal Histories of Slavery," in *Writing the History of Slavery*, ed. David Stefan Doddington and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022): 153–70.

Pérez de la Riva, Juan. *El monto de la inmigración forzada en el siglo XIX* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1974).

Pérez de la Riva, Juan. "Antiguos esclavos cubanos que regresaron a Lagos," in *Contribución al la historia de la gente sin historia*, ed. Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux and Juan Pérez de la Riva (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1974): 163–90.

Pérez de la Riva, Juan. *El barracón y otros ensayos* (La Habana: Ed. de Ciencias Sociales, 1975).

Perera Díaz, Aisnara, and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes. "El registro de la voz esclava," in *La Cesión del patronato: Una estrategía familiar de la emancipación de los esclavos en Cuba (1870–1880)*, ed. Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes (La Habana: Editorial Unicornio, 2009): 36–39.

Perera Díaz, Aisnara, and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes. *Para librarse de lazos, antes buena familia que buenos brazos: Apuntes sobre la manumisión en Cuba (1800–1881)* (La Habana: Editorial Oriente, 2009).

Pérez Morales, Edgardo. *Unraveling Abolition: Legal Culture and Slave Emancipation in Colombia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022).

Pettway, Matthew. *Cuban Literature in the Age of Black Insurrection: Manzano, Plácido, and Afro-Latino Religion* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2020).

Piqueras, José Antonio, ed. *Orden político y gobierno de esclavos: Cuba en la época de la segunda esclavitud y de su legado* (Valencia: Centro Francisco Tomás y Valiente UNED Alzira/Fundación Instituto de Historia Social, 2016).

Quiñones, Tato. "Los 'Íremes' o 'diablitos' de los ñáñigos cubanos," *Ecorie Abakuá: Cuatro ensayos sobre los ñáñigos cubanos*, Tato Quiñones (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 1994): 13–22.

Quiñones, Tato. *Asere. Núncue Itiá. Ecobio Enyene Abacuá de la ciudad de La Habana* (La Habana: Editorial José Martí, 2016).

Rauhut, Claudia. *Santería und ihre Globalisierung in Kuba. Tradition und Innovation in einer afrokubanischen Religion* (Würzburg: Ergon, 2012).

Reinstädler, Janett, and Michael Zeuske. "Esclavitud y memoria cultural en Hispanoamérica," in *Trauma y memoria cultural. Hispanoamérica y España*, ed. Roland Spiller, Kirsten Mahlke and Janett Reinstädler (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020): 125–43.

Reis, João José, and Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian. "Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004): 77–110.

Rodrigues, Jaime. *De costa a costa: escravos, marinheiros e intermediários do tráfico negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005).

Rodrigues, Jaime. "Marinheiros forros e escravos em Portugal e na América Portuguesa (c. 1760–c. 1825)," *Revista de História Comparada* 7, no. 1 (2013): 9–35.

Roldán de Montaud, Inés. "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 Press, 2015): 127–55.

Rugemer, Edward B. *Slave Law and the Politics of Resistance in the Early Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

Rupprecht, Anita. "'All We Have Done, We Have Done for Freedom': The *Creole* Slave-Ship Revolt (1841) and the Revolutionary Atlantic," *International Review of Social History* 58 (2013): 15–34 [special issue: *Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution: A Global Survey*, ed. Clare Anderson, Nyklas Frykman, Lex Heerma van Voss and Marcus Rediker].

Sa'id, Mohammad Ali. *The Autobiography of Nicholas Said; A Native of Bornou, Eastern Soudan, Central Africa* (Memphis: Shotwell&Co., 1873), www.docsouth.unc.edu/neh/said/said.html [accessed 04.04.2017].

Salmoral, Manuel Lucena. "El período de los asientos con particulares (1595–1700)," in *La esclavitud en la América española*, ed. Manuel Lucena Salmoral (Warsaw: Universidad de Varsovia / Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2002): 178–205.

Schiel, Juliane, Isabelle Schürch and Aline Steinbrecher. "Von Sklaven, Pferden und Hunden. Trialog über den Nutzen aktueller Agency-Debatten für die Sozialgeschichte," *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte. Annuaire suisse d'histoire économique et sociale* 32 (2017): 17–48.

Scott, Rebecca J. *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, NY: Princeton University Press, 1985) [repr., Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000].

Scott, Rebecca J. "A Cuban Connection: Edwin F. Atkins, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., and the Former Slaves of Soledad Plantation," *Massachusetts Historical Review* 9 (2007): 7–34.

Scott, Rebecca J., and Michael Zeuske. "Property in Writing, Property on the Ground: Pigs, Horses, Land, and Citizenship in the Aftermath of Slavery, Cuba, 1880–1909," *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly* 44, no. 4 (2002): 669–99.

Scott, Rebecca J., and Michael Zeuske, "Le 'droit d'avoir des droits': Les revendications des ex-esclaves à Cuba (1872–1909)," *Annales HSS* 3 (2004): 521–45.

Scott, Rebecca J., and Jean-Michel Hébrard. *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012).

Scott, Rebecca J., and Carlos Venegas Fornias. "María Coleta and the Capuchin Friar: Slavery, Salvation, and the Adjudication of Status," *William and Mary Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2019): 727–62.

Sosa Rodríguez, Enrique. *Los Ñáñigos* (La Habana: Ediciones Casa de las Américas, 1982).

Sosa Rodríguez, Enrique. "Origen y expansión del ñañiguismo," *España y Cuba en el siglo XIX*, Estudios de Historia Social 44–47 (Madrid: Ministerio de Trabajo y Cultura, 1988): 539–50.

Sparks, Randy J. *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004).

Sweet, James H. *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kingship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Tomich, Dale W., ed. *The Politics of Second Slavery* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2016).

Tomich, Dale W., and Michael Zeuske, eds. *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories*, 2 vols. (Binghamton: Binghamton University, 2009) [special issue of *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center* 31, no. 2–3 (2008)].

Vansina, Jan. "Ambaca Society and the Slave Trade, c. 1760–1845," *Journal of African History* 46 (2005): 1–27.

Varella, Claudia. "'Roaming Coartados': Strengthening the Rural Slave Sector," in *Wage-Earning Slaves: Coartación in Nineteenth-Century Cuba*, ed. Claudia Varella and Manuel Barcia (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2020): 66–82.

Varella, Claudia, and Manuel Barcia, eds. *Wage-Earning Slaves: Coartación in Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2020).

Yacou, Alain, ed. *Un esclave-poète à Cuba au temps du péril noir: Autobiographie de Juan Francisco Manzano (1797–1851)* (Paris: Karthala, 2004).

Yndice Alfabético y Defunciones del Ejército Libertador de Cuba. Datos compilados y ordenados por el Ynspector General del Ejército Libertador Mayor General Carlos Roloff y Mialofsky, ayudado del Jefe del Despacho, Comandante de Estado Mayor Gerardo Forrest, Editado oficialmente por disposición del General Leonard Wood, Gobernador Militar de Cuba (Habana: Ymprenta de Rambla y Bouza, 1901).

Zeuske, Michael. "Der Cimarrón und die Archive: Ex-Sklaven, ethnische Gewalt und Ideologie auf Kuba," *Grenzgänge. Beiträge zu einer modernen Romanistik* 4, no. 8 (1997): 122–39.

Zeuske, Michael. "The Cimarrón in the Archives: A Re-Reading of Miguel Barnet's Biography of Esteban Montejo," *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 71, no. 3–4 (1997): 265–79.

Zeuske, Michael. "Novedades de Esteban Montejo," *Revista de Indias* 59, no. 216 (1999): 521–25, http://revistadeindias.revistas.csic.es/index.php/revistadeindias/article/view/735/806 [accessed 27.01.2022].

Zeuske, Michael. "Schwarze Erzähler – weiße Literaten. Erinnerungen an die Sklaverei, Mimesis und Kubanertum," in *Ich, Reyita. Ein kubanisches Leben*, ed. Daisy Rubiera Castillo, trans. Max Zeuske (Zurich: Rotpunktverlag, 2000): 211–62 [Spanish original: Daisy Rubiera Castillo. *Reyita, sencillamente (Testimonio de una negra cubana nonagenaria)* (La Habana: Prolibros, 1997; in English: *Reyita. The Life of a Black Cuban Woman in the Twentieth Century. By María de los Reyes Castillo Bueno, as Told to her Daughter Daisy Rubiera Castillo* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).]

Zeuske, Michael. "Verborgene Zeichen, offene Geheimnisse: Sklaverei, Postemanzipation, Namen und die Konstruktion von Rasse auf Kuba, 1870–1940," *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte* 2 (2002): 89–117.

Zeuske, Michael. "'Sin otro apellido': Nombres esclavos, marcadores raciales e identidades en la transformación de la colonia a la república, Cuba 1870–1940," *Tzintzun: Revista de Historia* 36 (2002): 153–208.

Zeuske, Michael. "Hidden Markers, Open Secrets: On Naming, Race Marking and Race Making in Cuba," *New West Indian Guide/Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 76, no. 3–4 (2002): 235–66.

Zeuske, Michael. "'Los negros hicimos la independencia': Aspectos de la movilización afrocubana en un hinterland cubano – Cienfuegos entre colonia y república," in *Espacios, silencios y los sentidos de la libertad: Cuba 1878–1912*, ed. Fernando Martínez Heredia, Rebecca J. Scott and Orlando García Martínez (La Habana: Ediciones Unión, 2003): 193–234.

Zeuske, Michael. "The Names of Slavery and Beyond: The Atlantic, the Americas and Cuba," in *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas: A Comparative Approach*, ed. Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg and Michael Zeuske, Sklaverei und Postemanzipation / Esclavitud y Postemancipación/ Slavery and Postemancipation 4 (Münster: LIT, 2011): 51–80.

Zeuske, Michael. "Saint-Domingue en Cuba: el levantamiento en Banes, 13 y 14 de agosto de 1833," in *Esclavitud, huida y resistencia en Cuba*, ed. Christian Cwik, Javier Laviña and Michael Zeuske (Berlin: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, 2013): 139–82.

Zeuske, Michael. "Legados de la esclavitud y afrodescendientes en Cuba," in *Afroamérica, espacios e identidades*, ed. Ricardo Piqueras and Cristina Mondejar (Barcelona: Icaria editorial, 2013): 146–80.

Zeuske, Michael. "The Second Slavery: Modernity, Mobility, and Identity of Captives in Nineteenth-Century Cuba and the Atlantic World," in *The Second Slavery: Mass Slaveries and Modernity in the Americas and in the Atlantic Basin*, ed. Javier Laviña and Michael Zeuske (Münster: LIT, 2014): 113–42.

Zeuske, Michael. "Doktoren und Sklaven. Sklavereiboom und Medizin als 'kreolische Wissenschaft' auf Kuba," *Saeculum* 65, no. 1 (2015): 177–205.

Zeuske, Michael. *Sklavenhändler, Negreros und Atlantikkreolen: Eine Weltgeschichte des Sklavenhandels im atlantischen Raum* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015).

Zeuske, Michael. "Slaving: Traumata und Erinnerungen der Verschleppung," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 13 (2013): 69–104.

Zeuske, Michael. "Die Nicht-Geschichte von Versklavten als Archiv-Geschichte von 'Stimmen' und 'Körpern'," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 16 (2016): 65–114.

Zeuske, Michael. "Del reino de Hannover a Cuba y Estados Unidos, pasando por el infierno de la trata en Senegambia y el Atlántico: el médico y negrero alemán Daniel Botefeur 1770–1821," in *Caribe hispano y Europa. Siglos XIX y XX. Dos siglos de relaciones*, ed. Josef Opatrný, Ibero-Americana Pragensia Supplementum 48 (Prague: Universidad Carolina/Editorial Karolinum, 2018): 47–81.

Zeuske, Michael. "Tod bei Artemisa: Friedrich Ludwig Escher, *Atlantic Slavery* und die Akkumulation von Schweizer Kapital ausserhalb der Schweiz," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 69, no. 1 (2019): 6–26.

Zeuske, Michael, and Vicent Sanz. "*El Negrito* y la microeconomía política de la trata negrera en el Atlántico: La arribada a puerto con un cargamento de esclavizados," in *Reflejos de la esclavitud en el*

arte: Imágenes de Europa y América, ed. Aurelia Martín Casares, Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco and Andrea Schiavon (Valencia: tirant humanidades, 2021): 138–60.

Zeuske, Michael. "Writing Global Histories of Slavery," *Writing the History of Slavery*, ed. David Stefan Doddington and Enrico Dal Lago (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022): 41–57.

Zeuske, Michael. *Afrika-Atlantik-Amerika. Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel in Afrika, auf dem Atlantik und in den Amerikas sowie in Europa*, Dependency and Slavery Studies 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2022), https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110787160/html [accessed 07.09.2023].

Zeuske, Michael. "The Rise of Atlantic Slavery in the Americas," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery throughout History*, ed. Damian Pargas and Juliane Schiel (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023): 379–93.

Zeuske, Michael. "The Second Slavery in the Americas", in *The Palgrave Handbook of Global Slavery throughout History*, ed. Damian Pargas and Juliane Schiel (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023): 429–39.

3. Research Lenses

3.2. Embodied Dependencies

Introduction

In Research Area B, we approached the phenomenon of slavery and other types of strong asymmetrical dependencies by considering a pre-colonial perspective. We aimed at establishing archaeology, art history, and object-based anthropology on an equal level with other disciplines of the humanities that focus on written sources. The second step towards a 'provincialization' of the Western/modern interpretational matrix took objects as its starting point and aimed to capture human and non-human 'bodies of dependency'. So, in analogy to the first research area, we established an inventory of material evidence of strong asymmetrical dependencies and their range of expression and information as a site of strong asymmetrical dependencies equaling the written word in importance. Relying on insights generated by the 'material turn' as well as recent debates on environmental history and bio-history, this research area aimed to relativize the modern/Western focus on written culture from a pre-colonial perspective. Many societies that were not affected by Western colonization were oral societies, where a verbal agreement could weigh heavier than a written contract, and where the normative or guiding effect of an object or image would be just as strong as that of a legal text elsewhere. The fact that many scholars tend to consider a lack of written traditions (e.g. for conquered peoples like the Etruscans or other peoples of ancient Italy, or empires of the past such as that of the Mongols or the Incas) to be indicative of an inherently deficient source situation reflects a modern Western habit of seeing things as well as an 'inherited learning disability' in terms of reading artefacts. Therefore, one aim of this research area was to correct the widespread asymmetry in the academic evaluation of written and non-written traditions by taking into consideration a pre-colonial perspective and to establish archaeology, art history, and object-based anthropology on an equal level with disciplines of the humanities that focus on written sources. The deficit in terms of material evidence seemed all the more crucial because social history has advocated giving back their voices to the 'silent' actors of history, and examining the experiences of oppression and the scope of action within human communities. However, the resulting (hi)stories that have been written about agency have remained strangely incorporeal due to the focus on human actors as intentionally acting and speaking subjects. This research area thus did not concentrate on the 'silent voices' but on the – supposedly – 'silent bodies', both human and non-human, which encompass written descriptions of bodies and objects of social dependency as well as purely material traditions. We corrected the asymmetrical attention characteristic of modern/Western approaches with regard to the conceptual pairs of written vs. nonwritten, human vs. non-human, culture vs. nature by examining 'embodied dependencies' from archaeological, art-historical and anthropological perspectives as well as from the viewpoint of a praxeologically and body-historically oriented history and social science. Our goal here was expressly not an analytical separation of the object language from the lexical semantics explored in Research Area A, which would amount to an implicit continuation of modern/Western dichotomies. Instead, the dialogue between object- and text-based disciplines within this research area was fostered and institutionally mirrored by the distribution of PIs. The overarching aim was to render embodied dependencies 'legible' (again) as multi-dimensional research objects. We therefore explicitly sought to examine dependent bodies not just as discursive constructs, but also as material, resilient and autonomous, not just as objects of imagination and representation, but also as sites of social practices. We understood dependent bodies as 'agents', 'mediators', and 'intermediaries' and analyzed even dependencies between human and non-human actors as 'agencements' and forms of 'interagency'.

3. Research Lenses

3.2. Embodied Dependencies

Julia Hegewald. “Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art,” in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia. Dependency and Slavery Studies*, ed. Julia A. B. Hegewald (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 1-32.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110979855-001

Julia A.B. Hegewald

Chapter 1
Introduction: Embodiments of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art

1 Introduction

An embodiment is a visible and often also tangible form given to an abstract idea, concept, relation or feeling. In the context of embodiments in art and architecture, the drawings, paintings, objects and buildings act as visible expressions of different kinds of dependency.[1] This can be very immediate representations, such as painted or sculpted scenes depicting slavery, subjugation and other asymmetrical forms of dependencies.[2] These can take place between people, between humans and animals, human and divine beings or humans and inanimate objects or materials.[3] However, such very

1 By choosing the term 'embodiment', I clearly wish to go beyond the approach of considering material artefacts merely as 'mediators' in dependency relations, as was suggested in the joint paper by Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 13.

2 Asymmetrical relations are characterised by inequality, with one side having more power or resources of any kind than the other. For a more detailed definition, cf. Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 2–3, 8.

3 Some investigations in dependency studies only focus on dependent relations between people, or one or several individuals and human groups, juridical persons, organisations and governments or states. These leave out dependency connections between humans and either immaterial objects or non-human actors, such as (super-human) deities. This is, for instance, the case in Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 3, 4, 8. Such an approach may be perceived as an essentially Western and secular way of thinking. Contrasting with this, the chapters in this book also examine dependences involving materials, environmental circumstances and divinities. The rationale in omitting these in other studies is, according to Christoph Antweiler, that he considers non-human causal agents or actors 'to be behaving but not acting'. Further, he says, 'I only regard people as actors, if an action – in distinction from a mere *behavior* – contains intention.' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 4, 8). The publication by Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 1–38 discusses the significance of material objects and spirits and gods in situations of dependences but also ultimately excludes them from their dependency considerations. See in particular their pages 1 and 12–14. However, for an architect it does not make any difference whether he has only mud at his disposal to build with because this is the only available construction resource due to an environmental situation, or whether it is a ruler or other human being who with intent consciously forbids him to employ any other material. Equally, most religious devotees are convinced that the divinities they believe in have the

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110979855-001

immediate depictions are reasonably rare in an Asian context. This might have to do with the belief in the South Asian concept of *karma*. According to this, rebirth into a modest and dependent position, such as a caste which is considered of lower ranking, is deemed to reveal the status of spiritual advancement and religious purity of that person. As such, situations or positions of strong dependency are portrayed as retributions for one's own deeds in a previous life and consequently as reflections of one's own responsibility.[4] As such, most depictions in South Asian art focus on exalted, high-ranking and so-called 'purer' members of society, who act as moral models and are considered worth portraying, and even more strongly on gods and stories from the eternal epics and myths associated with them. In order to go beyond studying only very obvious forms of slavery and dependency,[5] less direct representations of dependent situations have also been included in this volume. These are, for example, allegorical images or material artefacts, such as destroyed, annexed or adapted statues or spaces (Plate 1.1), which dominant groups absorbed from dependant people and which indicate asymmetrical power relations. Even less immediate in terms of visual expression are the examination of dependencies in which artists find themselves. Artist communities producing objects and architecture are, for instance, dependent on the environment they live in, whether this be the climate or the availability of resources. They are further contingent on the cultural, social and religious context and the need to gain an income through the artefacts they produce.

Which relations are to be characterised as 'strong' or 'extreme' forms of dependency and which not, it is difficult to define.[6] However, questions of scale are not of utmost concern for this publication. With regards to the forms of dependency analysed here we aim to be inclusive rather than exclusive and show variety and diversity. However, all are life-changing for the people involved, especially for those at the dependent level. Furthermore, the forms of extreme dependence outlined in this collection persist for substantial

---

capability to think, reach decisions and act consciously, just like a human being or other actor could. Therefore, this seemingly arbitrary differentiation has not been adopted in this volume. In this, I follow the approach taken by Bruno Latour in his actor-network theory, who assigns the status of actors at least to 'things'. See Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

4 For further details, cf. Karel Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994): 86, and Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999): 95.

5 This is one of the main aims of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) in the context of which this edited volume has been compiled.

6 According to Bethany Walker, 'Strong dependencies emerge when one actor cannot exit without the other'. Furthermore, she states that the relationship between the two actors or sides has to be 'heavily unequal' (Bethany J. Walker, "Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?" *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 2). This illustrates how difficult it is to apply unambiguous criteria and standards in such situations. On this issue, see also the discussion in Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 8.

Plate 1.1: Cave site at Rayadurg, Andhra Pradesh. The previously Jaina sacred area was taken over and adapted by Hindu followers.

amounts of time, inviting a *longue durée* approach, and many are life-long relations (e.g. status, ethnicity). For instance, traditionally, social affiliation to a caste or social group, belonging to an artists' group or guild, as well as affiliation with a religion, all were inherited qualities, closely connected with certain inequalities and dependencies obtained through birth. Taken all together, the examples presented in this volume illustrate the wide distribution and the huge variety of embodied dependencies that we encounter in the study of Asian art.

2 Dependences and Art

Before concentrating on the region of Asia, which forms the focus of this publication, I would like to adopt a broader approach and reflect on dependencies in the visual arts more generally. All around the world, art and architecture have been created and developed at all times out of situations of dependency, or rather out of a dialogue between dependencies and freedoms.[7] The original 'l'art pour l'art', in English 'art for art's sake', is a

7 In actual fact one can go even further and assert that there is a universal inevitability of dependency within human relations more generally. On this issue, see Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian

modern concept and reflects a largely twentieth-century and Western self-understanding of the artist, not known during earlier periods. Before this time, art was largely religious in nature and existed only because it had a religious function to fulfil and been commissioned by religious authorities or pious lay-people. Even Palaeolithic cave paintings and art objects have cultic meanings, in addition to possibly representing illustrations for the identification of animals and hunting techniques. This continued during the Neolithic age, and can be observed in the Classical era and in Egyptian art. Dependencies on religious authorities are especially apparent in Christian medieval art, where – just like in Asia – people producing art were considered artisans or craftspersons and not artists in our modern understanding. They were judged to be artisans, as they were undertaking contract work, commissioned, directed and paid for by the church or by affluent devotees. Just like in Asia, they were organised in guilds and their personal names have rarely been transmitted, as the individuality of the artist was considered of no significance.[8] In Europe, this situation started to change very slowly during the Renaissance with a transition towards a more civic and feudal society. This gradually led to new subject matters entering into the painters' and sculptors' repertoire, which then included also an interest in humans and a realistic representation of their surroundings, for instance, through the technique of perspective. At this time, it became more common for the names of recognised individuals in the trade to be transmitted, although we know that they worked in groups and that no single artist was responsible for an entire painting. All the same, it can generally be said that at least until the start of the eighteenth century, those creating art were not permitted primarily to follow their own imagination, genius and self-expression, but worked on order. Only during the second half of the eighteenth and during the nineteenth century did the question of the 'freedom' of the artist became a more prominent issue. As a result, the subject matter changed further, as artists started to depict not only religious, mythological and regal topics, but also their ordinary, everyday surroundings. This included representations of more commonplace and mundane subjects, such as street views and cafe scenes, depictions of workers and of industrialisation. Not until the twentieth century did art for the first time exist more clearly for its own sake. Besides the church and wealthy individuals, art started to be bought and collected by ordinary people. This led to a division between the so called 'high arts' and the 'applied arts', of which the latter remained more strongly in functional dependencies. However, did art really free itself completely, by breaking with the church and by idealising the genius of a named artist who produced art objects usually without commission? Even today, artists are dependent on donors, collectors, galleries and the art market more generally. Artists are free to produce whatever they want in whatever size, however, they usually need to

Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 3.

8 Kanika Gupta debates this issue in a South Asian context in Chapter 12 in this book.

self-finance in advance and to sell at least some of their works, in order to survive. These constraints still influence what is created or continues to be fashioned over longer periods. Besides the art market, modern artists are – at least to some extent – also reliant on trends, fashions and what we might call the zeitgeist. Although some artists might consciously work against such vogues, their works, too, express at least an indirect dependency on movements and fashions by being diametrically opposed to them.

In Asia, the dependence of art producers on religious authorities, rules and conventions has continued for even longer than in the West. With the early twentieth century modern artists also commenced to express themselves more strongly as individuals and to fashion works of art with clearly mundane subjects.[9] However, it is striking how frequently modern and contemporary artists still select religious topics (Plate 1.2) and vehemently stress the ability of their paintings still to function as sacred icons in a ritual context.[10] For this reason, the field of Asian history of art and architecture is especially rich and rewarding in studying dependencies. A general impression might prevail that due to the often still quite strong religious nature of the arts, the continued treatment of traditional artists as artisans in many contexts and the sustained application of religio-philosophical texts for art production, the arts in Asia are more dependant and less free than in the West. However, it is fascinating to observe that despite sustained dependences – just as in the West – Asian artisans, artists and builders have at all times, in the past just as much as today, found liberties in their practice. The fact that in Asian art, conventions and dependencies – at least in certain areas – are even greater than in much of Western art today, makes the tension between the extreme points of dependence and freedom even stronger, but at the same time shows the enormous breadth of intermediary forms and the many choices and nonconformities that artists found in highly dependent environments. Before we penetrate deeper into the area of embodiments of dependencies in Asian art, we have to clarify some terminologies.

9 On this issue, see Partha Mitter, *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922–1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007). There were even earlier tendencies to include more worldly subjects, such as in the later Pahārī and Rājput paintings from about the mid-eighteenth century onwards. This was due to the movement of painters trained in the Mughal ateliers, who with the gradual decline of the Mughal empire moved from Islamic centres to provincial Hindu courts to take up employment. However, this was only a limited regional and temporal development.

10 Amongst contemporary artists in Nepal, for instance, the majority do still also depict religious subjects, whether this is Batsa Gopal Vaidya, Shashi Shah, Manuj Babu Mishra, Buddhi Thapa, Kiran Manandhar or Shashi Kala Tiwari. It is noticeable how often these artists create variations on the theme of the *maṇḍala*. However, in terms of more figural and less abstract themes there is also continuity in that gods and goddesses are regularly depicted.

Plate 1.2: Contemporary linocut print by Nepali artist Batsa Gopal Vaidya, depicting a modern interpretation of the Hindu god Gaṇeśa.

3 Dependencies, Dependences and Freedoms

Studies focusing on theoretical frameworks, analytical issues and terminologies in slavery and the emerging field of dependency studies, distinguish between 'dependence' and 'dependency'.[11] According to this differentiation, 'dependence' is descriptive of

11 See for instance the recent publication by Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 1–16. I agree with Antweiler, who points out that 'the concept of slavery may be problematic in scientific terms to describe many of the forms we study, as it is only one case of asymmetrical dependency,

short-term developments and spatially confined contexts of asymmetrical relations, i.e. specific defined cases on a reasonably small scale. In contrast, 'dependency' (*dependencia*) has to a greater extent to do with longer-term trajectories in larger, often global contexts. It describes a formalised, instituted or systemic practice, often supported through an established system. This means that it is generally more stable, unchanging, long-lasting and permanent. In addition, it usually involves or affects larger numbers of people.[12] Nevertheless, the two concepts are intimately linked and customs which generate or nurture situations of strong asymmetrical dependence can gather and accumulate over time to create larger entities of dependency. In fact, the differentiation is reasonably well-defined in theory. In practice, however, it is often not so straightforward to set the two clearly apart. Whilst most phenomena discussed in the present volume function on a relative micro-level and are less concerned with macro-oriented dependency theory and global phenomena, one might ask whether the age-old caste system[13] and the faith groups of Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, with their sacred ritual and theoretical texts which influence the lives of people in the entire vast region of South Asia till today,[14] should not be classified as larger-scale and long-term motors that power social, societal and religious 'dependencies.' Equally, despite some recent changes to weather patterns through global warming, the general difference in climate between the dry Deccan plateau and the wet coastal belt of western India,[15] which depends on the longstanding monsoon rains that impact in fact the whole Asiatic region, would then be a climatic dependency and not simply a dependence.

This analytical differentiation between the two terms, set up by some theoreticians, has not been addressed or implemented in the contributions of the authors who participated in the conference or who contributed to this edited volume. In the different individual chapters, the terms 'dependence' and 'dependency' are used synonymously, as is

---

and an extreme one at that.' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10). As this text by Christoph Antweiler came out as one of the central theoretical texts of the Bonn research Cluster just before the manuscript of this volume was submitted to the publisher, the introduction makes regular reference to his concept paper. This is in order to show the many overlaps but also divergences in opinion and approach in the compilation and intention behind the current edited volume and in order to stimulate further debate about these central topics.

12 Cf. Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 2, 4.

13 Christoph Antweiler stresses that 'Structures are by definition characterized by a certain measure of durability, which distinguishes them from processes or dynamics.' He also points out that practices can take on more organised outlines when they last for long periods and become very prevalent, such as ritual practices (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 6). On the same page, he also talks about the 'institutionalization', 'canalization' and 'fossilization' of social relations.

14 On this, refer back to the discussion of how contemporary art practices in Nepal are still connected today to traditional motives and expectations, such as the ritualistic properties of art.

15 The comparison and contrast between these two regions forms the focus of Chapter 3.

usually done in ordinary, non-specialised speech. The thirteen papers in this collection do not focus on abstract theories or terminologies. They introduce specific practical examples, case studies and microhistories, which reflect asymmetrical relations of dependence taken from the wider region of Asia. None of the authors, nor the editor, are specialists in the areas of slavery and dependency studies. Nevertheless, the contributions all outline clear cases of severe forms of asymmetrical dependence from the contributors' own day-to-day research work. All together, these case studies succeed in shedding light on and giving tangible form to a large number of dependency phenomena.

In addition, the papers collected in this volume do not stop at just describing dependences or dependencies. An even more important question for the authors was how artisans, artists, master builders and architects managed to overcome both more temporal and local dependences and longer-term and wider-ranging dependencies. It is fascinating to observe that however robust and durable the constraints were (and are) with which visual artists found themselves confronted, all of them found means to express their creative energy and imagination. In this context, then, the questions posed by Christoph Antweiler are helpful: 'Who is involved in relations of dependence? Who is acting, and who is being acted upon? How much freedom is there to act as desired (agency)?'[16] However, we have to bear in mind that in this publication, we take a wider approach to dependences and also include constraints posed by the availability of building materials and the spiritual reliance on religious cults, their teachers and divine beings. Therefore, the question, 'Who is acting?' might in our context be enlarged to, 'Who or what is acting or influencing?' In our context of material culture, the concept of freedom might be equated with liberty or autonomy of choice, creative inventiveness or agency,[17] levels of free expression and non-conformity, but less with wholescale independence or sovereignty.

4 Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia

Dependences are often characterised by unequal human social relationships. For this reason, the issue of 'communities' figures strongly in the title as well as in the papers in this publication. The focus is less on named individuals, as the names of artist and builders were rarely known at the time of their creation and have not

16 Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 7.

17 The BCDSS understands 'agency' as an 'opportunity to act within relations of asymmetrical dependency' (Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2021]: 6). For further details on understanding the concept of 'agency' as a fundamentally social activity, a dynamic relationship of societal interdependency which could be equated with 'interagency' or 'co-activity', see page 11 of the same publication.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 707

preserved.[18] Therefore, our focus is more on supra-personal units, such as artistic groups, communities and societies. Often these belong to a specific societal group or sub-caste.[19]

Generally, artists and artisans in South Asia belong to the Vaiśya caste, which in a system of four castes ranks at second lowest level in the socio-religious societal structure.[20] In India, there is, for instance, a sub-caste of painters (*citrakār*) or stone masons and sculptors (*śilpi*).[21] The rigidity and natal placement of each individual into a certain caste and sub-caste causes social tensions and dependencies. When I conducted research with contemporary Nepali painters in the Kathmandu Valley in the mid- and late-1990s, young artists, who had chosen to be painters as their profession and gone to art college in India or Nepal, still had to marry within the caste of the *citrakār*s, even if they were born into what was perceived as a higher caste. In Japan, too, which has a similar strict social order, actors traditionally belonged to a specific social stratum. C. Andrew Gerstle writes, 'Kabuki actors have traditionally formed a segregated, relatively closed social group, clannish and guild-like.'[22] Whilst these actors were not considered part of a high-ranking class, on stage they were permitted more freedoms in what they wore or how they behaved than those considered high-ranking members of society. As a result, a socially dependent and to a certain extent subjugated group gained certain freedoms during their artistic performances, which were not available to other sections of society at the time.

In addition to societal dependences, addressed above, this publication also analyses other than purely inter-human dependences. Included are examples indicating strong and enduring dependencies on the climate, on natural resources needed for sculpting and buildings, on religious traditions, whether transmitted orally or in writing, and

18 This issue has already been discussed in section 2 of this introduction. See also the contribution by Kanika Gupta in this collection of papers.

19 Indian society has traditionally been grouped into four classes (*catur varṇa*). The *varṇa*s are further subdivided into large numbers of so-called 'birth-groups' or sub-castes (*jātī*s). For further details, cf. Karel Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994): 50–51, and Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999): 48, 174.

20 Additional information can be found in Karel Werner, *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994): 50–51, 168, as well as in Klaus K. Klostermaier, *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999): 196.

21 For further details on the *citrakār*s, especially in Nepal, cf. Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, "Elements of Newar Social Structure," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 86 (1956): 21–23, Susanne von der Heide, "From 'British Naturalism' to Abstract Modern Painting in Nepal," in *Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalayas*, ed. Charles Ramble and Martin Brauen (Zürich: Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich, 1993): 94, 97, and Julia A.B. Hegewald, "'Our Studio is Nature': The Work of the New Art Circle in Nepal," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 10 (1996): 96. On *śilpi*s, see C. Sivaramamurti, *The Painter in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1978): 3.

22 C. Andrew Gerstle, *Kabuki Heroes on the Osaka Stage 1780–1830* (London: British Museum Press, 2005): 12.

strong and asymmetrical dependencies on superordinate actors, such as rulers and patrons. To introduce readers to a wide variety of different forms of dependencies in Asian art, information on the individual chapters in this publication, has been grouped into four thematic categories. These will now be discussed, together with a short summary of each chapter.

5 Thirteen Case Studies of Dependencies and Freedoms in Asian Art

In slavery and dependency studies, the emphasis so far has been on slavery and slavery-like relations in the context of the trans-Atlantic and the ancient Mediterranean slave trade. In the newly evolving and wider field of dependency studies, other regions and periods will also be explored.[23] This book contributes to readdressing this imbalance by not focussing on mainstream slavery. The chapters included here come from cultural studies and acquaint the reader with the art and architecture from different geographic and temporal backgrounds throughout the wider region of Asia. Regionally, they include case studies from all over India, from Nepal, Tibet, the area of the Silk Routes and from mainland China. In keeping with the Cluster's main emphasis, they focus on the pre-modern age, ranging in date from the early centuries BCE, via medieval to colonial art and architecture. Some even go slightly beyond this by including contemporary artistic expressions mirroring dependency patterns. Whilst mono-theistic religions have figured most strongly in existing studies of dependency,[24] the authors in this volume examine mainly Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina and more local religious expressions especially in South Asia, all of which display a rich pantheon of gods and goddesses. There is also great variety in terms of the arts under discussion. Whilst some look at cave excavations or structural architecture, others focus on sculpture or painting, on porcelain and coins, but also on religious ceremonies and dance performances. Most importantly for the focus of this volume though, they introduce different types of dependence, in which artisans, artists, architects and master builders have found and often still find themselves today. To conclude their investigations, whatever constraints we are dealing with, all papers also highlight the freedoms which the artists found and continue to uncover within the limitations set by their

23 This has been discussed in Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 3.

24 On this, see Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2021]: 3).

belief, social group, by their environmental surroundings, accessible materials, textual and oral prescriptions and the conventions of their profession.

5.1 Climatic and Resource Dependences

First and foremost, all art objects and buildings are produced within a specific setting. In many ways, this is shaped by the local climate and by the availability of resources for building and art production. This again depends on soil conditions, geomorphology and geography. Buildings have to withstand the climate and provide shelter for humans, animals or sacred ceremonies and gods. Edifices have to be shaped differently if they have been raised on steep slopes, constructed in dense forests, flood plains or in deserts. With regards to resources, for instance, in desert regions wood is rare and precious. If on the other hand it has been employed in edifices and objects it usually preserves well and endures for long periods, due to a generally very low humidity. In arid regions, simple mud or clay-rich soils are frequently used for building and the modelling of statues, as rain and dampness, which would dissolve the mud, pose little risk to the durability of constructions and earthen objects.[25] In areas where firm stone is available, this is usually preferred for sculpting statues and assembling architectural structures, as it is resistant both to rain and fire and is an expensive and highly-regarded building resource. In comparatively wet regions, botanical construction materials such as wood, thatch, reeds or bamboo, often dominate as readily available, sustainable and low-cost alternatives.[26] Frequently, natural fibres have been combined with stone basements for damp proofing. In addition, they have also been combined with mud in some form of timber framing.[27] Mud can also be fired and used as burnt tiles, especially in the upper levels of edifices, such as the roofs. This illustrates the close connection between climate and building resources and the limitations and dependencies posed by the weather and by locally available construction sources. In larger cities and at well-connected places, the reliance on only regional products can at times be broadened through imported supplies. However, the dominance and dependence on the climate remains usually very strong.

The more extreme the climatic conditions and the more remote an area is, the more did local artists and builders have to rely on regionally available products. This is exemplified by the wall paintings, clay statues and rock caves that were created along the northern Silk Route, discussed in Chapter 2 by Birgit Angelika Schmidt. The

25 This can, for instance be seen in regions of northern India, such as Ladakh, on the Tibetan high plateau but equally in the north of Africa.

26 See, for instance, the art of building on the west coast of India, in Bangladesh, the Andaman Islands, Myanmar or in littoral South East Asia more generally.

27 In South Asia, timber lacing is particularly widespread in the regions of Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir, but also in Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

Buddhist monastic caves were excavated from steeply sloping rocky cliffs, which offered shelter against the summer heat and the cold during the winter months. The region under discussion lies in the extremely arid Taklamakan Desert in Central Asia and is bordered by high mountain ranges. Owing to the presence of loess soils, clay is the main building material. Due to the aridity of the climate, it does not need to be fired but can be employed in the form of rammed earth or sun-dried bricks.[28] According to Schmidt, however, the climate was more temperate in the past and allowed – at least to a certain degree – the cultivation of trees, grasses and other vegetation. Wood and plant fibres were employed as roof coverings, decorations and in order to stabilise buildings and statues. The shape of the caves illustrates a severe dependency on the climate, which demanded enclosed building forms as shelters against heat and cold alike. The different shapes, however, also show a playful creative handling of these severe climatic constraints. In addition, pigments for murals and colouring clay statues, too, were derived from regional minerals and plant products. As such, all building and artistic materials were available in the vicinity of the caves. Due to the remote location of the site, the torturous journey through deserts and mountains and the inhospitable climate, it appears that materials did not reach the area from outside, illustrating a severe dependency on local resources for artistic productions. However, phrased more positively, it exemplifies a perfect adaptation of the people to the regional, geological and topographical conditions. Despite the sparseness of their surroundings, the artisans found there all necessary materials to create a rich and enduring heritage. In this, they succeeded in finding wide artistic freedoms and reached perfection in the use of these limited resources.

Whilst in the first case study a severe dependency on an extremely arid setting was the prevailing situation, the following chapter by Julia A.B. Hegewald illustrates the dependencies and freedoms established in a predominantly humid building environment. The main focus of examination in Chapter 3 is the temple architecture of the Jaina religious group[29] along the west coast of the modern state of Karnataka in South India. The local weather conditions are characterised by heavy monsoon rains and a generally high level of humidity. This climate has led to the growth of dense forests and the ample availability of wood for building. Usually, timber lacing, combining wooden structural elements with mud infill, have been employed. Illustrating the dependence on this climate

28 Very similar building techniques can also be found on the dry Tibetan high plateau as well as in the art of building in northern Africa. Furthermore, as Schmidt shows in this publication, in addition to mud naturally occurring gypsum could be also harvested locally on the northern Silk Route. This was utilised in the surface finishings of statues in particular.

29 Jainism is as old as Buddhism and was formed in the same region of Eastern India. Further details on the Jaina religion can be found in Chapter 3 in this publication and in Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009).

of strong precipitations, steeply slanting and widely projecting, at times also multiple, pyramidal roofs were employed (Plate 1.3). These protect the earthen walls against the rainfall. The precipitous roofs are usually covered with fired terracotta tiles. Even when more intense quarrying and improved access routes made hard stone for building more accessible and popular in the region, the same form of protective roofs were fashioned out of the new material. This happened largely from about the fifteenth century onwards. As stone is much heavier, the amount of loadbearing pillars supporting the roofs from below had substantially to be increased. This amplified and reinforced a local aesthetic already present in the largely wooden constructions. Furthermore, it illustrates a certain freedom from purely local material dependencies but at the same time a stylistic dependence on previous building traditions. In order to emphasise the unusual nature of building activities typical of the littorals, these are also contrasted with architecture fashioned on the bordering Deccan high plateau. This shows vast differences in terms of geographical location, naturally available resources and building styles within the state of Karnataka. Both regions illustrate a strong dependence on and a clear adaptation to the local climate and the naturally available resources. Whereas the introduction of new building materials, such as stone – and in the twentieth century also concrete as a more 'global' resource – provided some leverage with regards to materials, the dependence on the local climate, especially when this is extreme (dry or wet), cannot easily be circumvented. This illuminates an extreme dependency of traditional building patterns on climatic conditions.

Plate 1.3: Mudabidri, coastal Karnataka. Reflecting a strong dependency on the climate of strong monsoon rains, the temples have multiple slanting and projecting roofs.

Third in this section on weather dependencies and resource restrictions comes the chapter by Daniel Suebsman. This demonstrates the interdependence on a largely imported and not a mainly locally available good. In the case of Chapter 4, this material is silver. Another peculiarity in this contribution is that people did not depend on this product itself for the creation of art objects, but that Chinese porcelain, precious silks and other artistic material artefacts were exchanged against silver. During the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), silver became the most important means of payment in China, when local deposits did not suffice to satisfy its needs. As a result, China became heavily dependent on silver imports from abroad. European silver appears to have reached China as early as the fifteenth century, and Japanese silver from the sixteenth century. At this time silver was mined in large quantities in South America as well. The chapter focusses on Chinese export porcelain during the Ming Dynasty, and its dependence on foreign, predominantly Spanish colonial, silver. Especially during the seventeenth century, this entered China in the form of ingots or silver coins, which were used as payment for export ceramics, largely blue and white wares. Interesting with regards to the more general topic of slavery and extreme forms of dependency, Suebsman describes that from the late Ming dynasty, between 1522 and 1619, a currency and tax reform made silver the official main currency. As a result, tax obligations had to be paid in silver instead of goods or forced labour. He stresses that, '[a]fter more than 2,000 years, the traditional form of land tax payment and labour service was abolished.' This further increased the need for and deepened the dependency on foreign silver imports. Furthermore, it also inflated the price of silver in China and made exports of silks and porcelain reasonably cheap for foreign traders.

5.2 Religious and Social Dependencies

As the section above has shown, human life is strongly determined by the climate in which people live and in terms of building shelters and producing objects, may these be artistic or practical, by the materials available to them. Besides this, the human environment is also intensely governed by cultural, societal and religious determinants. As we have seen, for instance, in connection with the South Asian caste system, these are often tightly interconnected and can at times not be disentangled. Such religious and social dependences are often visualised in ritual activities, which stress asymmetrical power relations between humans as well as between humans and gods.

Whilst believers of any religion find themselves in some kind of dependency on their chosen deity, Chapter 5 by Tiziana Lorenzetti deals with a special situation. Her study focuses on Śaiva devotionalism in the modern states of Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, which can involve extremely severe dependencies. In this context, the worshippers consider themselves to be 'slaves of god' and are willing to mutilate their own bodies, either to restore what is believed to be the injured body of the god Śiva, or to produce a worthy offering to be made to him. Lorenzetti shows that

some Śaiva devotees were even willing to sacrifice their own lives, by cutting off their own heads, in order to honour Śiva and to prove their piety and love towards him.[30] This is considered a kind of 'violent devotion.' Lorenzetti reminds us that self-sacrifice and self-oblation have often been closely linked to military activities and that such deeds are interpreted as forms of bravery, vigour and heroism. It is also an act of total submission to a divinity. In a form of total dependency in spirit, soldiers give their life for their ruler or even vow to take their own life should he die. This, too, often involves self-decapitations. Due to the close connection in Indian thought between kings and gods, the same ritual was also conducted in front of religious statues. Depictions of such self-beheadings have been preserved in temples and on hero memorial stones, typical of South India. The prevailing belief was that somebody brave enough to sever his own head and to offer it to the deity would have it reinstated by the divinity and also be rewarded with supernatural powers and invulnerability. This made the practice so attractive to warriors. Detailed reports, also from European travellers, of such ritual self-beheadings seem to indicate that these self-sacrificial ceremonies were not to be understood simply as metaphorical interpretations, but as actual occurrences involving razor-sharp, half-moon-shaped blades. Initially, such acts were used to intimidate opponents, by accentuating the deep dedication, enslavement and subordination of one's own life to a chosen god or religious path as well as the strength – and in extension freedoms and influence – gained from it. Subsequently, they served to completely subordinate frightened rivals in an act of victory.

The following chapter by Tiziana Leucci also focusses on South India, but, by contrast, mainly on the region of Tamil Nadu. Whilst in the previous contribution we encountered mostly heroic and militant male believers, Chapter 6 introduces the tradition of the *devadāsī*s and the *rājadāsī*s. Until the 1940s, these were female performing artists and courtesans, who were bestowed on Hindu temples and royal courts before reaching adolescence.[31] The women were considered 'servants' or 'slaves' of a deity or a sovereign (god-servants, king-servants) and found themselves in a position of severe submission and bondage. However, their level of education and sophistication differentiated them from ordinary sex workers and conferred a superior societal status onto them. As Leucci shows, the act of serving a highly respected person – monarch or divinity – by surrendering one's life and body to them was not considered a derogatory or humiliating

30 The god is not described as acting and telling the believers directly what to do. However, the expectation of the divinity and the community, and the promised gain in terms of religious merit, are perceived as common knowledge or a worldview. In abstract terms this issue has been discussed in the joint chapter by Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 8–10. As such one can argue that the deities have control and influence over the devotee sacrificing himself. For this point see also page 12 of that paper. This appears to go beyond the concept of 'mediation', which is discussed on page 13.

31 This further emphasises the aforementioned intimate connection between kings and gods, which is prevalent in Hindu culture.

action, but a voluntary act and a privilege. The voluntary 'servants' received the honourable title of 'slave' as a sign of respect, as a blessing and a gift. Furthermore, they obtained certain rights and forms of renumerations, were often quite wealthy and influential and able to make generous donations to temple institutions. This illustrates a strongly hierarchical and a symbolic relation of respect and surrender, which demonstrates a connection of severe dependency as well as one of simultaneous social and religious freedoms.[32]

The third paper in this section also deals with material from South India, in this case, the coastal region of northern Kerala, known as Malabar. Chapter 7 by Jahfar Shareef Pokkanali examines extreme forms of dependency in a Hindu ritual dance form known as *teyyāṭṭam* (dance of god). During the ritual performances, the lower-caste male performer embodies the spirit of the god, goddess or divinised hero or heroine, and temporarily becomes the venerated being. This form of ceremony is related to spirit possessions practiced in Tamil Nadu.[33] In contrast to so-called high, classical or Sanskritik (*brāhmanical*) Hinduism, the divine ritual tradition (*teyyam*) of northern Kerala has largely been characterised as folkish, indigenous and vernacular, although it is patronised by all caste groups. It is against the background of this dichotomy of a perceived 'high' and 'low' culture or caste, and Sanskritik versus popular religion, that Pokkanali focuses on embodied human and nonhuman dependencies. In *teyyam* performances, the conflict between these two social groups or religious strata becomes ritualised and as a result, the asymmetrical dependency is legitimised. In order to redress a crisis between two social sections, a lower-caste hero contests the principles of caste differentiation. Through this, the weaker and marginalised group is temporarily exalted in the ritual drama.[34] This acts as a catharsis, as the subjugated culture is given the opportunity to express itself in a ritualised framework.[35] Following this, the

32 Contrary to married Hindu women, the temple dancers were, for instance, permitted to interact with male dancers and musicians and to choose freely one or more lovers without attracting shame. Leucci shows that later Christian missionaries only saw the dependency aspect and denied the prestige and status the women held within their own society and social-religious system.

33 Both include the veneration of deified ancestors, martyrs and heroes and the offering of alcohol and blood sacrifices, which generally, outside a religious ceremonial context, are considered to be polluting substances.

34 The enactment of a situation in a performance which is not perceived as normal life is a case also discussed by Christoph Antweiler (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10). In addition, on the subject of competing, multi-faceted worldviews, see also the discussion in Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 9.

35 Outlining similar occurrences in more theoretical terms, Christoph Antweiler writes: 'For societies in which asymmetrical dependency is a widespread (or even normalized) form of relationship, a dissenting heterodox position is one that questions this normality, while an orthodox position affirms this form of relationship.' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10).

overbearing Sanskritik order of the higher castes is reinstated and reinforced, and the social structure and its unity are strengthened. As such, the *teyyam* performances embody and visualise severe dependencies but also temporarily overcome these in a ritual context.

Chapter 8 by Gudrun Bühnemann analyses dependencies between religious groups in the Himalayas. In her paper she disproves the prevailing misperception that Buddhist art generally is meditational, peaceful and concerned with enlightenment only. The statues of Tantric divinities from Nepal which she analyses clearly subjugate Hindu deities and show them in a heavily dependent position. Bühnemann identifies three types of images which demonstrate extreme forms of dependency in a context of religious conflict. In the first pattern, which is the most widespread, one or several major deities of the Hindu pantheon are shown crushed underneath the feet of a powerful and much larger standing Tantric Buddhist figure in a warlike stance.[36] This is a very explicitly triumphant posture, indicating superiority and legitimising the power of the figure in militant stance. In her chapter, Bühnemann characterises this as 'part of the iconography of power'. The defeated gods lose their status, become dependent and the slaves of the dominant Buddhist figure.[37] In the second pattern, found in the Tantric art of Nepal, a Buddhist character rides on a Hindu divinity. In this instance, dependency and subservience are shown by the triumphant Buddhist character being carried on the back of the conquered Hindu divinity, indicating hierarchy. In the last design, a Buddhist individual, usually the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, is depicted emanating seven to fifteen Hindu gods and goddesses from his own body. Having seemingly 'created' the Hindu gods, the Buddhist figure assigns them their duties, expressing their unequal position and heavy dependence on the central Buddhist representation. The latter theme became especially widespread in Nepal during the eighteenth century. As such, these icons, which in the past were often read as allegorical images,[38] do in fact illuminate religious rivalries illustrated through the depiction of strong forms of asymmetrical dependency.

5.3 Dependences on Oral and Written Traditions

In the previous section, we discussed religious and social constrains. Frequently, these have been recorded and fixed in sacred texts, which delineate the essential ideas and

36 These forms are already known from later Indian Buddhist art.

37 At times, the Buddhist character is also shown with his female consort.

38 The figures under the feet of dominant Buddhist figures were in the past frequently interpreted as representations of evil forces or negative emotions, such as anger, greed or arrogance, which practitioners have to overcome in their quest for liberation. Whilst this explanation might still be correct in certain contexts, the background of individual statues needs to be evaluated more closely in the future to provide a more nuanced understanding. Bühnemann points out that representations showing sectarian rivalries were especially meaningful to recent converts to Buddhism who knew the Hindu pantheon well.

convictions but also the regulations for behaviour and religious or artistic practices. It is typical of Asian traditions that artistic customs for the production of religious paintings and sculpture, religious dances and ceremonies, and the construction of sacred edifices, have been codified in the form of manuals. They are particularly widespread in South Asia, where they were first composed in Sanskrit verse and later translated into vernacular languages. From the early centuries of the Common Era, these sacred canonical texts multiplied throughout India. These writings that embody the rules of a subject are in general known as *śāstra*s. Those dealing with building, sites for building and with the art of sculpting more specifically, are known as *vāstuśāstra*s or *śilpaśāstra*s.[39] However, as some of the chapters in this section will show, the knowledge and rules applying to some disciplines were not always primarily handed down in writing, and artists always found ways to circumvent restrictive regulations.

Adam Hardy, in Chapter 9, asks to what extent the architects of temple buildings in India were controlled, confined or restricted by such canonical texts. The general prevailing impression is that prescriptive texts could hamper or inhibit creative thought processes and artistic development. Hardy shows that the builders strongly depended on these texts and that the *śāstra*s provide plain typologies and clear rules for a creative framework. However, he stresses that they offer freedoms, too. In his contribution, he argues that '[i]f temples can be considered an art form, then a particular form of temple is analogous to, say, a sonnet in poetry, where creating something new within the given pattern is the whole point, and to stray too far from it is no longer to write a sonnet.' He also shows that existing temple types were blended to create new design possibilities, thus retaining the old but evolving it through creative processes. Hardy outlines a development where at the start of textual traditions, in the seventh to ninth centuries, there were more temples than texts. This indicates that the tradition must have started with practice and then been written down, not *pre*scribing, but initially documenting and *de*scribing an evolving tradition. This then became codified by being fixed in writing to a certain extent. Whilst these manuals provided a framework, they still allowed for innovations and were expanded and added to over time. Some texts even 'think ahead', as Hardy puts it, and present us with forms and designs which have yet to be transformed into stone in the future. In this sense, the religious written compositions on architecture allow freedom for expression; some might even be more open, progressive and in this sense more modern than practice has yet allowed for.[40]

The following paper, Chapter 10 by Sandra Jasmin Schlage, continues this debate by evaluating the importance of written and unwritten sources and conventions for

39 In Sanskrit, '*vāstu*' is 'the ground' or 'a site' but also a building and '*śilpa*' is an artistic work and any manual art or craft. It also means 'form' or 'shape' more generally.

40 This shows a fascinating tension or creative dialogue between construction conventions and what is being preserved as tradition on the one hand, and texts on building practice on the other. Either writings and practice can at times be more restrictive or limited by conventions than the other.

the depiction of dance scenes in relief carvings and paintings. Although most of her examples come from a Hindu context and have been taken from Tamil Nadu, the chapter also discusses evidence from other regions and religious groups. These range from the early centuries CE to the present day. Schlage argues that artists appear to have been more dependent on orally transmitted visual markers, such as the position of the legs, and other understood stylistic conventions of representing dance movements and postures, than on strictly formulated written texts, such as the *śāstra*s. A close examination of dance panels shows that often the notion of dance was created by combining a limited number of postures of arms, hands and legs, in the form of regulated principles, which were also not necessarily derived from actual practice. Whilst such conventions were formed and formalised during the earlier southern dynasties, they had reached a level of standardisation during the Cōḻa Period (*c*. the ninth to thirteenth centuries). Schlage states

> However, within a few centuries what started as a creative innovation seems to have developed into a set of unwritten rules [. . .] The combination of stylistic perfection and an almost static appearance of the dancers creates the impression that artists were almost slaves to these norms.

Whilst some creative solutions were found for more unusual forms, such as stick dances, most practices which had developed over time were applied strictly. This approach appears to continue on many levels into the present, as artists seek to place their art in a line of highly valued religious imagery. It is difficult to determine how much this is a voluntary observance of and loyalty towards a valued tradition, and how much a slavish adherence to fixed rules. This shows that dance depictions exhibit a fascinating mixture of stylistic dependencies and freedoms, which have not been derived from written texts, but are instead based on accepted norms and conventions.

After the temple-building tradition, rooted to a large extent in written sources, and the sculptural dance relief custom, based more on unwritten standards, we encounter another situation in Chapter 11 by Amy Heller. This paper looks at restoration practices throughout the Himalayas. In this area, restorers have neither official texts nor necessarily accepted existing traditions to base their work on. Even so, they encounter strong tangible and intangible restrictions in their work. In actual fact we reencounter the *śāstra*s, which were translated into Tibetan and provide iconographic, inconometric and colour conventions for the delineation of divinities as well as local religious authorities dictating designs. On the other hand there are contemporary international standards created by Western conservation specialists, which include, for instance, the practice of not filling in the lost sections of a painting in order to preserve its authenticity, under the heading of 'minimal interventionism.' However, in a ritual context it is essential for a venerated representation to be intact. Therefore, Buddhist communities throughout the Himalayas have tended to retouch or repaint in order to recover lost sections of murals, based on spiritual aspirations. Furthermore, the use of predominantly regional, natural and traditional materials over modern synthetic products developed in the West appears to be a constraint accepted by

local conservators. Whilst the *śāstra*s do not provide information on how to repair damaged paintings and Western conventions are at least partially rejected, religious ideas and a wish to adhere to an existing local material tradition have created contemporary unwritten rules that direct and to a certain extent restrict restoration practices throughout the Himalayan region. How this works in practice is shown in the chapter through three case studies of conservation projects connected with living Buddhist sanctuaries in Tibet, Mustang (Nepal) and Ladakh (North India).

5.4 Dependence on Rulers, Patrons and Markets

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, artists all around the world and at all times have, beyond other constraints, been dependent on the patronage and support of benefactors who act as employers. These may be powerful rulers, private individuals, groups of people (e.g. the Buddhist *saṅgha*) or institutions. In modern times, their number can also include ordinary individuals who collect art, or the art market as a whole on which artists depend. Art has been used as a political and power influencer to manipulate the people and other political players, for instance, in the form of idealised portraits, the depiction of historical victorious battle scenes, or in our days in political advertising, election posters and video clips. Artists depended and still depend on the pay they receive for their commissions. This inevitably places them in an unequal and hierarchical relation to their donors or sponsors, who in the past and still today exercise control over them. These sponsors or customers also regulate and manipulate what is being produced, at least to a certain extent. These relations may be referred to as asymmetries of power, including control, dominance and coercion. New rulers have also annexed and sometimes even converted important religious art objects or sacred spaces,[41] to signal their might, to terminate a previous cult or take control over the sacredness of objects and sites (Plate 1.4). As such, the topic of patron-client relations is particularly fruitful when researching extreme asymmetrical dependencies in art. This topic forms the focus of the following set of chapters in this edited volume.[42] To a certain extent, patron-client

41 This is part of the concept of the 'continuity of religious sites', developed by Mircea Eliade in his publication, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion – The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual Within Life and Culture* (San Diego/New York/London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987 [1957]). On this issue, see also Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 34.

42 Christoph Antweiler points out that these are social micro-relations which essentially are 'similar to macro-patterns of dependence and inter-dependence' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 5). He characterises patron-client systems as life-long and, as such, as falling into the group of extreme forms of dependencies. This is in contrast to shorter-term and simpler dependences (11–12). See my discussion of this differentiation under point 3 of the present chapter.

interactions can also be classified as simple work-based or labour relation. These will be discussed later in this chapter.[43] However, as artistic work always involves creativity and the retainment of some original innovative choices, patron-artist interactions are treated separately.

Plate 1.4: Quwwatu'l Islām Mosque, Delhi. The site and building materials, first employed by Hindus and Jainas, were re-used by Muslims in the late twelfth century.

Kanika Gupta in Chapter 12 describes the situation of Indian sculptors as one of strong dependency, in which even their artistic skill and their mastery of the techniques was often denied and ascribed to patrons, religious leaders or the gods themselves, who are not only portrayed as the donors but indirectly as the creators of the art.[44] Gupta argues that this is the reason why, at least in early Indian art, the names of artists are not known and have not been transmitted. It is indeed curious that we often know who

43 The combination of 'asymmetries of *power*' and '*work-based* relations (labor)' indicate that there often are '*multi-modal* relations', as pointed out by Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 9.
44 This is consistent with Christoph Antweiler's observation that we generally know less about those who are subordinated than those who rule (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10). On the other hand, C. Sivaramamurti stresses that there are cases in which kings were artists themselves (C. Sivaramamurti, *The Painter in Ancient India* [New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1978]: 6). However, this is not the situation described here by Gupta.

commissioned the art under question, but not who fashioned it. However, one should add that this is also due to the fact that Asian artists were at least in part considered to be artisans, i.e. individuals who create objects and edifices for particular, in most cases strictly delineated, ritual purposes. Therefore, their works were not considered as embodying the free choices and self-expressions of an individual artist. This reflects a situation which also prevailed in Europe until at least the start of the eighteenth century. Gupta outlines a stringent religious control system and a 'strictly codified grammar of sculpture' as the main means for constraint. It is not clear if she considers this to have worked through written rules or dominant conventions. Despite this in many ways difficult and adverse situation, Gupta shows how the artists succeeded against all odds, by employing their intellect, creative genius and smallest permitted personal liberties, to create highly individual, imaginative and original works of art. To substantiate her argument, she analyses relief panels from the early Buddhist *stūpa* site of Bharhut (largely second century BCE) and from the first cave temples at Ellora (largely sixth century CE), both in Central India. At Bharhut, she shows that artists found freedoms in their individual interpretation and personal approach to depict a prescribed story. Furthermore, Gupta interprets the fact that the artists gave their full dedication to carving exceptional images of highest quality (as can e.g. be seen in the early caves at Ellora), as an expression of regaining control, pride and freedom in a situation of many dependencies and a lack of recognition of the masterworks they created.

With the following contribution by Jennifer Howes, the focus moves from early Indian art to the late eighteenth century. Howes enquires into a situation where the rulers and patrons of art production suddenly changed. Her focus lies on a group of unmarried female high-status courtiers, more precisely, female performance artists (Musarrati) from the inner court of Tipu Sultan of Mysore in South India. With the death of Tipu and the takeover of Srirangapatna by the British in May 1799, seventy-five female dancers lost their former master. They became completely dependent on and controlled by the British. They were placed under East India Company house arrest and remained in British detention until their deaths. This incarcerated them in a situation where their complex public performance services and high standing in an intricate royal culture were not understood and appreciated any longer.[45] It is fascinating that the British actually argued that they had freed these women from

45 Bethany Walker identifies such a situation in which one actor in an unequal power relation cannot exit as typical of an asymmetrical dependency (Bethany J. Walker, "Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?" *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 2). Christoph Antweiler classifies such a condition, in which all previous relations are broken up or 'unmade', as he puts it, as one of extreme control and asymmetrical dependency. The suppressed group is deprived of the ability to disobey, move away spatially or withdraw from the situation of suppression and imprisonment (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 9).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 721

slavery.[46] This shows that situations of slavery and dependence can be subject to the perspective taken by the interpreter. The question of what is considered to be severe dependency or freedom is – at least in certain circumstances – debatable.[47] It had been the principal role of these women artists to act as entertainers, as singers, dancers, actresses and storytellers. Although they were exiled from their home in Srirangapatna to Vellore Fort in 1802, where they were kept with other political prisoners of the British Empire, two painted albums of Company painters from Vellore show that they carried on their performance traditions in the early nineteenth century. They continued to act in front of the Mysorean citizens who had followed them to Vellore in their thousands.[48] This very perceptive and attentive audience who recognised their high status, gave them a purpose, clear function and a commitment to hold onto. Through their perseverance to perform, they provided their own changed lives with meaning. Furthermore, through their appearances, the exiled entourage undermined the British and despite permanent control, managed through their storytelling and composing of plays and songs, to communicate with and to provoke dissent and opposition in the Mysorean community outside their prison. As a result, they resisted their new imperial masters, subverted their own dependency and regained some freedom to remain who and what they wanted to be.

With Chapter 14, jointly written by Pratyush Shankar and Snigdha Srivastava, we stay in the colonial period but move to the north-west of India, to the modern state of Gujarat. The two architect authors outline how the British only managed to control such large areas of India through a combination of direct and indirect rule. Important players in this were the Princely States, who were greatly dependent on the colonial power in terms of finances, security and in policy matters,[49] but who retained a certain amount of autonomy in day-to-day administrative matters. Although they liaised and collaborated in certain areas, this extreme form of dependency on a foreign

46 The British also considered that the new accommodation, designed by John Goldingham at Vellor for the locked-up performer women from Mysore, was superior and an improvement on their previous lodgings. As a result, the British completely misconceived the painful loss of the palace apartments and city the Musarrati called their home and which had provided the regal and ritual context that gave them status and influence.

47 This issue has also been discussed by Christoph Antweiler. He stresses that one should be careful with 'generalizing assumptions about the basic values as well as the motives and emotions of interacting humans'. (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 7). However, it is not clear whether the British really misunderstood the situation or whether this is an early instance of applying – what we call today – 'alternative facts' or 'false facts'. Kellyane Conway, Counselor to the U.S. President, used the expression of 'alternative facts' during an interview in January 2017. In this, she tried to indorse false statements about the number of people who had attended the inauguration ceremony of Donald Trump.

48 According to Howes, there were about 6,000 inhabitants of Mysore who followed Tipu Sultan's performance artists.

49 For instance, states under indirect rule were not allowed to set up an army of their own but had to supply military support to the British. In a situation of conflict with one of their neighbours, however, the British would support the dependent Indian state.

power generated an atmosphere of distrust and at times outright defiance in the form of disobedience and non-cooperation. In fact, the authors show that through their own urban planning initiatives (e.g. public gardens, water bodies), newly commissioned civic buildings (e.g. museums, libraries, hospitals), but also through their progressive social, welfare and educational reforms, the native state of Baroda (now Vadodara), succeeded in establishing a 'counter colonial narrative.' Although the architects and planners who were employed by the semi-independent state to redesign the fabric of the cities were largely Europeans, they were hired independently and were not allied with the British. The close interaction of these professionals with local cultural traditions and the historic fabric of the city, generated a form of indigenous modernity. Mainly conducted between 1880 and 1910, these design interventions completely changed and transformed the character of the city of Baroda. Due to their dependence on imperial rule, certain British influences can also be identified in these new conceptions. Nevertheless, they illustrate that even within a situation of extreme financial and political dependency, Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad III managed through a strong personal engagement and the visionary architects, designers and social reformers he employed, to establish public spaces and institutions which embody transformative choices and freedoms in times of extreme dependency.

6 Alternative Forms of Artistic Dependency

In addition to the four main themes of artistic dependency, introduced by the authors and outlined in Section 5, there are other forms of dependency which further interconnect many of the papers in this volume. These are areas which form the focus of other research areas of the Bonn Cluster of Excellence.[50] In order to round off the debate and suggest fresh avenues to be explored in greater depth by historians of art and architecture in the new field of dependency studies in the future, further areas of dependences, having an influence on art production in Asia, will briefly be refer to in what follows.

6.1 Conventions and Norms

The question of how free people are of the conventions and norms of their time, culture or religious denomination, or how much they are consciously or unconsciously coerced by them, is a recurrent one in the chapters in this collection. All the papers introduced under point 5.3 discuss norms and practices, focusing on oral or written

50 This publication is a result of research area B, 'Embodied Dependencies'. Research area A is entitled 'Semantics – Lexical Fields – Narratives', research area C, 'Institutions, Norms and Practices', research area D, 'Labor and Spatiality', and research area E, 'Gender and Intersectionality'.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 723

traditions. Especially those papers that address sacred canonical texts, which clearly prescribe guidelines for religious ceremonies, the rules of dance and its depiction, and the proportions for the creation of art objects and sacred structures, often refer to areas that have not been so well defined in written form, but are more part of an unwritten tradition.[51] In our contemporary understanding of the freedom of art, we associate such conventions more with crafts and the applied arts. However, as pointed out above, we have to bear in mind that this is a very recent understanding of art and that even contemporary artists are affected by trends, whether they follow or go against them. In both cases, producers of art and architecture are not entirely free of these constrains. Whilst some rules are fixed in writing, others are handed down from father to son, mother to daughter, or from master to pupil, something that is true in Asia in particular. In addition to this, artists are not free from fashions and the general zeitgeist, illustrating the many normative conventions on which people producing art and architecture depend.

6.2 Labour Dependences

Dependencies are created out of relationships. Dependence relations become especially visible and often show particularly highly developed systems of reliance in the area of employment. To a large extent, economic networks only function because there is a need or dependency on one side and a product, merchandise or service available only on the other. Of course, there are also more equal relations, where both sides offer valued products wanted by the other.[52] However, it is more common to find asymmetrical dependencies where one party is at least more strongly dependent on the other. In addition to these economic exchange dependencies there are also more well-defined work-based relations.[53] Workers are in need of wages for their own as well as the survival of their families, placing them often in a severely dependent, unequal situation vis-à-vis their employers. The superordinate actors profit from the labour services of the subordinate partners, who for this reason are integrated, albeit at a low rank, into the societal

51 The latter is the main topic of the chapter by Sandra Jasmin Schlage.

52 Such situations have generally been described as 'a one-way dependency, where A is dependent on B (mono-dependency) or a two-way dependency where A is dependent on B, and B is dependent on A (mutual dependence, interdependence).' (Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies [2022]: 10, 11). Although the form, value or quality of the dependence may be different between the two parties, mutual dependence is not of greatest interest when studying strongly asymmetrical dependencies.

53 See the useful categories of different dependencies defined by Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 9.

network of the more powerful group.[54] As such, dependency studies find a rich field of enquiry in the area of labour dependencies. The most extreme scenario in such work dependencies is usually identified as slavery,[55] this is not a term commonly employed or widely discussed in the context of traditional Asia, at least where artisans and builders are concerned. As the names and further details of artists, master builders and architects have rarely been transmitted in an Asian context, we lack the necessary detail to better understand and to classify their relations in the past. More rewarding here would be a study of asymmetrical trade relations of art objects either within Asia or between East and West. However, there are some hints to labour relations in some of the contributions in this volume.

Chapter 4 by Daniel Suebsman on the dependence of China on imported silver during the Ming dynasty, for instance, makes direct reference to work dependencies in the porcelain industry. He outlines that at the start of the Ming dynasty, a structure of corvée labour was instigated to staff the imperial porcelain kilns in Jingdezhen. The artisans fell into two different hereditary groups. First, permanent artisans, who constantly resided on site and second, seasonal artisans from outside the region, who worked there for three months every four years. The permanent artisans had to work in the official manufactory until the court's annual order had been met. Subsequently, they were permitted to work for private kilns for the remainder of the year. In addition to these trained artisans, there were large numbers of unskilled corvée workmen who did basic labour such as obtaining and administering raw materials. The dependent corvée labourers were supplied to the state by village organisations who in this way fulfilled their obligation for public service to the community. The emphasis on silver as the only means of payment during the later Ming dynasty, mentioned above, upset this ancient system where payments could be made through human labour. This had a marked effect on porcelain production. From 1563, itinerant artisans were not allowed to offer their payments in labour any longer. From this time onwards, the workforce comprised almost only full-time, paid artisans whilst seasonal workmen vanished. Although this improved the quality of the labour provided, the manufactories could not cope with the constantly increasing orders of the imperial court. This led to partnerships with so-called 'people's kilns' who took on more and more of the orders.

Another aspect of labour dependencies can be encountered in the contribution by Tiziana Leucci. She shows that *devadāsī*s or temple servants were subjugated only in some respects, but at the same time highly educated, more autonomous and enjoying a number of freedoms that ordinary married women could not partake in. Contrary to the views expressed by European travellers and missionaries, Leucci considers ordinary married women in the dominant patriarchal system of South Asian society to

54 See also Bethany Walker, "Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?" *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 2.
55 Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 14.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 725

be in a position of extreme labour dependency. According to her mind, as children they are slaves to their fathers, then to their husbands and when widowed to their sons, perverting the ordinary view, which is more likely to classify 'temple servants' as slaves and ordinary women as free subjects.

6.3 Gender Dependencies

Gender also plays a significant role in dependency studies, a fact illustrated by the final paper in the collection, which I discussed in the context of labour dependencies (6.2) and the case of the temple dancers as 'slaves of god', but also the life-long dependency of ordinary women on men in South Asia. Gender dependences, too, are closely interconnected with unequal relations of power. Gender inequalities figure strongly in the production of art in Asia. Certain types of arts are socially only permitted to be created by the members of one particular fixed gender. The arts of weaving and of drawing *kolam* designs[56] in front of private houses is in India reserved for women only (Plate 1.5). In Nepal, only men are permitted to turn a potter's wheel (Plate 1.6).[57] In the Japanese Kabuki theatre tradition, female as well as male roles had to be acted by men from 1629 onwards.[58] As the chapter on depictions of dance scenes on Indian temple buildings by Sandra Jasmin Schlage appears to indicate, the art of dancing, which today in India is more dominated by women, may in the past have been performed by men and women alike. On the Amarāvathī *stūpa* in Andhra Pradesh, for instance, which dates from about the second to third centuries CE, there are depictions of both male and female dancers. Comparative examples from other sites indicate that this is not unusual. Other scenes denote a change in gender, from previously male performers to female dancers, as can be seen on the basement of the tenth-century Mūlanātha Svāmī Temple in Bahur, in Tamil Nadu. The art of sculpting, too, as Kanika Gupta shows, was in the past accomplished by women. At least in a traditional context, this is not common any longer today. Intriguingly, as Gupta shows, it was more commonly the daughters-in-law who were introduced into the artistic tradition of a family from outside, rather than the family's own daughters, who were married off and moved to their husband's family's home.

---

56 A *kolam* is a geometrical, often floral design pattern, laid out by the women of a household in white or coloured rice flour in front of private houses and temples for protection and auspiciousness. Whilst in the south of India, they are known as *kolam*, in the north-west they are referred to as *rangolī*.

57 In addition to gender associations, the women and men in the different trades also need to come from a certain caste. The potters in the Kathmandu Valley, for instance, belong to the sub-caste of the Prajāpatī (Sanskrit; in Newari: Kumā). For further information on this issue, see Niels Gutschow, *Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Städte im Kathmandu-Tal: Eine architekturanthropologische Untersuchung* (Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne/Mainz: Kohlhammer 1982): 47–50.

58 C. Andrew Gerstle, *Kabuki Heroes on the Osaka Stage 1780–1830* (London: British Museum Press, 2005): 12.

Plate 1.5: Odalavadi Village, Tamil Nadu. Laying out *kolam* designs in front of private houses for protection is reserved for women only.

Plate 1.6: Bhaktapur, Kathmandu Valley. Only men are permitted to turn a potter's wheel in Nepal.

7 Conclusion

The chapters in this volume focus on embodied dependencies, i.e. the visual expression of forms of severe asymmetrical dependency in objects of material culture and the built environment throughout the wider region of Asia. Most of the contributions cover different areas of India, but Nepal, Tibet, the area of the Silk Routes and mainland China are also represented. The compilation of specific regional studies combined in this book concentrates on material from outside the usual focal area of slavery and dependency studies, which are Europe and the transatlantic slave trade. The long-held Western and monotheistic bias is further corrected by examining situations connected with Asian religious groups only. Figuring most strongly are Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and various local cults in South Asia, many of which are polytheistic or at least present a complex pantheon of a multitude of revered beings and divinities. This publication is not a theoretical study, but one that introduces thirteen tangible case studies which give concrete and very specific insights into past and present-day strong unequal dependencies in connection with a number of art forms. Amongst these are painting, sculpture, architecture, city planning, gardens, porcelain art, dance, theatre, story-telling and ritual performance culture. The articles collected here concentrate on dependencies on the local climate, the availability of resources, on religion, society, oral and written cultural traditions, as well as on politics and patrons. In addition to the four

main groups of dependences,[59] the papers also make reference to dependences on conventions and norms, labour, as well as to gender dependencies. This shows that dependences are all-pervading at a number of different, at times simultaneous or coexisting, levels. Whilst some dependencies are omnipresent, such as the dependence on the local climate in the science of building or the question of the availability of resources, which heavily influences all art productions, others are more specific to a particular temporal situation.

It is fascinating that almost all of the contributions make us question long-held perceptions of what dependencies are. Some of the papers show that even written manuals are not as prescriptive and dominant in art production as one might have thought, although they provide clear directions and norms. On the other hand, situations where no codified guidelines exist are perceived by the artists themselves as strongly regulated by rules that are generally accepted, but not necessarily written or formulated. An interesting case are the British, who argued that they liberated women from a tyrant, although in the women's own view their alleged 'liberation' threw them into an intolerable dependency.[60] Whilst European missionaries classified temple dancers as slaves, one can argue – from a contemporary Western standpoint – that they were free, in contrast to ordinary married women who for their whole life depend on the men in their household.[61] Even if some might not fully agree with all of the interpretations, these changed perspectives still lead us to the insight that dependency classifications can at times be personal readings, reflecting individual or external viewpoints. As has been described in the case of the British above, early presentations of what have latterly been called alternative or false facts and other political manipulations might have played a role in some of the debates.[62] The discussions in the contributions definitely show that even circumstances which might be categorised as situations of extreme asymmetrical dependency by some, might not be considered as such by all the actors involved.

Whichever view we take in specific instances, the different case studies demonstrate the enormous breadth and diversity of dependency phenomena embodied in Asian art and architecture. Viewed critically, it is shocking how dependent artists and architects have generally been and continue to be. When we try to think of situations of dependency more generally, usually the image of the slave first comes to mind and not that of the artist. However, all the chapters illustrate also that despite situations or settings of highly restricted autonomy, due to strong and enduring unequal relations, artists and architects have at all times found at least some space for freedoms and self-expression.[63]

---

59 These are climatic and resource dependences (5.1), religious and social dependencies (5.2), dependences on oral and written traditions (5.3) and dependences on rulers, patrons and markets (5.4).

60 This refers to the material in Chapter 13 by Jennifer Howes.

61 This is with reference to Chapter 6 by Tiziana Leucci.

62 On the issue of 'alternative' or 'false facts', see note 47 in this chapter.

63 Whilst this collection of thirteen papers introduces an already large variety of regions, religious and artistic traditions and illustrates the highly complex visual nature of dependency phenomena,

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 729

This shows that the traditional concepts of 'slavery' and 'dependency' on one and that of 'freedom' on the other hand, cannot be classified as such clearly delineated polar opposites. At least in the area of the history of art and architecture in Asia, this situation needs to be rethought, as it clearly is much more complex, nuanced and multifaceted.

Bibliography

Antweiler, Christoph. "On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 25. 08.2022].

Eliade, Mircea. The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religion – The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual Within Life and Culture (San Diego/New York/London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987 [1957]).

Gerstle, C. Andrew. *Kabuki Heroes on the Osaka Stage 1780–1830* (London: British Museum Press, 2005).

Gutschow, Niels. Stadtraum und Ritual der newarischen Städte im Kathmandu-Tal: Eine architekturanthropologische Untersuchung (Stuttgart/Berlin/Köln/Mainz: Kohlhammer, 1982).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. "'Our Studio is Nature': The Work of the New Art Circle in Nepal," *Journal of the Nepal Research Centre* 10 (1996): 95–104.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009).

Hegewald, Julia. A.B. "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54.

Klostermaier, Klaus K. *A Concise Encyclopedia of Hinduism* (Oxford: New World, 1999 [1998]).

Latour, Bruno. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

Mitter, Partha. *The Triumph of Modernism: India's Artists and the Avant-Garde 1922–1947* (London: Reaktion Books, 2007).

Sivaramamurti, C. *The Painter in Ancient India* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1978).

von der Heide, Susanne. "From 'British Naturalism' to Abstract Modern Painting in Nepal," in *Anthropology of Tibet and the Himalayas*, ed. Charles Ramble and Martin Brauen (Zürich: Ethnographic Museum of the University of Zürich, 1993): 93–101.

von Fürer-Haimendorf, Christoph. "Elements of Newar Social Structure," *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 86 (1956): 15–38.

this is very much not exhaustive. It is hoped that other studies will follow, penetrating further into this fascinating area of visual studies and extending the remit of subject areas, regions and time frames even further. It is to be hoped especially that dependencies in modern and contemporary arts will be the focus of future studies, where a general perception prevails that the arts have freed themselves from functions and dependencies. However, as already indicated in this Introduction and in Chapter 10 by Sandra Jasmin Schlage, this appears not to have completely been the case.

Walker, Bethany J. “Peasant Dependencies in Medieval Islam: Whose Agency in Food Production and Migration?” *Working Paper* 3, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/working-papers/wp-walker.pdf [accessed 25. 08.2022].

Werner, Karel. *A Popular Dictionary of Hinduism* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1994).

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. “On Asymmetrical Dependency,” *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 25.08.2022].

3. Research Lenses

3.2. Embodied Dependencies

Julia Hegewald. “Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms,” in *Embodied Dependencies and Freedoms: Artistic Communities and Patronage in Asia. Dependency and Slavery Studies*, ed. Julia A. B. Hegewald (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 69–96.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110979855-003

Julia A.B. Hegewald

Chapter 3
Temple Architecture in Coastal Karnataka: An Interplay of Climatic Dependencies and Artistic Freedoms

1 Introduction

The region of Karnataka represents one of the cultural highlights of South Asia. This is from a point of view of artistic, architectural, cultural and religious diversity. In these, the region shows an unbroken continuity to the present day. Furthermore, the area is characterised by an enormous climatic variability. The Deccan high plateau is characterised by a hot and dry climate with very little rainfall, and the availability of hard stone for building projects. Towards the west, the uplands slope down steeply to a narrow fertile coastal belt that is drenched by regular rains. As a consequence, buildings constructed along the west coast are intensely exposed to the monsoon, which absorbs moisture from the ocean as it approaches the shoreline. Due to this extreme climatic situation, buildings had to be adapted to withstand prolonged and often heavy downpours. The ready availability of water resulted in the formation of inland waterways, the cultivation of large forested areas and the easy accessibility of wood as building material throughout the coastal region.

This paper argues that architecture is generally strongly dependent on and has been adapted to the regional climatic situation. The geography, but in many ways also the local weather, determine the availability of naturally available construction materials. This dependency[1] on climate and building resources will be contrasted with the freedoms and choices which were nevertheless open to architects, master builders and artisans during the design process, even in past centuries when infrastructure was less developed. Questions of dependence and freedom will be analysed by examining Jaina temple-building traditions in Karnataka. For this purpose, two closely related but widely differing areas will be contrasted: the dry Deccan upland and the more humid, low-lying south-western Indian coastal belt.

1 This chapter, like the other contributions in this volume, does not consciously differentiate between the two terms ‘dependence’ and ‘dependency’ and uses them largely as synonyms. Theoretical analyses in dependency studies identify ‘dependence’ as a more limited condition of shorter duration, while ‘dependency’ is concerned with a longer-term, more large-scale and to a greater extent lasting phenomenon. On this issue, see, for instance, the discussion in the Introduction of the present volume (Chapter 1, section 3) and Christoph Antweiler, “On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn,” *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022): 1–16.

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110979855-003

2 Jainism in the Deccan

The following section will give a brief introduction to the history and special features of Jainism in the Deccan in order to provide some basic background information. The origin of the religion lies in the east Indian region of Bihar in the fifth to sixths centuries BCE. According to legend, a severe draught and resulting famine affected the east of India during the third century BCE, causing large numbers of the local Jaina community including some of its foremost religious leaders to migrate from the area.[2] While one group moved further west, the second, allegedly led by the famous teacher or *ācārya* Bhadrabāhu, went south into the Deccan.[3] It was they who formed the Digambara ('space' or 'sky-clad', meaning 'naked') form of Jainism, as opposed to the Śvetāmbaras ('white-' or 'cotton-clad'), who generally are more prominent in the north and west of the country.[4] Digambara chronicles narrate that Bhadrabāhu died a religious death by voluntary starvation (*sallekhanā*) in the Deccani pilgrimage centre of Shravanabelgola (Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa) in about 298 BCE.[5] According to legend, Bhadrabāhu was accompanied by Candragupta Maurya, the grandfather of the emperor Aśoka.[6] A deep belief in this narrative has become engrained in the religious memory of the region, fed by numerous references in inscriptions and literary works,[7] as well as connections with specific locales and edifices said to have been visited by these

2 A number of scholars place this migration in the third century BCE, as Robert J. del Bontà does in, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 78. Others date it earlier, towards the end of the fourth century BCE. See Radha Champakalakshmi, "Monuments and Sculptures 300 B. C. to A. D. 300: South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 92–106 and Kuthur Ramakrishnan Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 185.

3 Various Digambara and Śvetāmbara accounts have been transmitted about this migration and the resulting schism of the Jaina community into Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras. Consult, for instance, Padmanabh S. Jaini, *The Jaina Path of Purification* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1990 [1979]): 5.

4 For additional information on the two main sects of Jainism see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 17–19.

5 For further details see Robert J. del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 82; Saryu Doshi, "The Art Treasures of Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 101; and S.P. Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005): 28, 33.

6 Candragupta is said to have converted to Jainism and also to have ended his life through *sallekhanā* at the same site of Shravanabelgola. The story of the joint migration of Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu to the south has been depicted in detail on two carved steatite screens installed in the Candragupta Basti at Shravanabelgola, dating from the twelfth century, which bear forty-five narrative panels each.

7 On this, see L.K. Srinivasan, "Shravana Belogola: In Legend and History," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 45.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 734

two historic personalities. It is, however, actually more likely that wandering Jaina monks transmitted the religion over centuries from Bihar through Orissa into Tamil Nadu. It seems likely that Jainism reached Tamil Nadu in the early centuries BCE, probably before the end of the fourth century BCE. From there, it appears to have arrived in Karnataka in the early centuries of the Common Era, probably around the second century CE.[8]

In the early centuries CE, Jainism was gradually losing influence in areas of northern India other than Rajasthan and Gujarat. Yet it continued to flourish in the southern states, especially in Karnataka, under the patronage of local rulers.[9] From the mid-fourth century CE, Jainism experienced great support under the Western Gaṅgās,[10] the contemporary Kadambas[11] and under the Western Cāḷukyas.[12] The Gaṅgās of Talakāḍ(u) and the Kadambas of Banavāsi supported and developed the religion further from the fourth to the sixth centuries CE.[13] Inscriptional evidence shows that Shravanabelgola developed into a prominent place of pilgrimage, in fact into one of the most celebrated religious sites in the south, from the beginning of the fifth century CE onwards.[14] Epigraphic and literary evidence as well as surviving statues and buildings indicate that the Cāḷukya and Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarchs were also positively disposed towards Jainism and its culture.[15] Whilst traces of Jaina temples and their related inscriptions date back to the early Cāḷukyas in the seventh century CE, the earliest statues and fully preserved temples date from the eighth to tenth centuries.[16] The carving of the colossal statue of Gommaṭeśvara

8 Cf. Srinivas Ritti, "Jain Inscriptions," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 141; I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 31; and Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 104–5.

9 On this subject refer, for instance, to Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 156.

10 I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 31; Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 117.

11 Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 123.

12 Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 127, 156.

13 Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 426–27.

14 See I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 44. This is attested mainly by footprints carved into the rock of the twin hills at the site.

15 On this, see Srinivas Ritti, "Jain Inscriptions," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 143; I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 32; Asim Kumar Chatterjee, *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 177.

16 The earliest preserved Jaina temples are to be found at Aihole, Hallur and Pattadakal, dating from about the seventh to the tenth centuries CE. During the medieval period, South India was controlled by a number of overlapping and consecutive rulers and small chieftains. This fact and the frequent

at Shravanabelgola, which was commissioned by Cāmuṇḍarāya (940–989 CE), the famous minister and general of both Marasimha II (r. 961–974) and Rācamalla IV (r. 974–984), probably in 981 or 983 CE,[17] indicates the peak of Jaina influence in Karnataka in the tenth century. The statue depicts the naked ascetic, who is the son of the first Jina, Ṛṣabhanātha, in an upright pose with elongated arms hanging down on both sides of his body (*khaḍgāsana* pose), reaching almost to his knees.[18] Large numbers of temples and Jaina settlements were created in Karnataka at this time.[19]

Things changed from about 1,000 CE onwards, when the fortunes of the Jainas started to wane in southern India as well. From the middle of the twelfth century, Jainism begun to be threatened by Hindu groups, such as Vaiṣṇavas and Śrīvaiṣṇavas (*bhakta*s), by Śaivas and Vīraśaivas, and in the northern Deccan region by Muslim migration into the wider area.[20] In these unstable times, many Jaina sacred edifices were destroyed, or absorbed and transformed by newly developed and incoming religions and their converts. During this process, Jaina statues were frequently decapitated or otherwise mutilated, while temple buildings were destroyed or re-used by other faith groups.[21] Desecrated

---

lack of inscriptions and precise dates for the founding of shrines make it difficult to establish firm links of temples with ruling dynasties. There were a number of Cāḷukya rulers, such as the Cāḷukyas of Badami (ca. 500–757) and the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇa (ca. 973–1198). The period in between was largely dominated by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (ca. 757–973). The dates for the respective dynasties given here have been taken from K.M. Suresh, *Temples of Karnataka (Ground Plans and Elevations)* (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003): 6, 10, 17.

17 See Kuthur Ramakrishnan Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 600 To 1000: South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 224; L.K. Srinivasan, "Shravana Belogola: In Legend and History," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 47; Robert J. del Bontà, "The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 63 and I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 150.

18 Adinatha's son is usually called Bāhubali. However, in Karantaka he is better known as Gommaṭa or Gommaṭeśvara. See L.K. Srinivasan, "Shravana Belogola: In Legend and History," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 48; and Lakshmi Chand Jain, "The Legend of Bāhubali: The Quintessence of Quest and Conquest," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 37–44.

19 On this issue, see Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 427.

20 For further details, refer to Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 427; L.K. Srinivasan, "Shravana Belogola: In Legend and History," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 50.

21 See the chapter on the theory of re-use by Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration," in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54, as well as the entire volume edited by Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata Kumar Mitra, eds., *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety* (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012), which discusses practical examples from the fields of the humanities and social sciences. For individual case studies of the re-use of sacred Jaina sites in the Deccan, consult also Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 736

figures can be seen at the Pañcakūṭa Basti at Kambadhalli, for example.[22] Jaina temples in Karnataka are locally referred to as *basti* (also spelled *bastī*) or *basadi*.[23] In the south, the Jainas only retained a strong backing in the modern state of Karnataka, where they continued to wield power at least in several small areas.[24] Amongst these were the cluster of sites and edifices in and around Shravanabelgola on the Deccan plateau, as well as Mudabidri (Mūdabidri) and its neighbouring sacred centres in the remote coastal strip, beyond the Western Ghats. In these regions, Jainism continued to thrive and is still flourishing to the present day.[25]

3 Geography and Climate

Next, I will discuss the local geography, climate and resource availability in the regions under discussion. As we saw above, Karnataka falls into at least two distinct geographic and climatic regions. The modern state capital of Bangalore lies on the southern plateau, which is a relatively dry highland. Where irrigation is available, one finds cultivations of *ragi*,[26] paddy, coconut trees and areca palms. Otherwise the region is a high desert with large stretches of relatively barren terrain (Plate 3.1 above).[27]

To reach the coastal region of Karnataka, one has to descend the side of a steep mountain ridge, the Sahyadri hills.[28] At the bottom lies the Kanara region, a long and

Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity," *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–24.

22 The temple at Kambadhalli is one of the landmarks of South Indian temple architecture, dating from 900 to 1000. For further details see, for instance, I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 161 and Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 76–81. On the occasion of the last Mahāmastakābhiṣeka in 2018, some of the scattered and partially destroyed stone statues were placed again in wall niches and in some instances, the mutilated faces, limbs and genitals of stone statues were restored in plaster.

23 The words '*basadi*' or '*basti*' are derived from the Sanskrit term '*vasati*', meaning 'residence of god'. S.P. Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005): 191.

24 On this issue, see Asim Kumar Chatterjee. *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 2, *AD 1000–1600* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000): 66, 147.

25 This has also been discussed by Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 427.

26 *Ragi* is a locally cultivated form of millet which does not require large quantities of water.

27 See H.V. Shreenivasa Murthy and R. Ramakrishnan. *A History of Karnataka (From the Earliest Times to the Present Day)* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1977): 7; Saryu Doshi, "The Pilgrim's Path at Shravana Belgola," in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 20.

28 Further information on this is available in Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the pre-historic times upon the modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): vi. The mountain range is registered on the list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites as an area harbouring an unusually high biodiversity.

Plate 3.1: Terrains typical of the desert-like dry Deccan plateau (above) and the fertile and well-watered coastal belt.

narrow lowland, which stretches about 300 kilometres north to south, bordered by hilly slopes to the east and the Arabian Sea to the west. This slender strip of relatively level land is irrigated by a number of streams and is consequently very fruitful and productive. It also abounds in mineral resources, which generate further prosperity.[29] The many trade ports along the coast and its rivers with boatyards and fishing industries have led to the growth of numerous commercial and trade hubs as well as liberally funded pilgrimage centres.[30] The Sahyadri mountains, which range from 2,000 to more than 8,000 feet in height, present a barrier for the heavy monsoon clouds. This causes generous and regular rains to be discharged over the coastal belt, which has led to the growth of dense evergreen forests, consisting primarily of teak and sandalwood trees (Plate 3.1 below). In addition, there are bamboo groves and the cultivation of coffee, cashew nuts, areca nuts, tea, cardamom, coconut and bananas, often grown in large plantations.[31]

4 Jaina Religious Architecture

Jaina temple complexes are found throughout Karnataka, on the Deccan highland and in the low-lying coastal stretch. However, as these are located in climatically divergent zones where different building materials are naturally available, the architecture of the two zones looks strikingly different. Both traditions show a strong dependency on and adaptation to the local weather conditions, and reflect the use of regionally available construction resources. These issues will be examined in more detail in what follows.

4.1 Temples on the Dry Uplands

On the Deccan plateau, temples are largely made of cut stone. This can be a soft and usually yellowish sandstone (Plate 3.2), or a greenish or grey, hard granite. Other sacred structures have been built of steatite, commonly referred to as soapstone or potstone, a form of chloritic or talc schist, which is readily available throughout the region.

29 These minerals include iron, copper and mica, and valuable stones such as garnets and limestone, which can be used for building and creating cement. On the mineral resources of the region see Himashu Prabha Ray, "India's Forgotten Coastal Monuments: The Case for Kanara," in *The Twenty-first Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Lecture* (Mumbai: The Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Foundation, 2019): 14.

30 See also H.V Shreenivasa Murthy and R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka (From the Earliest Times to the Present Day)* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1977): 4–5.

31 H.V. Shreenivasa Murthy and R. Ramakrishnan, *A History of Karnataka (From the Earliest Times to the Present Day)* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1977): 6.

Plate 3.2: The Camundaraya Basti on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola displays the typical features of a *drāviḍa* temple structure.

The temples in this area exhibit the typical features of the south Indian style of architecture (*drāviḍa*). As part of this idiom, structures have relatively plain exterior walls. Some facades have been adorned with pilasters and niches, which can either remain empty or frame decorative or figurative elements.[32] The temple walls are crowned by a prominent roof moulding (*kapōta*)[33] which is topped by a number of ornate elements. These include miniature pavilions and horseshoe-shaped arches (*gavākṣa*s, *kūdu*s), creating an elaborate parapet. The same pattern is repeated in the roof tower. In this place, the elaborate composite cornices have been arranged in

32 The niches of the twelfth- to thirteenth-century Nagara Jinālaya Basti in Shravanabelgola (1195 CE), for instance, contain simple decorative elements, such as rondels or rosettes. Further information on the temple can be found in Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 49–50. The Śāntīśvara Basti in Jinanathapura (Jinanāthapura), built at roughly the same time, is unusual in housing a large number of figural representations in its exterior niches. For a detailed discussion of the iconographical scheme of the temple, see the chapter by Robert J. del Bontà, "The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛti, 2011). Most Jaina temples throughout the region, including those dating from the Hoysaḷa period, are reasonably plain. This shows the continued influence of the earlier, rather unadorned Gaṅgā style also in later buildings.

33 On this, see also I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 147.

diminishing tiers to form layered, pyramidal roof shapes (Plate 3.2). These signpost the most sacred element of the temple building below: the shrine (*garbha-gṛha*), which houses a single – or in a Jaina context frequently multiple – object(s) of veneration.[34]

Throughout the region of upland Karnataka there are particularly many Jaina temples with more than one shrine. In some, there are two sanctums (*dvikūṭācala*) positioned side-by-side or facing one another. In others, three *garbha-gṛha*s, usually of roughly equal size, have been combined (*trikūṭācala*). These shrines can also be arranged laterally, as is the case in the early Trikūṭa Basti, also known as the Candragupta Basti (ca. 850 CE) on Candragiri at Shravanabelgola.[35] Alternatively, they can be positioned in the form of a three-petalled clover leaf, surrounding a joint central hall. The latter is especially widespread, and can be seen in the twelfth-century Hoysaḷa Odegal Basti on Viṇdhyagiri, also at Shravanabelgola (Plate 3.3).[36] Lesser-known is the even larger temple of this type at Chikka Hanasoge (Chikka Haṇasoge). In the latter example, in addition to the joint central hallway, a further chamber was added on each of the three sides to enlarge the star-like arrangement.[37] Five-shrined layouts (*pañcakūṭacala*) were also created by adding another two shrines, usually facing one another, situated at the front of triple-shrined temples. Especially well-known is the highly complex combination of the five sanctums of the Pañcakūṭa Basti at Kamabadhalli (Kambadhallī), dating from the late nineth century.[38]

Generally-speaking, most Jaina temples throughout Karnataka consist of a shrine (*garbha-gṛha*), followed by a shallow vestibule (*antarāla*) leading to one or more halls (*maṇḍapa*) that can be either open and/or closed. Entrance to the sacred building is usually through an open, pillared porch (*mukhamaṇḍapa*, *agramaṇḍapa*).[39] Whilst a pyramidal, *drāviḍa* roof is most common of south Indian temple architecture, there

34 For further details on the common display and veneration of multiple items of worship see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Jaina Temple Architecture: A Progression from Images to Shrines and Temple Cities," in *South Asian Archaeology 1999. Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, ed. Ellen M. Raven (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2008).

35 Whilst in the north of India, the name of this hill would be spelled 'Candragirī', with a long 'ī', in Karnataka, where this term has been absorbed into the local Kannada language, it is spelled with a short 'i' as 'Candragiri'. The Candragupta Basti has been discussed in Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 68–70.

36 This temple is addressed at greater detail in Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 32.

37 For additional information and a drawing of the temple see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 524.

38 This Gaṅgā temple also comprises architectural additions dating from the tenth and eleventh centuries.

39 On this, consult also I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 36; and S.P. Chavan, *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005): 40–41.

Plate 3.3: The Odegal Basti on Viṇdhyagiri at Shravanabelgola is a triple-shrined structure with flat roofs.

are also cases where either no roof structure ever existed or where this has not been preserved, and where both the shrine and the proceeding halls are covered by a flat roof (Plate 3.3). Examples are the two *basti*s on Viṇdhyagiri and at Chikka Hanasoge, discussed above. Due to the general aridity of the area, flat roofs are no problem.

It is very common of Gaṅgā, Hoysaḷa and Cāḷukya temples to have elaborately decorated ceilings (*vitāna*). These can be corbelled, and may then also be referred to as lantern ceilings, with a prominent lotus pendant projecting from the middle. A good example can be seen in the Akkaṇṇa Basti (1181) at Shravanabelgola.[40] Particularly striking are the square, flat arrangements, usually consisting of nine smaller compartments that combine to form one large square. We might look to the elaborate ceiling in the Śāntinātha Basti at Kambadhalli, which shows seated Śāntinātha surrounded by the eight guardians of the directions (*aṣṭadikapāla*s).

To summarise on the temple-building traditions on the arid Deccan upland: good quality stone is readily available for construction projects. A mostly desert-like environment allows sacred structures either to have flat or pyramidal stone roofs, following the *drāviḍa* style of temple architecture, not requiring a sloping roof to allow excessive rain water to run off.

40 See Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 50, for further information on this temple.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 742

4.2 Temple Architecture in the Wet Lowlands

Let us now turn to the territory and architecture of the wet lowlands of Karnataka, bordering the shoreline on the west, which forms the primary focus of this chapter. This area is commonly known as Canara or Kanara. Officially, the state divides into two districts. The southern part, which is of main concern to us, is known as South Kanara, Dakṣiṇa Kannaḍa (Jille), Tuḷunāḍu or Tuḷudēśa.[41] It has its own local languages, Tuḷu and Konkani, and a unique culture.[42]

Evidence of Jaina activities in the region go back to the fourth century CE.[43] It seems that Jaina temple building must have started from at least the seventh century CE[44] with a very prolific phase up to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. However, in their present form, most of the *bastis* of the Kanara coastal district largely date from the fourteenth and later centuries. The sacred edifices of the Jainas form the principal objects of architectural interest in the region.

Although the shrines on the west coast do not usually follow the general south Indian *drāviḍa* temple style, which includes a pyramidal stone roof, they are also found in South India. Due to the ready availability of wood in the area and the need to protect buildings against heavy monsoon rains, shrines throughout the littoral region are characterised by having wide, projecting, sloping roofs (Plate 3.4). Because these often consist of multiple, superimposed elements, the edifices are visually related to the pagoda temples of neighbouring Kerala, but also appear similar to those in Nepal and the Far East.[45] The similarities with the shrines in Kerala and Nepal are, in fact, due to a comparable climate of pronounced and recurrent rains. Kerala borders the coastal region in the south and shares the same weather conditions. The modern state of Nepal is located on the Himalayan slopes where the heavy monsoon clouds discharge much of their water to lose weight in order to pass over the steep

41 Cf. Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 431; and Himashu Prabha Ray, "India's Forgotten Coastal Monuments: The Case for Kanara," in *The Twenty-first Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Lecture* (Mumbai: The Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Foundation, 2019): 13.

42 Further information on this region, its art and architecture can be found in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Pagodas, Pillars and Popular Cults: The Jaina *Bastis* of Coastal Karnataka," *Veranda: Journal of Sushant School of Art and Architecture* 1, no. 1 (2019): 14–37.

43 On this, see P.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan and South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 370.

44 Cf. Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 407.

45 In addition to similar roof types, temples and other edifices in Kerala also often employ mud as building material. See the publications by Deepa G. Nair, "An Investigation on the Potential of Mud as Sustainable Building Material in the Context of Kerala," *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy* 13, no. 1–2 (2017): 107–22, and Shailaja Nair and P.B. Sajan, "Contemporary Explorations in Mud Construction: Kerala," *Context: Built, Living and Natural, Journal of the Development and Research Organization for Nature, Arts and Heritage* 11 (2015): 111–16.

Himalayan ranges. Similar architecture can also be found on the slopes of the Indian Himalayas, for example, in Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakand, or in the neighbouring States of Sikkim and Bhutan.[46] Structurally, the Himalayan and the south Indian coastal traditions basically represent a simple Gupta-style temple, consisting of piled-up cubic building blocks to achieve height (a sign of the importance of the gods), to which roofs have been fixed on all four sides for protection. Contrasting with this format, the so-called 'true' pagoda temples of China, Korea and Japan follow an entirely different logic, as they have been derived from the Buddhist *stūpa*. In these latter structures, the form is not predetermined by climatic conditions but is due to a ritual concept: that of the building and the worshippers (in their ritual movement) encircling a central pole and sacred relic.[47]

Plate 3.4: View of the Kere Basti near Karkal, which has multiple sloping roofs protecting the wood and mud-built construction against the rains.

46 On these regions, see Miki Desai, *Wooden Architecture of Kerala* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2018): 21–31, and Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Dependency on Building Resources and Expertise in the Himalayas," *Dependent. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2021–1: 12–13.

47 The characteristic features of the Far Eastern pagoda and its development from the Buddhist memorial mount of the *stūpa* to pagoda temple structures has been discussed in detail by Dietrich Seckel, "Stūpa Elements Surviving in East Asian Pagodas," in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980): 249–59, and Johannes W. Glauche, *Der Stupa: Kultbau des Buddhismus* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1995): 97–99.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 744

The steep, slanting temple roofs of the Konkan coast have traditionally been covered with terracotta tiles (Plate 3.5). The clay for firing is available locally.[48] Projecting wooden struts or brackets, often carved in the shape of divine or heavenly figures, frequently support the wide roof overhangs. Below them are wooden pillars that form open but covered ambulatory paths (*pradakṣiṇā patha*) which at least partially surround most temple structures. The outer walls of the temple edifices are plain, traditionally made from a combination of wood and mud, both of which are readily available local natural products.[49] Even when in recent times temples were substantially renovated, modernised and given a stone cladding of thin tiles,[50] the elaborately carved traditional wooden pillars and ceiling panels have in many instances been retained. One can see this very well in the entrance porch of the extensive Pārśvanātha Basti in Venur.[51]

However, over time and probably as a reaction to the stone temple building traditions of the dryer Deccan upland and the monumental constructions found in central and northern India, stone was introduced for structural temple building in the coastal area as well. This was probably largely due to the creation of firmer roads that allowed the transport of heavy blocks of stone over longer distances. However, laterite also appears to have been quarried locally in larger quantities than before.[52] Nevertheless, stone remained a rarer, more expensive and therefore highly treasured building material, used essentially for sacred structures only. It seems that initially, stone had been employed for the basement storeys to prevent damp from rising up into the mud walls, and to give greater durability to load-bearing pillars. Stone pillars integrated

48 I am grateful to Kevin Fernandes for pointing out that tiles were only introduced to the region by the Basel Mission in the 1800s. It appears that previously, thatch and other locally available natural fibres were used to cover the roofs. This is attested to by Srinivasan, who mentions thatch as traditional material for roof constructions in the region. See P.R. Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan and South India," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 367.

49 On the walls in the region see Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 442. The quality of mud varies according to its ingredients. Typically, it is composed of silt, clay and local soil, mixed with water. Due to their exceptional thermal regulating properties, mud walls create a comfortable microclimate indoors, cool in the summer and warm during the winter months. See also Shailaja Nair and P.B. Sajan, "Contemporary Explorations in Mud Construction: Kerala," *Context: Built, Living and Natural, Journal of the Development and Research Organization for Nature, Arts and Heritage* 11 (2015): 111; and Deepa G. Nair, "An Investigation on the Potential of Mud as Sustainable Building Material in the Context of Kerala," *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy* 13, no. 1–2 (2017): 109, 119.

50 This was at times done during restoration campaigns in the twentieth century, in order to make basic mud constructions appear more precious and clean and to look like stone-built temples.

51 There are multiple local spellings for this place: Enur(u), Eluru, Yenūr or Yēṇūru.

52 On this issue, see also Kuthur Ramakrishnan Srinivasan, "Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan," in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 367; and H. Cousens, *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996 [1926]): 134–35.

Plate 3.5: View into the roof of the Pārśvanātha Basti at Venur, revealing its wood and tile construction.

into constructions largely made of wood and earth can be seen in the Kere Basti (1545) on the south side of Karkal (Kārkala).[53] Subsequently the wide, projecting roofs, which are indispensable due to the wet climate, were also translated into stone.[54] Light terracotta tiles were replaced with stone slabs, usually laterite or granite. Such stone slab roofs can be seen in the Śāntināth Basti at Venur. Through the translation from wood (for the substructure) and fired clay tiles (for the covering) into stone, the roofs substantially gained in weight. As a result, the stone coverings had to be supported by huge numbers of pillars from below. Representative examples, exposing numerous supporting pillars, are the famous Caturmukha Basti at Karkal (1586), which allegedly has 108 pillars – a sacred numeral – (Plate 3.6), and the Candranātha or Hosa Basti (1429) in Mudabidri (Plate 3.8 below).[55] Revealingly, the latter temple is popularly known as the 'Thousand-pillared Temple'. In order to provide enhanced stability, a double row of pillars was employed in the rear portion of this temple to support the heavy multi-storeyed sanctum towering above.

The direct conversion of wooden construction techniques into stone becomes particularly apparent from inside the temples, when one gazes up into the roofs.[56] The stone interior of the halls, their pillars and struts, have been richly carved (Plate 3.7). Many of the structures in the coastal region also have elaborately carved ceilings.[57] These are usually corbelled or lantern ceilings. Whilst the lower edge gradually changes into a round, domed shape, a lotus pendant projects into the space of the domical ceiling at the top end. Others are flat arrangements, usually consisting, again, of nine squares, such as

53 Kere Basti literally means 'tank temple'. The *basti* is located inside a large, irregularly-shaped reservoir known as Ānekere Lake, and reached via a bridge from the south. See Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 110. Other *kere bastis* in the region have no bridges and can only be visited by boat. See, for instance, the example at Varanga. For further information on this site, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 526–27.

54 This was not the first time in the history of Indian architecture that earlier wooden constructions were subsequently rendered in stone. A very visible instance are the early rock-cut monasteries in Maharashtra. Similar to the examples discussed in this chapter from Karnataka, this was also done in Kerala and with regards to other temple and building forms throughout India. See the interesting discussion of this issue in Miki Desai, *Wooden Architecture of Kerala* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2018): 34–37.

55 For further information on the two temples, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 84–90, 114, 117. For the number of pillars at Karkal, refer to Sheker Naik, "Heritage and Tourism: A Case of Jain Temples and Monuments in Undivided Dakshina Kannada District, Karnataka, India," *JOHAR – Journal of Hospitality Application and Research* 5, no. 2 (2010): 152.

56 On this issue, see Miki Desai, "The Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri: A Comparative View with the Jaina Temples of Gujarat and the Wooden Temple Architecture of Kerala," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (New Delhi: Saṁskṛiti, 2011): 202–8.

57 See also I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 155, 235.

Plate 3.6: The heavy stone roof of the Caturmukha Basti at Karkal is supported by a large number of stone pillars from below.

the one we already encountered in the architecture of the Deccan plateau. Iconographically, the square ceiling panels consist of a grid, showing usually either eight of the nine planets (*navagṛha*) or the eight guardians of the world regions (*aṣṭadikapāla*s) arranged around a central Jina panel.[58] For elaborate ceiling arrangements, see, for instance, the temples at Hiriyangadi (Hiriyaṅgaḍi) near Karkal, the Candranātha Basti at Mudabidri and the Śāntinātha Basti at Venur. Illustrating the importance of the ritual of circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) in the architecture of the region, internal ambulatories (*pradakṣiṇā patha*) regularly surround the shrines. Providing a long line of access to the sanctum, a number of roofed halls have usually been raised at the front of the shrine.

Many of the Jaina temple edifices along the west coast of Karnataka are multi-storeyed and accommodate superimposed sanctums on two or three levels. For structural reasons, many of the upper floors have been constructed of wood, usually raised above a lower storey made of stone or a combination of stone pillars and inserted mud walls. This is illustrated by the double-storeyed Guru Basti in Mudabidri, which

58 Cf. I.K. Sarma, *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992): 235. The nine-grid arrangement is a sacred composition that also forms part of the *maṇḍala* ground plans of temples.

Plate 3.7: In the later temples of the coastal region, wooden construction techniques were translated into stone, as here at Karkal.

goes back to the eight century (Plate 3.8 above).[59] In the triple-storeyed Candranātha Basti in the same place, the lowest storey is all stone, the first floor is a mixture of stone and wood, whilst the uppermost level of the shrine is entirely made of wood. In contrast to the lower stone roof, the two upper ones are covered with copper sheeting (Plate 3.8 below).[60] This is more expensive as a material, but even lighter than tiles and therefore especially suitable for multiple superimposed roofs. However, there are examples where even the upper floor levels have been built of stone. This is the case in the Śāntinātha Basti at Hiriyangadi near Karkal and the Baḍaga Basti at Mudabidri (Plate 3.9), both dating from about the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.[61] In most cases,

59 In the Guru Basti, a statue of Pārśvanātha has been enshrined on the ground level, with a Nandīśvara Dvīpa representation housed on the first floor above.

60 See Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 443. In the Candranātha Basti, above an image of Candranātha on the ground floor are sculptures of Supārśvanātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra on the first-floor level, topped by a shrine housing the twenty-four Jinas (*caubīsī*) made of crystal. on the second floor.

61 In the latter temple, the shrine on the ground floor houses Candraprabhu, while above is installed a statue of Abhinandanātha and a *caturviṁśati* tablet that displays the twenty-four Jinas. Additional information on the two temple sites has been included in Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala* (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021): 103–6, 117–19.

Plate 3.8: At Mudabidri, the two-storeyed Guru Basti and the triple-storeyed Candranātha Basti show combinations of stone and wooden floor levels.

Plate 3.9: The Baḍaga Basti at Mudabidri is almost entirely made of stone, including its raised storey.

access to these raised storeys is provided by wooden ladders from inside the temple edifices. Good examples of such access stairs can be seen in the Pārśvanātha Basti at Venur and the Śāntinātha Basti at Guruvayanakere. The latter is a relatively unusual temple, in which also non-Jainas are permitted access to the upper level of the sacred structure. In this temple, a statue of Pārśvanātha and a Nandīśvara Dvīpa representation are accommodated in the shrine and the hall on this raised floor level. In addition to the relatively simple wooden stairs, this temple has an additional external staircase to ease the upwards and downwards flow of larger groups of visitors on festival days.

There are other local peculiarities typical of the coastal area, which are, however, not related to the climate but to a quite open cultural and religious environment in which Jaina, Hindu and other religious groups engage in reasonable amounts of sharing.[62] These include altars for offerings and pillars associated with temple complexes. Often there are large numbers of platforms, altars (*balipīṭha*, *balikallu*) and columns, which have been positioned axially at the entrance to the temples.[63] All *basti*s which

62 See also the chapter by Jahfar Shareed Pokkanali in this volume (Chapter 7), who similarly describes the sharing of ritual concepts along the west coast of India; in his case in neighbouring Kerala.
63 On *balipīṭha*s, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 197.

host a car (*ratha*) festival have a flag post erected at their front. This is the case in the Candranātha, the Ammāvara and the Baḍaga Bastis at Mudabidri. Other pillars display flags (*dhvajastambha*s), lights (*dīpastambha*s) or statues of the Jinas (*mānastambha*s).[64] The pillars have always been displayed in one straight line, positioned at the front of the temple buildings. They can either be placed inside the walled complex, as in the Candranātha Basti at Mudabidri, or outside the walls, as can be seen at the Baḍaga Basti at Mudabidri. A third option is to find the pillars in both locations, as is the case in the Śrī Padmāvatī Ammanavaru Basti at Hiriyangadi.

Unique in a Jaina context are *mānastambha*s and Brahmastambhas. *Mānastambha*s have a fourfold and at times a single representation housed inside a pavilion or exposed to the air. Statues may be seated or standing. While *mānastambha*s are associated with Digambara Jainism throughout India and can in rarer instances also be found in a Śvetāmbara context,[65] Brahmastambhas are especially typical of southern and in particular of south-western Karnataka. The latter type of pillar displays a sculptural representation of Brahmadeva, a *yakṣa* and *kṣetrapāla*.[66] Statues of Brahmadeva placed on pillars usually present him in a seated posture with two arms. He bears a club or sword in his right and a seed-filled lemon in his left hand. In reliefs that are frequently carved into the bottom of the pillars, Brahmadeva can also be shown riding a horse. Similar to the Jinas raised on *mānastambha*s, the sculptures of Brahma can also either be open to the air or placed within pavilions.[67]

In addition, a small shrine, dedicated to the *kṣetrapāla*, the guardian of the temple complex, would be placed to the rear left of the temple when viewed from the

64 A variety of different kinds of pillars is discussed in Julia A.B. Hegewald, *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009): 183–97; in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 134–60; and in Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Pagodas, Pillars and Popular Cults: The Jaina *Bastis* of Coastal Karnataka," *Veranda: Journal of Sushant School of Art and Architecture* 1, no. 1 (2019): 14–37.

65 There are examples of *mānastambha*s in the complex of the Śvetāmbara Dādā Bāṛī Jaina Temple in southern Delhi, and in the Śvetāmbara temple complex located in the fort of Mandu (Māndū), Madhya Pradesh. For further information see also Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 138.

66 A *yakṣa* is an attendant and a guardian deity associated with a Jina, while a *kṣetrapāla* is a guardian of the sacred temple compound.

67 For additional information on the iconography of Brahmadeva, see Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 146–49.

front. If the main temple opens towards the east, then this is the south-west corner.[68] Although Brahmadeva is also a *kṣetrapāla*, the small shrines discussed here are somewhat different. They are generally lower, simply placed either on a low platform or a short pillar, raising the object of veneration not higher than the eye-level of a standing person. Iconographically, too, the statues of 'general' *kṣetrapāla*s found towards the rear of sacred complexes differ from those placed at the very top of pillars which are specifically named Brahmadeva. In the 'generic' representations, he is either human, depicted as a standing man who holds a trident (*triśūla*), with his second arm on his hip;[69] or they show the *kṣetrapāla* in the form of a snake. Sometimes, the figural representation has simply been replaced by a trident as symbolic marker of the divinity.[70] The serpent representations are more generally referred to as snake stones (*nāgakal, nāgaśila*). Frequently, large numbers of such carved stone tablets have been grouped together. Some serpent representations are more elaborate, showing a snake with five or seven heads, forming protective hoods, or a being which is half-snake and half-man. The latter is usually referred to as a snake king (*nāgarāja*). In fact, often both forms are displayed side by side on one platform or inside one and the same shrine. Combinations of both forms can be encountered in the Kallu Basti in Mudabidri and the Pārśvanātha Basti at Venur. Other snake stones have been placed beneath venerated trees,[71] such as a fig, shal or parijata tree, commonly planted inside Jaina temple compounds. Alternatively, they may be lined up along the outer rear wall of a shrine or the length of the precinct wall behind the temple. Devotees venerate these additional sacred images when circumambulating the main temple.

Most temples are enclosed by high compound walls (*prākāra*) and entered through substantial and elaborate gateway structures, then usually referred to as *mahādvāra*, meaning 'large gate'.[72] Whilst on the Deccan plateau, these gateways usually display the *drāviḍa* style by having a barrel-roofed *gopura* gate, the roofs of gateways in the coastal belt have the sloping tiled roofs characteristic of the region. The Kanara gateways are usually quite deep. Many have covered spaces at the front and/or back, towards the

68 Bhatt points out that in Hindu temples, the shrine of the guardian of the sacred precinct (*kṣetrapāla pīṭha*) is always located in the north-east of the outer ambulation path. See Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 420.

69 See also Julia A.B. Hegewald, "Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka," in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 148, 157–58.

70 The same applies to representations of Śiva, whose presence may be indicated by his trident (*triśūla*) only.

71 See also Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 405.

72 On this, refer to Paduru Gururaja Bhatt, *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975): 424.

temple courtyards.[73] Some even contain side or elevated subsidiary shrines, such as can be seen at Venur in the Gommaṭeśvara enclosure and in the gateway of the Candranātha Basti at Bhatkal.

So far, we noticed a dependence on stone as the predominant building material in the arid Deccan region, and a traditional reliance on wood and mud as principal resources for constructing temples in the littorals. Due to more intense quarrying and better road networks that allow the transport of stone over longer distances, builders in the Kanara Region also constructed edifices out of stone, which, at least in large quantities, is not a readily available local resource. It appears that at least from the early fifteenth century onwards, stone was used more widely for building in coastal Karnataka as well.[74] During the twentieth century, another building material, concrete, was introduced to the wider region and is now used everywhere in the Indian subcontinent. Concrete is an easily available, global, and reasonably cheap construction material; it can be purchased in powdered form and mixed on site with sand and water, making it an extremely popular material to employ. As in other regions of the subcontinent, Jaina temples in Tuḷunāḍu have regularly been repaired, renovated, transformed, extended or even entirely been replaced. In these substantially renovated or newly constructed edifices, concrete – a man-made building material widely used throughout the world – has been employed. Through the development of reinforced concrete and steel beams the distance between the pillars changed again. Wood has quite a wide span, which had to be reduced when beams were made out of stone. With the introduction of steel beams and concrete, the distance between pillars can be even greater than in largely wooden constructions. Concrete structures can be clad in stone panels, which is cheaper than creating solid stone edifices and also creates lighter constructions. It should be noticed that in contrast to mud, fired earth (tiles) and wood, which are renewable materials, cement, concrete and steel are highly energy intensive in their production.[75] However, despite this further expansion of the range of available materials, the scope of which has now been extended beyond only locally available products, the overall design of the temples

73 A gateway opening towards the space at the front of a temple can be seen at the Deramma Śeṭṭi Basti at Mudabidri and one providing a covered but open space towards the courtyard in the Śāntināṭha Basti in Hiriyangadi.

74 For instance, the Candranātha Basti at Mudabidri, of which substantial sections were constructed in 1429, has significant sections made of stone. The Caturmukha Basti at Karkal, dating from 1586, on the other hand, is entirely built of stone. However, as wooden temples require regular repairs and temples were often altered or completely replaced during later centuries, it is difficult to date this change from wood to stone more precisely. In addition, stone never completely replaced mud, wood and terracotta tiles and even today, new temples are being built entirely of these traditional materials. It is not only a question of the available of resources but also of available funds.

75 On this issue, see G.S. Sruthi, "Mud Architecture," *International Journal of Innovative Research in Science, Engineering and Technology* 2 (2013): 47; Shailaja Nair and P.B. Sajan, "Contemporary Explorations in Mud Construction: Kerala," *Context: Built, Living and Natural, Journal of the Development and Research Organization for Nature, Arts and Heritage* 11 (2015): 112.

in most instances has remained relatively unaltered over the centuries. One example is the Neminātha Basti at Hiriyangadi, which has been extensively modernised. Another fascinating case is the Candranātha Basti at Dharmasthala. A photograph by Kurt Titze, published in 1998, shows the temple largely as a structure made of wood and earth with tiled roofs.[76] However, in 2001, the local Jaina community had the temple completely deconstructed, and the main statue was temporary housed in a shrine close by. At least by 2019, a concrete structure with stone cladding had entirely replaced the original temple (Plate 3.10). This illustrates another shift in material and an additional extension of the freedoms available to temple builders today, moving further away from a local resource dependency.

Plate 3.10: The Candranātha Basti at Dharmasthala, which was replaced by the Jaina community in recent years, illustrates modern constructions in concrete.

5 Conclusion

This paper has explored the interaction between climate and resource dependencies in the region of coastal Karnataka, and the freedoms which master architects and artisans, working for the local Jaina community, still found within these strongly predetermined

76 See Plate 318 in the publication by Kurt Titze, *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1998): 223.

circumstances. In order to illustrate the special case of coastal Karnataka, I contrasted the architecture characteristic for the region with the climate, the availability of building materials and with the architecture on the dry Deccan plateau, which is physically closely related but very different.

The in large parts almost desert-like high, flat terrain of central and southern Karnataka has a hot and very arid climate with hardly any rainfall, while hard and durable stone is easily obtainable for building projects. Towards the west, the raised lands of the Deccan uplands drop away abruptly to a narrow, fertile coastal area, saturated by regular and persistent rains. Based on the presence of substantial wooded expanses along the coastline, timber was traditionally the building material chosen for the construction of domestic as well as religious structures in this region. In order to protect the wood against damp, wide, projecting, sloping tiled roofs were placed atop substructures made largely of a combination of wood and mud.

The architecture of both regions has been adapted to the local climatic situation and the availability of materials for construction. Along the Konkan coast, buildings had to adjust in order to withstand prolonged and often heavy rains, which is quite unusual for the wider area of the subcontinent. A similar situation, however, is found on the slopes of the Himalayan ranges, for example, in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh, or in Nepal and Bhutan, just across the border from India. Whilst some temples in Himachal Pradesh have stone towers (*śikhara*) characteristic of the northern Indian temple idiom (*nāgara*), the beehive-shaped stone towers are not well suited to a wet climate, and most were later given protective wooden or metal roofs against the rains. Most typical of Nepal are pagoda temples. In many ways, these are similar to those in coastal Karnataka. However, whilst the latter typically possess walls made of mud and wood, those in Nepal employ a combination of fired brick and wood.

It is fascinating to observe that with time, probably as a reaction to stone-built temple traditions on the dry uplands of central Karnataka and in other areas of the country, stone also gained more popularity in the south-west. This might have been due to new quarrying technologies, an enhanced infrastructure and better road networks. Due to these, and possibly other issues, stone in larger quantities was introduced to the coastal belt as well. Although it still remained a scarcer, highly treasured and more costly building material reserved largely for sacred architecture, stone offered local builders more freedom in exploring design variations. Although there were attempts to translate architectural elements from wood into stone, this was not always possible as wood and stone have very different properties and substantially vary in weight. As such, stone edifices echo wooden constructions but require larger numbers of pillars to support increasingly heavy stone roofs. Even later, during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the large-scale introduction of concrete changed the options available to the master builders once again. In combination with iron girders and stone cladding to dress concrete subconstructions, the weight of roofs and buildings could again be reduced. While wood and earth are locally available, traditional resources and stone can be brought in from a reasonable distance, concrete is a new modern,

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 756

international building material. Simple lime, clay or mud plaster was employed in India already during ancient times. It was used more prominently and gained increased popularity from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries onwards. Reinforced concrete of the kind we utilise today, however, was introduced to India by British military engineers at the start of the twentieth century.[77] It is a global resource, consisting of a mixture of naturally occurring materials, which today is being produced in local factories in coastal Karnataka. In this sense, the setting up of regional production sites made concrete, too, a local building resource. Although mud is strong, has wonderful climatic properties, low construction costs, is available throughout the region on site, needs no advanced technologies for building, is environmentally-friendly and sustainable, concrete is often preferred today, as it seen as more durable, damp resistant and allows buildings to be raised even more quickly, especially when using prefabricated blocks.

Whilst temple builders, as long as they had the necessary funds, could take liberties with regards to materials, the local climate is non-negotiable. As such, stone temples, too, had to be provided with sloping roofs, which when covered with large stone slates substantially gained in weight. As a consequence, the heavy stone roofs had to be supported on exceedingly large numbers of supporting pillars. Due to this fact, the design of the temples had to be altered and to be adapted by increasing the number of load-bearing supports. This led to the creation of a distinct regional aesthetic with strongly sloping, often multiple roofs, supported by substantial numbers of pillars. This approach has also been reflected in more recent temple reconstructions made from concrete, even if concrete and steel beams have other properties, so that a pronounced local aesthetic still predominates. As such, climatic and resource dependencies create some limitations and drawbacks for designers of architecture, however, in the long run they also contribute to the development of a specific and identifiable local style, which is not simply superficial, detached and purely aesthetic but grounded in religious functionality and meaning, and deeply connected with the local area, its climate and resources.

77 For the use of concrete in India, see Stuart Tappin, "The Early Use of Reinforced Concrete in India," in *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Construction History, Madrid, 20th-24th January 2003*, ed. S. Huerta (Madrid: I. Juan de Herrera, SEdHC, ETSAM, A.E. Bevenuto, COAM, F. Dragos, 2003): 1938; and for plaster, refer to https://gharpedia.com/blog/basic-guide-types-of-plaster-that-can-be-use-for-your-dream-home/ [accessed 07.09.2021].

Bibliography

Secondary Sources

Antweiler, Christoph. “On Dependency, Dependence, and a Dependency Turn,” *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/discussion-papers/dp-1-antweiler.pdf [accessed 25. 08.2022].

Bhatt, Paduru Gururaja. *Studies in Tuḷuva History and Culture (From the Pre-Historic Times upto the Modern)* (Manipal: Manipal Power Press, 1975).

Champakalakshmi, Radha. “Monuments and Sculptures 300 B. C. to A. D. 300: South India,” in *Jaina Art and Architecture. Published on the Occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Tirthankara Mahavira*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 92–106.

Chatterjee, Asim Kumar. *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 1, *From the Earliest Beginnings to AD 1000* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000 [1978]).

Chatterjee, Asim Kumar. *A Comprehensive History of Jainism*, vol. 2, *AD 1000–1600* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 2000 [1978]).

Chavan, S.P. *Jainism in Southern Karnataka (up to AD 1565)* (New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, 2005).

Cousens, Henry. *The Chālukyan Architecture of the Kanarese Districts*, Archaeological Survey of India 42, New Imperial Series (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1996 [1926]).

del Bontà, Robert J. “The Temples and Monuments of Shravana Belgola,” in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 63–100.

del Bontà, Robert J. “The Shantinatha Basadi at Jinanathapura,” in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian and Comparative Studies 2 (New Delhi: Saṁskṛti, 2011): 116–33.

Desai, Miki. “The Stone-Built Jaina Temples of Mudabidri: A Comparative View with the Jaina Temples of Gujarat and the Wooden Temple Architecture of Kerala,” in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction, Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Comparative Studies 2 (New Delhi: Saṁskṛti, 2011): 198–209.

Desai, Miki. *Wooden Architecture of Kerala* (Ahmedabad: Mapin Publishing, 2018).

Doshi, Saryu. “The Pilgrim’s Path at Shravana Belgola,” in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 15–32.

Doshi, Saryu. “The Art Treasures of Shravana Belgola,” in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 101–40.

Glauche, Johannes W. *Der Stupa: Kultbau des Buddhismus* (Cologne: DuMont Buchverlag, 1995).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Jaina Temples in the Deccan: Characteristics, Chronology and Continuity,” *Journal of Deccan Studies* 5, no. 1 (2007): 1–24 plus plates [Special Issue on Jainism, ed. Aloka Parasher-Sen].

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Jaina Temple Architecture: A Progression from Images to Shrines and Temple Cities,” in *South Asian Archaeology 1999. Proceedings of the Fifteenth International Conference of the European Association of South Asian Archaeologists*, ed. Ellen M. Raven (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 2008): 427–37.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. *Jaina Temple Architecture in India: The Development of a Distinct Language in Space and Ritual*, ed. Stiftung Ernst Waldschmidt, Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 19 (Berlin: G+H-Verlag, 2009).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Sacred Symbols, Enlightened Beings and Temple Guardians: The Display of Holy Elements on Pillars in Jaina Temple Complexes in Karnataka,” in *The Jaina Heritage: Distinction*, *Decline and Resilience*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald, Heidelberg Series in South Asian Studies (Delhi: Samskriti Publishers, 2011): 134–60.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Towards a Theory of Re-Use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration,” in *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*, ed. Julia A.B. Hegewald and Subrata K. Mitra (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012): 30–54.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Pagodas, Pillars and Popular Cults: The Jaina *Basti*s of Coastal Karnataka,” *Veranda: Journal of Sushant School of Art and Architecture*m 1, no. 1 (2019): 14–37.

Hegewald, Julia A.B. *Jaina Tradition of the Deccan: Shravanabelagola, Mudabidri, Karkala*, Jaico Guidebook Series (Mumbai: Jaico Publishing House, 2021).

Hegewald, Julia A.B. “Dependency on Building Resources and Expertise in the Himalayas,” *Dependent. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2021-1: 12–13.

Hegewald, Julia A.B., and Subrata Kumar Mitra, eds. *Re-Use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety* (New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 2012).

Jain, Lakshmi Chand. “The Legend of Bāhubali: The Quintessence of Quest and Conquest,” in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 37–44.

Jaini, Padmanabh S. *The Jaina Path of Purification* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1990 [1979]).

Naik, Sheker. “Heritage and Tourism: A Case of Jain Temples and Monuments in Undivided Dakshina Kannada District, Karnataka, India,” *JOHAR: Journal of Hospitality Application and Research* 5, no. 2 (2010): 147–58.

Nair, Deepa G. “An Investigation on the Potential of Mud as Sustainable Building Material in the Context of Kerala,” *International Journal of Energy Economics and Policy* 13, no. 1–2 (2017): 107–22.

Nair, Shailaja, and P.B. Sajan. “Contemporary Explorations in Mud Construction: Kerala,” *Context: Built, Living and Natural*, *Journal of the Development and Research Organization for Nature, Arts and Heritage* 11 (2015): 111–16 [Special Issue on Traditional Materials and Construction Technology].

Ray, Himashu Prabha. “India’s Forgotten Coastal Monuments: The Case for Kanara,” in *The Twenty-First Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Lecture* (Mumbai: The Vasant J. Sheth Memorial Foundation, 2019): 12–49.

Ritti, Srinivas. “Jain Inscriptions,” in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 141–49.

Sarma, I.K. *Temples of the Gaṅgas of Karṇāṭaka*, Architectural Survey Temples 6 (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1992).

Seckel, Dietrich. “Stūpa Elements Surviving in East Asian Pagodas,” in *The Stūpa: Its Religious, Historical and Architectural Significance*, ed. Anna Libera Dallapiccola (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980): 249–59 and plates XIX/–XIX/5.

Shreenivasa Murthy, H.V., and R. Ramakrishnan. *A History of Karnataka (From the Earliest Times to the Present Day)* (New Delhi: S. Chand & Company Ltd., 1977).

Srinivasan, Kuthur Ramakrishnan. “Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 600 To 1000: The Deccan,” in *Jaina Art and Architecture. Published on the Occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Tirthankara Mahavira*, vol. 1, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974): 184–201.

Srinivasan, Kuthur Ramakrishnan. “Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 600 To 1000: South India,” in *Jaina Art and Architecture. Published on the Occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Tirthankara Mahavira*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 207–30.

Srinivasan, L.K. “Shravana Belogola: In Legend and History,” in *Homage to Shravanabelgola*, ed. Saryu Doshi (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1981): 45–50.

Srinivasan, P.R. “Monuments and Sculpture A. D. 1300 To 1800: The Deccan and South India,” in *Jaina Art and Architecture. Published on the Occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Tirthankara Mahavira*, vol. 2, ed. A. Ghosh (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1975): 365–78.

Sruthi, G.S. “Mud Architecture,” *International Journal of Innovative Research in Science, Engineering and Technology* 2 (2013): 47–52 [Special Issue 1].

Suresh, K.M. *Temples of Karnataka (Ground Plans and Elevations)*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 2003).

Tappin, Stuart. “The Early Use of Reinforced Concrete in India,” in *Proceedings of the First International Congress on Construction History, Madrid, 20th–24th January 2003*, ed. S. Huerta (Madrid: I. Juan de Herrera, SEdHC, ETSAM, A.E. Bevenuto, COAM, F. Dragos, 2003): 1931–40.

Titze, Kurt. *Jainism: A Pictorial Guide to the Religion of Non-Violence* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1998).

Internet Sources

GharPedia: Basic Guide and Types of Plaster that can be Use for Your Dream Home! Dec. 17, 2018, https://gharpedia.com/blog/basic-guide-types-of-plaster-that-can-be-use-for-your-dream-home/ [accessed 07.09.2021].

3. Research Lenses

3.2. Embodied Dependencies

Julia Hegewald. “Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty,” in *‘Das alles hier’ Festschrift für Konrad Klaus zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Ulrike Niklas, Heinz Werner Wessler, Peter Wyzlic and Stefan Zimmer (Heidelberg: Xasia eBooks, 2021): 151-174.

Julia A. B. Hegewald

Extreme Dependency as a Creative Catalyst in Early Indo-Islamic Architecture of the Slave Dynasty

Introduction

The most severe form of extreme dependency is enslavement. This ideologically charged term still influences our notion of what we understand by the dualistic concepts of 'slavery' and 'freedom'.[1] However, there are many more nuanced forms of dependence and there is not only the black and white dichotomy of these two notions. Especially in the areas of art and architecture, cultures have again and again found means to express artistic freedoms even in situations of severest dependency. In a way it is one of the most creative stimuli for an artist to be confronted with restrictions.

This paper examines the architecture of the Quwwatu'l Islām Masjid, the first congregational mosque (*jāmi masjid*) built under settled Islamic rule in India. It argues that although the local builders – ordered by the new Muslim overlords to construct a mosque – were undoubtedly in a situation of extreme dependency as they were forced to dismantle their own temples to use the debris to raise the *jāmi masjid* in Delhi (Dillī), they were, however, not only in a position of enslavement but used the little leverage they had, to shape the development of the architecture they produced. By actively integrating their own motives and building conventions, the local craftsmen implemented a good amount of artistic freedom. However, even when more passively, materials which bore the imprint of their own tradition, were used, at a stage during which they were

[1] See the page 'Research Objectives' on the webpage of the Bonn Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies (<https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/our-research/research-objective/research-objective>) (last accessed on: 21.07.2020).

Veröffentlicht in: U. Niklas, H. W. Wessler, P. Wyzlic, S. Zimmer (Hg.): *»Das alles hier«: Festschrift für Konrad Klaus zum 65. Geburtstag*. Heidelberg, Berlin: CrossAsia-eBooks, 2021. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/xabooks.815>

severely suppressed, even this succeeded in influencing the style and development of the new and dominant Islamic culture in the north of India. As a consequence, a hybrid and in many ways integrative early Indo-Islamic architectural style was shaped, bringing together the cultures, traditions and artistic conventions of the suppressed and the suppressors.

The Historic Background

After the Prophet Muḥammad's death in Medina in 632 CE, Islam spread rapidly beyond the Arabian Peninsula throughout the adjoining lands. In 712 CE, Islamic armies reached the area bordering the Indus river in today's Pakistan. The Arab conquest of Sindh led to the creation of a number of trading settlements at the mouth of the river Indus. Small mosques were raised inside these villages and towns for the local Muslim population during the eighth century (Asher 1992: 2; Blair and Bloom 1995: 149; Mitter 2001: 85). However, the territory did not come under Muslim occupation.

Numerous incursions into the area of northern India followed under Maḥmūd of Ghazni during the eleventh century (Nath 1978: 1; Tillotson 1990: 1; Asher 1992: 2). These were largely raids in which wealthy pilgrimage centres and temples were targeted and treasures luted.[2] The Hindu Rājput families in the north of India tried to defend their territories but in 1192 CE, the central Asian Islamic ruler Muḥammad of Ghur defeated the Rājput clans at the second battle of Tarain.[3] The victorious Muḥammad Ghurī, too, did not intend to settle in South Asia. However, for the first time, he left behind a representative, his principal general, the military commander Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak.[4] He was born in Turkestan and sold into slavery as a child, first in Persia and then in what is today Afghanistan. Until the assassination of his master in 1206 (Sharma 2005: 8; Volwahsen no date: 5), this former Turkic Mamluk (Mamlūk) slave ruled the area in Muḥammad Ghurī's name. However, after his death, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak proclaimed himself an independent ruler, a *sultān* of India. This gave rise to the foundation of the first

---

2 During these raids, the famous Hindu pilgrimage centres of Kanauj, Mathura (Mathurā) and Somnath (Somnāth) were targeted (Nath 1978: 2; Watson 1989: 89*;* Tillotson 1990: 1; Dehejia 1997: 251; Sharma 2005: 8).

3 Muḥammad of Ghur ascended the throne in 1173 (Sharma 2005: 8). He is known by a number of names and titles, such as Muḥammad-bin-Sam and king Mu'izz ad-Din Muḥammad Ghori. Ghur can also be spelled Ghor(e) or Ghaur. It is a town between Ghazni and Herat in Afghanistan. Tarain is modern Taraori, close to Karnal in Haryana, also known as Tarori or Tarawari.

4 As for all Muslim names, there are various alternative forms and spellings, such as: Qutb al-Dīn Aibak (Hillenbrand 1988: 107).

independent Islamic state in India, the Delhi Sultanate, ruled by the Mamluk dynasty.[5] This consisted of five short-lived dynasties, which were largely Afghan or Turkic by origin and lasted all together from 1206 till 1526. Collectively, these are known as the Delhi sultanate(s).[6] As the founder and most of its rulers were Mamluks and as such slaves, the dynasty is alternatively known as the Slave dynasty (Tillotson 1990: 2; Sharma 2005: 8, 22; Volwahsen no date: 6).

The New City Foundation at Delhi

In 1193, shortly after Muḥammad Ghurī's victory over the Cāhamānas and their allies near Tarain, his deputy, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, conquered the former twelfth-century Rājput Fort of Rāi Pithorā with its inner slightly earlier Tomar citadel of Lāl Koṭ (Davies 1989: 119; Tillotson 1990: 28; Sharma 2005: 8). This had been the seat of power of the defeated Chauhān Rājput king Pṛthvīrāja III at Delhi.[7] Today, this area is known as Mehrauli to the south of New Delhi. Already at the time, it had a good infrastructure and resident local population and was transformed into the first Islamic city of the newly acquired Indian dominion. The continuity of sites is a well-known phenomenon in the study of religions and architecture, which indicates the importance given to certain places based on their previous significance (Eliade 1987: 20–24; Hegewald 2012: 34–35; Dehejia 1997: 252) and the wish of successive rulers to be associated with these. In this sense, Delhi continued to act as the seat of power for several dynasties. Already during the first Sultanate, Delhi was transformed into an eminent seat of Muslim religion and culture. Even after the establishment of the Mughal dynasty, Delhi continued to act as one of their capital cities (Blair and Bloom 1995: 149).

---

5 'Mamluk' (*mamlūk*) is a term used for somebody sold into slavery, usually to become a soldier, who has converted to Islam. This trend appears to have started in the ninth century. The Mamluks increasingly, gained in power, developing into an influential military class which played prominent roles in a number of Islamic regions, such as Egypt, the Levant, Iran, Iraq and India. Hillenbrand and Patel draw our attention to the fact that 'Sultanate architecture' or the 'Sultanate period' are not uniform entities as the name might suggest (Hillenbrand 1988: 105; Patel 2006: 9).

6 These were the Mamluk dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1290), the Khiljī dynasty (1290–1320), the Ṭughlāq dynasty (1320–1414), the Sayyid dynasty (1414–1451) and the Lodī dynasty (1451–1526).

7 This site had been the capital of a number of Hindu ruling Rājput families, such as the Tomars and the Chauhāns. Altogether, there were seven cities at Delhi, founded by successive ruling dynasties (Tillotson 1990: 27–28), before the British made it their later imperial capital.

Julia A. B. Hegewald

Reasons for the Construction of the Imperial Mosque

At the centre of the annexed Hindu fort, Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak had a large number – based on an inscription found on the eastern gate of the mosque, there were twenty-seven – Hindu and Jaina temples raised to the ground by elephants to create space for the erection of the first major mosque in India (Nath 1978: 9; Hillenbrand 1988: 109; Tillotson 1990: 29; Nath 1994: 53, 61; Sharma 2005: 21). The dismantled construction material was used as building stones to raise the earliest congregational mosque built by a separate Muslim power on Indian ground. The mosque is called the Quwwatu'l Islām Masjid. Colloquially, it is known as the Qutb Complex or the Qutb Mīnār Complex as the religious compound also contains a prominent minaret, to be discussed later. The creation of a congregational or Friday mosque, a *jāmi masjid*, was amongst the primary interests of the new rulers. This acted as a proclamation of the victory of Islam and through this legitimised the rule of the *sultān* (Asher 1992: 2), whose conquest was portrayed as an act of religious expansionism and not as one of personal enrichment. Furthermore, it aimed to rival constructions of Muslim rulers in other regions (Mitter 2001: 87). It also provided the Islamic armies with an adequate place of worship. Today, the mosque and its associated sacred buildings are all that survives of this first Islamic city at Delhi (Tillotson 1990: 28).

The Architectural Development of the Site

Building on the mosque started in 1193 under Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak. However, successive *sultāns* added to the original core building over the following centuries and substantially enlarged the initial design.

The Form and Material of the First Mosque

Contrasting with the indigenous Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist architectural traditions in India, in which individual worship is normally at the forefront, the Friday mosque in Delhi was primarily designed for congregational worship. Following the traditional style of mosque building, originally derived from the house of the Prophet in Medina, in which the first converts assembled for prayer (Hillenbrand 1994: 39; Dehejia 1997: 252; Davies 1989: 28), the Delhi mosque has a large paved courtyard (*ṣaḥn*) at its centre (Plate 1, inner mosque (1) in white). This was meant to accommodate all male members of the resident Muslim community for Friday prayer. The spacious central courtyard is surrounded by an open cloister on the south, the east and the north. It is entered through gateways placed in the middle of the three

arcades.[8] On the west, the direction of Mecca (*qiblā*), is the prayer hall (*līwān*, *musallā*),[9] which is deeper than the arcading on the other three sides. The original hall measures about 44 metres (147 feet) in length and 12 metres (40 feet) in depth (Sharma 2005: 21). Slightly later, as will be discussed below, a high screen of five pointed arches facing the court, was added at the front of the *līwān*. These architectural elements were raised between 1193 and 1198 (Tillotson 1990: 29).

This core mosque building (excluding the screen) was virtually wholly made out of the spoils of the dismantled former Hindu and Jaina temples. To destroy the sacred structures of the defeated population and to raise their own sanctuary at the same site – documenting the continuity of sacred sites – was a powerful religious but also a poignant political statement of the new Islamic power in India. Hillenbrand identifies this first early phase of interaction between the new overlords and the extremely dependent defeated locals in this only just subjugated province as one of "naked assertion of power" (1988: 109, 112). During this, a psychological propaganda dimension played an essential role (Hillenbrand 1988: 105). The violent act of destruction of the most sacred sites of the indigenous residents aimed to proclaim the triumph of Islam and the authority of the new rulers. This idea is also expressed in the name given to this first major mosque raised on Indian soil. "Quwwatu'l Islām" means "The Might of Islam" (Hillenbrand 1988: 109; Tillotson 1990: 29; Asher 1992: 2).

In more detail, the arcade enclosing the courtyard was constructed out of overtly re-used Hindu and Jaina temple pillars.[10] This is clearly visible in the typical decorations, including bells on chains and the water pot (pūrṇa kalaśa) imagery, adorning the shafts of the pillars (Plate 2). As the pillars were too short for the envisaged elevation of the cloister and the prayer hall, one was set on top of another, to create double the height. Above, pillaged trabeate domes were employed as roof coverings (Plate 3). Furthermore, looted bracket stones and lintels were employed. One problem, the Muslims overseeing the construction of the mosque encountered, was that they preferred embellishments consisting of vegetal ornamentation, such as the arabesque, geometric designs and calligraphy instead of representations of human and animal shapes. Although there is no outright ban on the representation of living forms in Islam, the Ḥadīths recommend caution with regards to depicting these, as no human should arrogate the creator role of God.[11] However, many of the building blocks, re-used from Hindu and Jaina temple edifices, were profusely decorated with figural representations

---

[8] In India, the main entrance of mosques is usually positioned in the east, opposite the sanctum, facing west (Sharma 2005: 16).

[9] An alternative spelling is *muṣallā*. See, for instance, Hillenbrand (1988: 109).

[10] For an introduction to the theory of re-use, see Hegewald (2012: 30–54).

[11] This has only been stated in the *Ḥadīths*, the sayings, and not in the *Qurʾān* itself. See, for instance, Dehejia (1997: 250). But this ban has not always been followed with the same force.

of donors, devotees, enlightened teachers (Jinas, Tīrthaṅkaras) and various semi divine and divine beings. Where these were not too obviously visible, in places higher up on the pillars, figural sculptures were frequently left untouched (Plate 4). However, in more prominent places, lower down on the shafts, the statues were usually carefully chiselled away, leaving faint hints in empty niches and carved full-body mandorlas (Plate 5). As the ancient columns were re-employed without substantially changing their design, Hindu and Jaina decorative motives and even some figural images, entered the scheme of this early Islamic edifice.

Additions to the Original Mosque

A second means by which Hindu and Jaina ornamental conventions were re-employed in the early Islamic vocabulary of architecture in India is exposed by the screen of the mosque, facing west (Plate 6). The screen is an important element in Islamic architecture as it indicates the direction towards Mecca to those praying in the mosque's courtyard.[12] Behind it lies the sanctum, which is used for prayer on ordinary day. However, on Fridays, when the entire male population of an area is present, worshippers also use the open court for their prayer rituals. In the Quwwatu'l Islām Mosque, the screen, pierced by four lower and one central tall pointed arch, was set up at the front of the earlier hypostyle prayer hall, a few years after building on the mosque commenced (Plate 7). The reason behind it appears to have been that the flat hall, constructed entirely out of re-used temple pillars and ceilings, was perceived as too local, Hindu and Jaina (Hillenbrand 1988: 109; Asher 1992: 4). In order to increase the Islamic appearance of the building, a tall screen with typical Islamic design features, such as pointed arches and calligraphic writing, resembling Iranian models, was attached to the front of the flat roofed hall of prayer in between 1197 and 1199 (Hillenbrand 1988: 108; Davies 1989: 35; Dehejia 1997: 253).

Although there are a few hints indicating the presence of pointed arches in local architecture before the arrival of Islam in India,[13] these are unusual exceptions. The pointed arch is not a typical Indian shape but is visually strongly associated with the architecture of Islam. It is Seljuk (Saljūq), originating in eleventh-century Iran (Tillotson; Mitter 2001: 87). The pointed arch was an unfamiliar and foreign shape to local Indians, for whom it symbolised Islam. Pointed arches in Islamic architecture are true arches. Its curved shape results from a construction

[12] Those praying in the hall of the mosque usually have a central and sometimes additional shallow flanking niches (*miḥrābs*) integrated into the back of the prayer hall, to indicate the *qiblā* direction.

[13] A rare example is the true arch found in the Gupta brick temple at Bhitargaon, Uttar Pradesh (Dehejia 1997: 253).

method consisting of a fan of radiating voussoirs, wedge-shaped blocks, held together by the downward thrust of a central key stone at the very tip of the arch (Sharma 2005: 17). Contrasting with this construction technique, in Hindu and Jaina architecture, openings, such as windows or gates, had so far traditionally been enclosed with a trabeate system of post and beams, which is a horizontal post-and-lintel system (Fergusson 1967: 203-204; Nath 1978: 5; Hillenbrand 1988: 113; Asher 1992: 4). Supported on upright posts, vertical courses, each one slightly overlapping the one below, known as corbelling method, where used to enclose openings (Tillotson 1990: 30).[14] The arched shape of the Quwwatu'l Islām Masjid represent a combination of both approaches in so far that the outer appearance is that of pointed arches, signalling Islam, but the actual system of engineering is trabeate and as such home-grown Indian. The Muslims supervising the construction of the mosque obviously had an idea of how the arches should look but they had no trained engineers with the knowledge of how to form true arches.[15] Therefore, the local artisans who were told what visual shape to create employed the building techniques they knew, pilling up overhanging courses and cutting off the projecting ends (cantilevers) to create an even pointed arch in shape (Plate 8).[16] Thus, the engineering of these arches, their construction technique, is Indian and as such indigenous, but the resulting visual shape is Islamic, perceived at that time still as foreign.[17] This shows that it is easier to transport a form in one's mind than to transfer an engineering technique. However, it demonstrates also how important the appearance of a building is and what significant roles architecture plays in transmitting religious but also political messages. The style of architecture, here that of Seljuk Iran, signals a cultural alignment and expresses foreignness and difference and in extension the might of Islam and the suppression of local culture.

A similar process took place in the ornate carvings adorning the front of the screen of pointed arches. The decorations on the piers were carved anew out of red and buff-coloured sandstone by indigenous craftsmen on the site. The ornamentation consists of vertical bands of *Qur'ānic* inscriptions intertwined with vegetal

---

[14] In Hindu and Jaina edifices, this technique continues to be employed also after the arrival of Islam as priests defend the standpoint that there should not be any tensions inside a building for it to function ritually. Interestingly, the later Moghul architecture of Fatehpur Sikri (Faṭhpur Sīkrī) re-uses the trabeate construction technique as a tribute to the indigenous architecture of Gujarat.

[15] According to Nath, the first Muslims to occupy Delhi were soldiers, only accompanied by clerics and administrators (1978: 10; 1994: 61).

[16] Today, the very top part of these arches has some voussoirs (Tillotson 1990: 30) but this appears to be the result of some later restauration works.

[17] Nath and Tadgell argue that the shape is more ogee than pointed and related to the shape of a horse-shoe arch (*gavākṣa*), more familiar to the Hindu and Jaina artisans working on the site (Nath 1978: 10-11; Tadgell 1990: 156–157).

design patterns (Plate 9).[18] In these elements, which were newly carved for their Islamic masters, no human or animal forms were employed. However, it seems that the stone masons had a lot of freedom in designing the plant ornamentation as they employed arabesque-like foliage almost identical to that adorning earlier Hindu and Jaina temples in the region. As such, local indigenous foliage adornments were interwoven with calligraphic writings of *Qurʾānic* verses in what look like Kufic and Nashki writing (Nath 1978: 10; Dehejia 1997: 255).[19]

However, it is fascinating, that the carved calligraphy is entirely illegible. It appears that the local stone carvers did not read Arabic script and copied something they did not understand. Remarkably, this does not appear to have been considered problematic, as no attempt was undertaken to correct it. In this context, one has to stress how typical it is of Islamic architecture more generally, to be adorned with large-scale calligraphic writings. Similarly, to the visual appearance of the pointed arches which are trabeate in construction, also in the ornamentation, it seems to have been more important to look like Arabic lettering and to symbolise Islam, than to be actually readable. Therefore, the primary audience of these inscriptions appears to have been the local Hindu and Jaina population and not the Muslim believers, at least not those capable of reading. Therefore, in the last two examples, local Indian techniques and patterns did not enter the Islamic way of building through the direct re-use of pre-existing materials as was shown in the first step, but through the production of new components, both structural and ornamental, carved by Hindu and Jaina craftsmen in local indigenous ways.[20]

---

[18] It is typical of Islamic architecture in general that the surfaces of objects and edifices have entirely been filled with ornamentation and that no patch is left unadorned. This has been described as *horror vacui* (Asher 1992: 4), a fear of empty space.

[19] Asher points out how much flatter in appearance Iranian decorative ornamentations adorning Ghurid Iranian mosques are (1992: 4). This shows the strong Indian element in these newly carved elements.

[20] Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak also commenced with the construction of a tall minaret, known as the Qutb Mīnār, just outside the central courtyard in 1199 or 1200 (Davies 1989: 119; Sharma 2005: 8). Although it, too, is adorned with Indic design patterns, it has been modelled on precedents from Iran in the region of Ghur (Nath 1994: 52) or from Afghanistan (Mitter 2001: 88). Minarets are usually employed for the call to prayer (*azān*), uttered by the (*mu'azzin*, *muʾadh·dhin*), the announcer. However, as it is so typical of Islam, it also carries a certain symbolic value (Dehejia 1887: 252). The latter point is particularly important with regards to the Qutb Mīnār, as it is so tall (about 73 metres) that a *mu'azzin* calling from its tip could not be heard (Nath 1994: 54). This fact turns it primarily into a ceremonial tower, symbolising victory and proclaiming the might of Islam (Hillenbrand 1988: 109; Davies 1989: 35; Watson 1989: 95; Tadgell 1990: 156; Mitter 2001: 88; Volwahsen no date: 13). Qutb-ud-dīn, whose own name means "Axis of the Faith" gave it this name to honour himself and also to stress its symbolic importance as an axis of Islam (Tillotson

Although the resident population was defeated, severely suppressed and their sacred places of worship had been destroyed, their culture nevertheless – at least indirectly – penetrated and influenced the art and architecture of the new dominating elite. This happened through the integration of fragments which bore the ornamental features of Hindu and Jaina religious buildings and even some figural representations, as well as through the engagement of local craftsmen, who continued to employ their familiar building techniques and decorative patterns. In this way, at least some elements of the culture and the artistic and architectural tradition of the subjugated survived. The extent and impact of this will only become fully apparent when we examine the extension of this earlier core building element.

Extensions of the Mosque

Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak died unexpectedly in 1210 CE.[21] He was briefly replaced by Arām Shāh, who only ruled for eight months (Sharma 2005: 8), and then by Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish, a renowned general and a former slave of Aibak in 1211. He ruled until 1236.[22] While Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak had expanded his territory in northern India, Iltutmish is thought to have consolidated the empire. The Muslim community at Delhi had grown. In order to accommodate it but also intending to visually express his own might and to rival the earlier constructions, Iltutmish expanded the Quwwatu'l Islām Mosque. He elongated the screen and prayer hall at both ends beyond the former cloister and erected a new outer colonnade. As the arcade of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak's earlier mosque was not pulled down, this resulted in the first mosque building being contained inside a larger second courtyard, with both parts sharing an extended *qiblā* wall and sanctum (Plate 1, first extension (2) in light grey).[23] The third Islamic ruler to enlarge the Quwwatu'l Islām Mosque was Alai-ud-dīn Khiljī,[24] who ruled Delhi from 1296 till 1316 CE and expanded the Delhi Sultanate towards the south. Like Iltutmish before, he further enlarged the screen and started

1990: 31) and of victory. The *mīnār* was completed by Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish in 1220 CE (Sharma 2005: 8).

[21] Allegedly, he died at Lahore while playing *chaugan*, an Indian version of polo (Sharma 2005: 8; Volwahsen no date: 5).

[22] Iltutmish was Aibak's son-in-law (Hillenbrand 1988: 107; Watson 1989: 95; Asher 1992: 4; Sharma 2005: 8; Volwahsen no date: 5).

[23] This second larger courtyard then enclosed the Qutb Mīnār which formerly was standing beside the original first mosque.

[24] Again, we find a variety of diverse spellings for this name: Alai-ud-dīn Khalji, ʿAla' al-Din Khalji, ʿAlāʾ ud-Dīn Khiljī.

raising a third arcade, enclosing the aforementioned two courtyards (Plate 1, second extension (3) in dark grey).[25]

As all the material from the demolished Hindu and Jaina temples had been used for the construction of the first mosque by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, new columns and building parts had to be produced for Iltutmish's and Alai-ud-dīn Khiljī's extensions (Plate 10). It is fascinating to observe, that the design of the newly carved columns closely resembles that of the former looted Hindu and Jaina temple spoils. The newly created columns are plainer, as they lack the characteristic Indic decorations but they clearly match those of the inner cloister in principal. Even the impression of two pillars having been pilled-up has been recreated in the design of the freshly carved examples. This is significant, as at this stage, completely new columns were created, the patrons could have opted for a more Islamic model, for instance, a central Asian or Iranian style. However, additional pillars were made on the basis of older, re-used types. This shows that at this stage, stylistic continuity and the unity of design of the whole mosque complex appear to have been considered more important (Tillotson 1990: 33) than political associations or regional fraternities.

Concluding and Further Thoughts

Whereas small local mosques were raised in Sindh and on the south-western coast of India at least from the eighth century onwards, a distinctive Indian Islamic architectural tradition only began to develop from the late twelfth century onwards, when Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak settled in Delhi. The Quwwatu'l Islām Mosque is the first major Islamic monument, built under an Islamic sultanate in India. In a way, it could have been a one-to-one copy of a Turkic, Iranian or Afghan mosque, recreating the style of architecture, typical of the new rulers' homelands. Instead, it exhibits various forms of indigenous Indian re-use. The largely unaltered building material from dismantled Hindu and Jaina temples was directly recycled in the core building structure. In the earliest additions made to the original edifice, decorative and structural conventions, both local indigenous (Hindu and Jaina) and foreign imported (Islamic) were combined. It is therefore a fascinating building to study with regards to re-use and to the creation of artistic and architectural forms fashioned under extreme forms of dependency.

The Quwwatu'l Islām Masjid is not unique in this respect, but it is the earliest example. Only slightly later and following in many respects the same scheme is

[25] Alai-ud-dīn Khiljī also commenced erecting a second even taller minaret which had double the diameter and was planned to reach double the height of the Qutb Mīnār (Tillotson 1990: 32). However, it was never completed and only a stump remains today.

the Arhāī-din-kā Jhonprā Masjid (Two-and-a-half days Mosque) in Ajmer (Ajmīr), started only a few years later, probably in 1199.[26] Ajmer, too, was a city of strategic importance. In this early mosque, spolia from a Jaina college or temple, erected in 1153,[27] were re-used in the cloister and the sanctuary – made of triple columns with corbelled domes above. In this mosque, too, a more Islamic-looking screen was added later by Iltutmish, probably between 1299 and 1230.[28] As Aibak captured Ajmer in 1196 (Sharma 2005: 8), he might well have been the patron of this mosque as well (Hillenbrand 1988: 107). As such, also in the early mosque at Ajmer, local building materials and indigenous construction techniques were fruitfully joined with an imported plan and an – at this stage still – new and foreign religious function.

After the defeat at Tarain, in what Hillenbrand calls "the crucial first generation of Muslim dominance in northern India" (1988: 105), the inhabitants of the conquered territory of the first Islamic state in India found themselves in a position of extreme dependency and were unable to prevent the desecration and complete destruction of their treasured sacred sites and temple buildings. They were forced to use the spoils of their own revered sanctuaries, regarded as the home of their gods, to raise a structure expressing the victory of Islam over their own people, culture and religion. Nevertheless, the new Muslim ruler and his followers depended on the locals for the assembly of the first congregational mosque out of re-used debris and for the carving of new additions. Through this, inadvertently, Hindu and Jaina conventions, such as decorative motives and building techniques entered not just this building, but as can be seen in the extensions of the mosque under the Khiljīs, the vocabulary of Islamic architecture more generally and more lastingly. Although there are Muslim dynasties in the subcontinent who defined themselves more clearly by the culture of their home countries in Turkey, Iran, Central Asia or Afghanistan, such as the Deccan sultanates, Islamic architecture in India

---

[26] While Hillenbrand, founding his argumentation on an inscription on the *miḥrāb of* the mosque, places the start date of the mosque at 1199 with a completon in 1200, Nath argues for an earlier start in about 1194 and a completion in about 1229 (Nath 1994: 62).

[27] See, for instance, the discussion in Hillenbrand (1988: 108, 109). Other authors state that it was created out of demolished Hindu temples (Nath 1994: 62; Sharma 2005: 22). However, references to a Jaina college prevail.

[28] For further details, see Hillenbrand (1988: 107). Although very few edifices survive from this early period of Islamic construction on the subcontinent (Hillenbrand 1988: 105), Fergusson refers also to early mosques at Kanauj, Dhar (Dhār), Mandu (Māndū), Jaunpur and Ahmedabad (Ahmadābād, Amdāvād) which were raised out of originally Hindu and Jaina temple parts, however, without providing further details (1967: 201). Hillenbrand refers also to the Sitā-ki Rasoī (Sitā's Kitchen Mosque) at Kanauj, the Shāhī Masjid in Khatu (Khatū) and the Chaurasī Khamba Mosque in Kaman (Kamān) as further early examples of Sultanate architecture in India (1988: 105).

strongly involves the incorporation of indigenous themes and local technology. Whereas certain elements did not acquire widespread usage or were even rejected outright, such as figural sculpture, by the Islamic architecture of the subcontinent, others were adopted and given new-life and meaning in the architecture of Islam in India.[29]

One example is the Indic religious symbolic as well as ornate motive of the pot of plenty (*pūrṇa kalaśa*). In Hindu and Jaina temples, this can be found at the base of pillars and temple entrances as well as in the crowning element at the tip of temple towers. Through the integration of spoils into early mosque architecture, this element became part of Islamic decorations, too, where again, it can be found on the base and top of columns and at the tip of domes (Sharma 2005: 18).[30]

While the impact of local Hindu and Jaina cultural conventions and motives is especially pronounced at the start of this artistic interaction, during the Delhi Sultanate, the early architecture of the Slave Dynasty functioned in many respects as a creative foundation for later Mughal developments and refinements.[31] This can be seen in the palace architecture of Delhi and Agra – for instance in the *bāṅgālā* roof forms – but also in the design of the Tāj Mahal, with its pot, lotus and floral design patterns.

However, this is also particularly evident in the mosque architecture of Bengal (Nath 1994: 73; Davies 1989: 43) and Gujarat (Davies 1989: 46). Although Indian builders in due course acquired the expertise to construct true arches, vaults and domes, Islamic constructions in Gujarat essentially carried on with employing trabeate post and lintel constructions.[32]

Through these interactions, and despite the fact that the Muslims were the dominant force and Hindu and Jaina inhabitants initially in an extreme position of dependency, a complex and in many ways multifaceted dialogue commenced between initially external Muslims from Turkey, Iran, Central Asia and Afghanistan and local Hindus and Jainas from India. Despite an initial and ongoing dependency over several centuries, a reciprocal give-and-take, a two-way cross-fertilisation of motives and building techniques still took place and led to discernible changes in both cultures. As such, initial dependency, suppression and destruction eventually, through prolonged cohabitation, exchange and dialogue, have in the long run led to the formation of a distinct Indo-Islamic style of architecture and the integration of originally Islamic forms of building in the

[29] See the discussion of 'new-life re-use' in Hegewald (2012: 31–33).

[30] Another image one could explore in this context would be that of the lotus. See the discussions in Sharma (2005: 18) and Davies (1989: 31).

[31] For a more detailed discussion of this connection, see Hillenbrand (1998: 105) and Asher (1992: 2).

[32] This has been mentioned by Lambah (2006: 13) with reference to the work by Alka Patel.

indigenous architecture of the subcontinent as well as Indian elements in Islamic styles. This interaction and exchange have contributed to the development of free, more united and level religious and cultural traditions in modern India even if these are at times threatened by recent political developments.

Image Credits

All photographs reproduced in this article are by the author. The drawing was created by Ulf Hegewald, to whom I would like to express my sincere gratitude.

References

Secondary Sources

Asher, Catherine B. 1992. *Architecture of Mughal India*. (The New Cambridge History of India I: 4.) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blair, Sheila S. & Jonathan M. Bloom 1995 [1994]. *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250-1800*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Davies, Philip 1989. *The Penguin Guide to the Monuments of India* Volume II : *Islamic, Rajput, European*. London: Penguin Books.

Dehejia, Vidya 1997. *Indian Art*. (Art & Indias Series.) London: Phaidon Press.

Eliade, Mircea 1987 [1957]. *The Sacred & the Profane : The Nature of Religion – The Significance of Religious Myth, Symbolism, and Ritual Within Life and Culture*. (A Harvest/HBJ Book.) San Diego, New York and London: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.

Fergusson, James 1967 [1876]. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Vol. 2. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.

Hegewald, Julia A. B. 2012. "Towards a Theory of Re-use: Ruin, Retro and Fake Versus Improvement, Innovation and Integration", in: Julia A. B. Hegewald & Subrata K. Mitra (eds.), *Re-use: The Art and Politics of Integration and Anxiety*. New Delhi: Sage Publishers, 30–54.

Hillenbrand, Robert 1988. "Political Symbolism in Early Indo-Islamic Mosque Architecture: The Case of Ajmīr", in: *Iran*. 26: 105–117.

— 1994. *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Lambah, Abha Narain 2006. "The Architecture of the Sultanates: A Historical Prologue", in: Alka Patel and Abha Narain Lambah (eds.): *The Architecture of the Indian Sultanates*. Mumbai: Mārg Publications, 13–17.

Mitter, Partha 2001. *Indian Art*. (Oxford History of Art.) Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nath, R. 1978. *History of Sultanate Architecture*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.

— 1994. *Mosque Architecture : From Medina to Hindustan (622–1654 A.D.)*. Jaipur: The Historical Research Documentation Programme.

Patel, Alka 2006. "Revisiting the Term 'Sultanate'", in: Alka Patel and Abha Narain Lambah (eds.): *The Architecture of the Indian Sultanates*. Mumbai: Mārg Publications, 9–12.

Sharma, Praduman K. 2005. *Indo-Islamic Architecture (Delhi and Agra)*. Delhi: Winsome Books India.

Tadgell, Christopher 1990. *The History of Architecture in India : From the Dawn of Civilization to the End of the Raj*. New Delhi: Viking, Penguin Books.

Tillotson, Giles H.R. 1990. *Mughal India : Architectural Guides for Travellers*, Viking, Penguin Group, London.

Volwahsen, Andreas, no date. *Islamic India*. (Architecture of the World.) Köln: Bennedikt Taschen Verlag.

Watson, Francis 1989 [1974]. *A Concise History of India*. Thames and Hudson, London.

Internet Sources

Bonn Centre for Dependency and Slavery Studies: Research Objectives: <https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/our-research/research-objective/research-objective> (last accessed on: 21.07.2020).

Plates

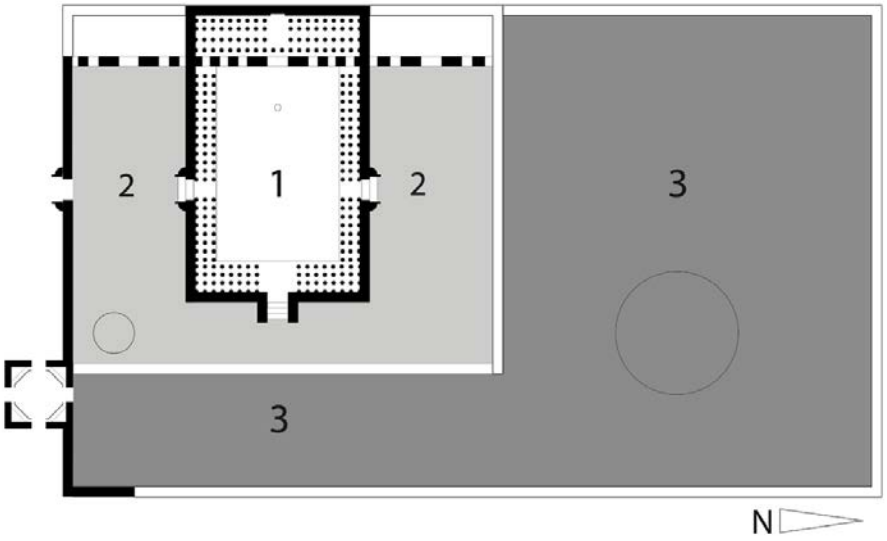


Plate 1: Plan of the first inner mosque by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak (1, white), the first extension by Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish (2, light grey) and the second extension by Alai-ud-dīn Khiljī (3, dark grey).

Plate 2: Two pilled-up re-used Hindu and Jaina pillars have been used to form the prayer hall and the arcading of the Quwwatu'l Islām Mosque in Delhi.

Plate 3: Trabeate domes from dismantled local temples were re-used as roof coverings for the prayer hall of this early mosque.

Plate 4: Hindu and Jaina figural imagery has been preserved on the pillar spoils in less obvious locations.

Plate 5: In very visible places, figural sculptures derived from the local temples were removed from the pillars when they were integrated into the arcading of the early mosque.

Plate 6: Today, the later added screen of five pointed arches adds a more strongly Islamic touch and dominates the open courtyard of the Quwwatu'l Islām Masjid.

Plate 7: View onto the back of the earlier columned prayer hall with flat ceilings raised out of temple debris and the later much taller screen of arches.

Plate 8: Although the arches look arcuate, they have been created by superimposing horizontal stone courses and cutting off the cantilever ends.

Plate 9: On the newly carved screen, arabesque designs derived from local temple architecture have been interwoven with calligraphic Qurʾānic inscriptions.

Plate 10: The pillars of the first mosque extension by Shams-ud-dīn Iltutmish clearly imitate the design of the earlier re-used Hindu and Jaina temple columns.

3. Research Lenses

3.2. Embodied Dependencies

Sinah Kloß. “Embodying Dependency: Caribbean Godna (Tattoo) as Female Subordination and Resistance,” *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 27, no. 4 (2022): 601–612.

https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12644

Check for updates

Received: 31 May 2021 | Accepted: 26 May 2022

DOI: 10.1111/jlca.12644

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Embodying dependency: Caribbean *godna* (tattoos) as female subordination and resistance

Sinah Theres Kloß

University of Bonn, Bonn, Germany

Correspondence
Sinah Theres Kloß s.kloss@uni-bonn.de

Funding information
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies; Fritz Thyssen Stiftung, Grant/Award Number: 50.19.0.010.EL

Abstract
A tattoo has not one but multiple meanings, depending on the person and interpretations within a sociocultural context. To demonstrate, this article focuses on tattoo marks labeled *godna* in Suriname and Guyana and on their related tattooing practices. *Godnas* can be found among senior Hindu women, and can be interpreted as marks of subordination and resistance. They inscribe and actively (re)create asymmetrical power relations and embody different dimensions of dependency. Relating to the notion of service, they reinstate women's subalternized positionalities in socioreligious relationships and recreate experiences thereof, especially regarding husbands and in-laws, gurus, and deities. However, they may also become a means of subverting patriarchal hierarchy and challenging colonial and orthodox religious structures.

KEYWORDS
tattoo, godna, subordination, resistance, Suriname, Guyana

Resumen
Un tatuaje no tiene uno, sino múltiples significados, dependiendo de la persona y de las interpretaciones dentro de cierto contexto sociocultural. Para demostrarlo, este artículo se centra en *godna* o las prácticas relacionadas con el tatuaje en Surinam y Guyana. La práctica del godna se encuentra entre los hindúes mayores y puede interpretarse como expresiones de subordinación y resistencia. Estas marcas en la piel inscriben y (re)crean activamente relaciones de poder asimétricas y encarnan diferentes dimensiones de dependencia. En relación con la noción de servicio, reintegran las posicionalidades subalternizadas de las mujeres en las relaciones socio-religiosas y recrean sus experiencias, en particular en relación con sus esposos y suegros, gurús y deidades. Sin embargo, también pueden convertirse en un medio para subvertir la jerarquía patriarcal y desafiar las estructuras religiosas coloniales y ortodoxas.

PALABRAS CLAVE
tatuaje, godna, subordinación, resistencia, Guyana, Surinam

TATTOOED DEPENDENCY

Aunty Bhee[1] was sitting next to me on the bench outside her home in Canje, Guyana, and slowly shook her head when I asked her about her *godna*, the faded tattoo on her forearm. In prior conversations, several Guyanese informants had explained to me that *godnas* are tattooed marks of subordination, reinscribing the inferior status of a Hindu wife in relation to her husband. On a

This is an open access article under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivs License, which permits use and distribution in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, the use is non-commercial and no modifications or adaptations are made.
© 2022 The Authors. The *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* published by Wiley Periodicals LLC on behalf of American Anthropological Association.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 787

previous occasion, Aunty Bhee had also discussed her *godna* in this particular way with me, but on this afternoon in September 2017, she dismissed my interest in her tattoo, rolled up her sleeves, lifted her skirt, and pointed to numerous scars on her arms and legs, explaining: "This [*godna*] is only one of the marks he gave me," indicating her husband's abusive, violent behavior.

When asked about their *godnas*, the majority of my senior, female, Hindu informants in Guyana and Suriname indeed recounted their lives as severely and negatively influenced by oppressive patriarchs, husbands, and parents-in-law. They especially emphasized experiences of gender-related violence, their husbands' alcoholism, and other physical and spiritual suffering. At the beginning of my ethnographic fieldwork—conducted in the Surinamese-Guyanese border region and in the Surinamese diaspora in the Netherlands between 2017 and 2019—*godnas* seemed to represent a prime example of tattoos as marks of possession and subordination, as they usually contained the initials of the tattooed woman's husband. However, as I analyze in detail in this article, *godnas* as marks of subordination are but one way women understand and interpret their own *godnas*. Indeed, *godnas* entail a multiplicity of understandings and provide various ways of reading them. To overcome potential bias resulting from popular associations of tattoos with possession and ownership—especially if they contain another person's initials—critical reflection on the prominent interpretation of *godnas* as marks of subordination is necessary. These associations are not only the result of popular discourse but have also been a focus of tattoo research over much of the twentieth century (Gustafson 1997; Jones 2000).

Over the past twenty years, research on tattoos has increased, with growing numbers of studies appearing in publications, especially in history, art history, sociology, and archaeology.[2] Although not part of mainstream discussion in social and cultural anthropology, tattoos have continually been a topic of interest—for example, in studies focused on Oceania (Gell [1993] 2004; Kuwahara 2005; Thomas, Cole, and Douglas 2005). This focus is linked to colonial encounters in the Pacific and the allegedly related revival of "Western" tattooing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, which played a pivotal role in scholarly discussions up to the early 2000s (Kloß 2020, 2021). Comparatively little research has been conducted on tattoos and tattooing in Latin American and Caribbean anthropology. Here, the most prominent themes related to tattoos concern mummies from ancient cultures (Allison et al. 1981; Arriaza 1995; Maita Agurto and Minaya Cabello 2014; Rocha Valverde 2018; Ruiz Estrada 2012), and tattoos were documented in descriptive anthropological accounts of Indigenous communities in Latin America (Baldus 1962; Krause 1911, 1952; Santiana and Carluci 1962); these early accounts do not go beyond mere categorizations that label and classify specific groups of people and reconstruct stereotypes of an Indigenous other.

The association of tattooing with Indigenous communities and ancient cultures bares the risk of reducing tattooing, body painting, and body modification to an exoticized and racialized other. Historically, and not specific to Latin American and Caribbean contexts, tattoos, their practices, and narratives have significantly contributed to the construction of otherness and the notion of the "uncultured" (Caplan 2000; Kloß 2020; Thomas 2005). Enid Schildkrout affirms that as "images of people from Europe's colonies made their way into popular culture, representations of tattooing among the European underclass became conflated with the exotic bodies of Africans, Asians, and Native Americans" (2004, 327). Anthropological tattoo research has to overcome the dichotomization of Indigenous versus non-Indigenous tattooing and should not reproduce the notion of a painted/tattooed Indigenous other.

Indeed, tattoos could and can be noticed among a wide range of social actors in Latin America and the Caribbean, as also this article illustrates. The few available studies provide some insight into the variety of tattoos and their related practices in Latin America and the Caribbean. For example, the role of tattoos in identity formation processes has been a recurring theme, referring especially to their visual and symbolic characteristics and the related construction of social groups, boundaries, and feelings of belonging (Da Serra Netto 2011; Hourquebie 2008; Krischke Leitão 2004; Míguez 2002; Osório 2006; Peck 2014; Pérez 2006; Pérez Fonseca 2009). Other studies consider tattoos as a means of expression and communication (Garrido 2010), reflect on them in polytheistic and monotheistic contexts (Ramos 2002), consider them as a means of sacralization (Morello 2021), or approach them from a psychological perspective (Oliveira and Giffoni 2007).

Tattoos and tattooing practices offer manifold perspectives and innovative approaches to topics, such as body politics and biopower, identity and belonging, social groups and boundaries, religion and ritual, memory and commemoration, (im)materiality and the senses, violence and punishment, and pain and healing. In this article, I analyze social and cultural anthropology's potential contribution to theorizing and researching tattoos by emphasizing their relationality and capacity to embody power relations, socioreligious hierarchy, and asymmetrical dependencies. As unequal power relations and social hierarchies have influenced and continue to influence tattooing (Kuwahara 2005; Peck 2014), tattoos may be understood to embody, affect, and, hence, actively recreate socioreligious dependencies among a variety of social actors. These may include humans, deities, ancestors, spirits, and others. I hypothesize that in hegemonic contexts, tattoos may become a means of social control and of resistance to dominant social actors.

Tattoos and tattooing have to be approached as objects and practices that go beyond the visual and symbolic, and as performatively (re)creating and embodying (asymmetrical) power relations. They do not only inscribe relations and levels of dependency on bodies and persons but may actively (re)produce them through their permanence and the sensory experiences they generate. To demonstrate, I focus on tattoo marks labeled *godna* in Suriname and Guyana. These tattoos illustrate women's relational and dynamic positionalities in social hierarchies and further enable us to think beyond tattoos' categorization as marks either of subordination or emancipation. To this end, I analyze contemporary discourses on *godna* and narratives told when enquiring about

19534940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts-U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 788

FIGURE 1 Daro's faded godna, consisting of Ramnam, a large Aum sign, as well as her own and her husband's initials, in Canje, Guyana. Photo Credit: Author, September 2017.

meanings of specific kinds of tattoos. I conclude that *godnas* embody and actively recreate the various asymmetrical dependencies that Surinamese and Guyanese Hindu women experience in the context of patriarchy and Hindu orthodoxy but that they also provide them with agency.

RITUAL TATTOOS IN CARIBBEAN HINDU COMMUNITIES

Godna, a word for tattoos and tattooing practices in Hindi and Sarnami (Surinamese Hindi; Bosch 2002, 159), can be found among senior Hindus, especially Indian women born before or during the 1960s. People who define themselves as *Indian* in Guyana and Suriname consider themselves as descendants of South Asian indentured laborers, who were shipped to the Caribbean to work on plantations during British and Dutch colonial rule between 1838 and the 1920s (Kloß 2016; Tinker 1993; van der Veer and Vertovec 1991; Younger 2009).[3] In Guyana, the term *East Indian* is sometimes used, while in Suriname the term *Hindoestani* (or *Hindustani*) is common. The majority of these indentured laborers were Hindus, who actively sought to maintain their religious traditions in the Caribbean. As Hinduism was a minority religion in the predominantly Christian societies, however, Hindu traditions and practices have been influenced by the exchange with several other religions—particularly Christianity and Islam—as well as inferiorization, proselytization, and stigmatization processes (Kloß 2017; van der Veer and Vertovec 1991; Williams 1991). Over the course of the twentieth century, Caribbean Hinduism has developed into various traditions and subgroups, such as the Sanatan, Madras, Arya, and ISKCON traditions (Younger 2009). Hence, Guyanese and Surinamese Hindus cannot be considered as a homogeneous group. The informants I refer to in this article predominantly identified as Sanatan Hindus, thus as part of mainstream Sanatan Dharm traditions.[4]

Although there exist multiple meanings and readings of *godnas*, contemporary interpretations and public discourse in Guyana and Suriname show little variation, linking *godnas* to the status of wifehood, of becoming and being a wife. For example, in the exhibition *Fu Moi Moi—The Decorated Body Then and Now*, curated by Aruna Mungra at the Stichting Surinaams Museum, Suriname, 2017, *godnas* were represented on an exhibition signboard.[5] They were thus included in Suriname's national repertoire of body modification and beautification, explained as follows on the signboard: "The *godna* is a tattoo used by Hindu women. It was placed after the wedding. The woman was obliged to do so; otherwise she was unclean to the in-laws . . . [who] refused to drink water she served. This custom no longer exists in Suriname" (author's translation from Dutch). This description also emphasized the link between *godnas* and marriage, the notion of service, and the context of ritual purification, to which I return below.

Similarly, whenever I asked Surinamese and Guyanese informants about the meaning of *godnas*, the majority suggested that in the past women needed this kind of tattoo to be accepted by their husbands and parents-in-law. A commonly heard statement was: "If you did not have *godna*, your parents-in-law would not eat your food or take water from you." According to my informants—male and female, young and old—*godnas* were related to a girl's wedding and transformation into a (married) woman. For example, during one of our first conversations in December 2011, 78-year-old Daro, who lives in the Guyanese region of Berbice with part of her family, introduced me to *godnas* while discussing specific kinds of Indian dress in Guyana (Kloß 2016). Daro and I were joined by her daughter Anto, and when Daro critically indicated that my analysis of dress lacked *godnas*, both pointed to the faded, hardly visible tattoo on Daro's forearm (see Figure 1).

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts- U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 789

FIGURE 2 Soenita's godna, consisting of an Aum sign, Sriramnam and her husband's initials, in Nieuw Nickerie, Suriname. On her left hand, a circular symbol was tattooed between thumb and index finger. Photo Credit: Author, September 2018.

The following is an excerpt from that interview:

Daro : We called them *godna*. [points at the tattoo and touches the mark on her arm]

Anto : Not like . . . how we call it "tattoo" today, you see, "people with tattoo." A long time ago, they used to call it "*godna*."

Daro : *Godna*.

….

Daro : One lady would come, and she would give you one. And if you did not get it, they would say, they don't want water from you.

Sinah: Uh-huh?

Anto : So like, that was like one . . .

Daro : That, like one *tradition*. When you had been married.

(Daro 78, Anto 42, women, Guyana, December 2011; author's translation from Guyanese, emphasis in original)

Daro's *godna* consisted of her own and her husband's initials "in English" (in Latin script), the Hindu symbol Aum, and the word *Rāmnām* in Devanagari script. At the time of my research, her *godna* was exemplary among those of many senior Hindu women in both Guyana and Suriname. Commonly, a husband's initials were a substantial component of *godnas*, but equally important were the tattooed words रामनाम or श्रीरामनाम (*Rāmnām* or *Śrīrāmnām*, the name of [Lord] Ram), the symbol ॐ (Aum, Oṃ), and symbols of fertility or good fortune (e.g., peacocks, flowers). *Godnas* were placed near the crook of the right arm; sometimes designs were extended with a black dot on the forehead and a circular symbol on the left hand (see Figures 2 and 3).

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts- U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 790

FIGURE 3 A Surinamese woman's godna, consisting of Aum, Sriramnam, peacock, flower, and her husband's initials. Photo Credit: Author, September 2018.

Daro explained that *godnas* were tattooed after a woman "had been married." Besides indicating a woman's marriage and wifehood, *godnas* also indicated the bride's social transition (her new social status and role as wife and her transition from girl to woman), her geographical relocation from her childhood home to the often-distant household of her husband's family, and integration into that household.

MARKS OF SUBORDINATION: SITA KI RASOI INTERPRETATION OF GODNAS

From a contemporary (Caribbean) perspective, one might recall ownership and slave markings when considering the tattooing of a husband's initials. Today, many women consider *godnas* particularly "old-fashioned" or even "backward" signs of female subordination. Most informants described *godnas* as signs or symbols that subjugated women to their in-laws and marked them as their husbands' possessions. At the time of my research, Hindu men and women of diverse age, regardless of residence in Suriname or Guyana, most commonly supplied these explanations. This was the case not only for me—a White, European, female ethnographer—but also for Sebieren Hassenmahomed, who considers herself part of the Surinamese diaspora in The Hague.[6] In her 2016 collection of Hindoestani women's life histories, for example, Hassenmahomed included three accounts of women who framed *godna* in relation to patriarchy and subordination. In these narratives, two Hindoestani women commented on their own *godnas*, one stating: "My father-in-law insisted that I should get a *godná* (tattoo) on my forearm when I was nine months married" (Hassenmahomed 2016, 92; author's translation from Dutch). Another woman referred to her mother's *godna*: "The *godná* (tattoo) on my mother's forearm, according to her, was proof that she was married" (Hassenmahomed 2016, 56; author's translation from Dutch).

Contemporary interpretations like these frame *godnas* as marks of wifehood and relate them to "housewifely devotion" in Suriname and Guyana. In this article's remainder, I refer to specific discourse on and interpretation of *godnas* as symbols of female subordination as the *Sita ki rasoi* reading of *godnas*. *Sītā kī rasoī* (सीता की रसोई) is Hindi, translating as "Sita's kitchen." A Hindu goddess, Sita is the main female character in the epic *Ramayana*, among the *Mahabharata*, the most prominent Hindu epic in Caribbean Hindu traditions (Singh 2012). Commonly known to be the god Ram's wife, Sita is usually characterized as devoted to her husband. In the Caribbean (and elsewhere), she serves as the role model for Hindu wives and the archetype of ideal womanhood, necessarily related to (auspicious) wifehood. Servitude and devotion (*bhakti*) are relevant in this context. In traditional Hindu families, a "good wife" makes her husband's (and children's) well-being her utmost priority and must facilitate this without considering her own wishes, well-being, and prospects. This concept of *pativrata*[7] supports the ideal that only a devoted, virtuous, and faithful wife is considered a good woman (Johnson 2010, 235). C. J. Fuller confirms this with reference to popular Hinduism in India that there are many goddesses who "exemplify the virtuous *pativrata*, 'devoted to her husband,'" including "Sita, who is absolutely faithful and obedient to Rama" (2004, 201; emphasis in original). According to Fuller, this ideal is internalized and becomes an intrinsic aspect of (Hindu) womanhood (2004, 201). In Guyana and Suriname, expressions like "she is a real Sita" are commonly used to compare and evaluate women's behavior as (especially) devoted and obedient to her husband. Depending on the speaker's stance on female subordination to husbands and men, such comparisons can have positive or negative implications. Referring to gender-specific problems among Surinamese Hindoestanis, Indra Boedjarath emphasizes that in contemporary Suriname, although the goddess Sita has manifold qualities and virtues, "only those contributing to the

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts- U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 791

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts-U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

image of a subservient, tolerant, self-sacrificing, chaste, honourable, ever friendly woman, even in the face of humiliation and rejection are employed" (2017, 134).

The ideal of a wife being like a maidservant to her husband traditionally extended to his family, especially the husband's parents, whose powerful position in relation to their sons' wives was (and sometimes still is) significant. My informants' interpretations of *godnas* usually directly and prominently referred to a woman's parents-in-law, who were often said to have demanded the *godna*. Similarly, in the examples above, narrators explained that the husband had not required his wife to get a *godna*, but instead the parents- or father-in-law did so. The tattoo design's name *Sita ki rasoi* might lead one to assume that *godnas* symbolize women's role in a Hindu household and more generally in Hindu communities—that is, restriction to caretaking activities, household chores, and reproduction.[8] Referring to women's "main domain," *Sita ki rasoi* directly names the kitchen, without actually depicting features of kitchens. Sita herself is not represented in the *godna's* design, but Sita's husband's name is inscribed on the woman's skin—Rāmnām ("the name of Ram[a]") or Śrīrāmnām ("the name of Lord Ram[a]").

The vast majority of *godnas* represent clear stratification of social status and hierarchy as well as domains of dependency in which a wife must serve: a *godna's* top layer usually consists of the Aum, representing the cosmic principle, the ultimate reality, and the original world sound from which everything—including humans and deities—emanated. The second refers to Ram, representing and (re)creating the tattooee's auspicious wifehood with tacit incentives to act like Sita. The design's third and lowest part usually consists of the husband's initials and sometimes symbols of good fortune and fertility. While this design represents the hierarchical organization of the cosmos—that is, humans' subordinate relation to deities, and deities' to the superior consciousness—it further suggests women's threefold subordination and dependence, inferior to the superior consciousness, deities, and husbands.

The *Sita ki rasoi* tattoo design was not invented in the Caribbean but was part of sociocultural traditions imported by Indian indentured laborers. *Sita ki rasoi* has been documented as a popular tattoo motif in Indian regions from which indentured laborers were recruited to various Caribbean colonies. As early as 1896, for example, William Crooke referred to *Sita ki rasoi* as a tattoo design in the North-Western Provinces of then-British India. Stating that in "Upper India" girls selected tattoos "according to taste" (Crooke 1896, 204), he differentiated the following designs: 1) figurative designs, including the "peacock, the horse, the serpent, the scorpion, tortoise, centipede"; 2) "representations of jewelry" including necklaces and bracelets, and 3) designs that "are purely religious, such as . . . the cooking house of Sítá, the stock type of wifely virtue" (Crooke 1896, 204). Crooke neither provides a singular explanation of the tattoos' function nor does he refer to *Sita ki rasoi* as the only noticeable tattoo design. Indicating the manifold uses of tattoos, he describes their meanings as dependent on regional contexts and as marks of social stratification, including caste. A hundred years later, for example, Shampa Shah and Aashi Manohar documented continued use of the *Sita ki rasoi* motif in Indigenous communities of the Indian state of Madhya Pradesh: "The scene of Sita Rasoi, the kitchen of Sita, the heroine of the *Ramayana*, is a popular tattoo motif in many tribes" (1996, 110).

Indicating a woman's obligation to conduct *sevā*—selfless service to deities, gurus, the needy, and the family—*godnas* can indeed be read as marks of subordination. However, having conducted between one and four formal interviews with each of my senior Hindu informants, the interviews and our additional informal conversations revealed that the women's explanations of *godna* varied and that the meaning of *godnas* proved to be much more complex and heterogeneous than portrayed by contemporary discourse. Not wanting to trivialize experiences of female indentured laborers' and contemporary Surinamese and Guyanese women's subalternization, I still believe it necessary to reflect on other aspects of *godnas* that allow further insight into their meanings.

Before I detail this in the following section, I suggest that the *Sita ki rasoi* reading has to be contextualized and considered as part of broader scholarly and popular discourse on Indian women's subordination in the Caribbean. Earlier scholarship on Indo-Caribbean women contains notions of subalternization, marginalization, and the trope of the "suffering coolie woman" (Hoefte 1987; Khodabaks-Hasnoe and Habieb 1999; Shiw Parsad 1999; Tinker 1993). "Coolie wife murders" have been an especially prominent framework in the Caribbean historiography that labeled female indentured laborers and their descendants as victimized and suppressed (Carter and Torabully 2002).[9] In this context, tales of "coolie wife murders" contributed to "European assumptions of the barbarism of Indian males and their treatment of women as their 'property'" (Carter and Torabully 2002, 52). While such approaches have been challenged more recently (Choenni 2020; Gounder 2020; Haniff 1999; Hosein 2011; Mohammed 1999; Swamy 2016), the trope proves persistent, especially in popular discourse and culture. Margriet Fokken argues that due to the absence of female voices, "the historiography on Hindustani women in Suriname remains informed by stereotypical depictions" (2015, 275). Criticizing Surinamese historiography for its continuing Eurocentric focus, for example, Gloria Wekker calls us to overcome this partiality of knowledge (2001). She rightly criticizes that "scholarly work on Suriname, certainly until the last four decades of the previous century, has largely been done by (white) men," resulting in "the standard practice to elide gender as a meaningful category of analysis" (Wekker 2001, 177). Following this criticism, this article is based especially on oral history interviews with Guyanese and Surinamese women to include female voices in Caribbean historiography. Wekker further addresses the fact that "Surinamese history and ethnography have mostly been produced by Dutch academics and to a lesser degree by Americans," revealing "a particular preoccupation with ethnicity" (2001, 177).[10] Although as a German researcher I will not be able to overcome the Western bias Wekker rightly criticizes, I have approached Surinamese (and Guyanese) history by not focusing on a specific "ethnic group" but by analyzing body marking practices on a general level. Additionally, I have

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 792

19534940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts-U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

not restricted my research to national borders—a framing that often continues to be left unquestioned—and actively compare Guyanese and Surinamese practices of *godna* in my ethnographic research. *Godnas* are not the cultural practice of a specific "ethnic group" but predominantly of a religious group in Suriname and Guyana: the Hindu community. Especially female Hindus have *godnas*, so these tattoos add a gendered dimension to the historiography and anthropology of the Guianas.

Critical reflection on the prominent *Sita ki rasoi* interpretation of *godnas* is therefore necessary. For this purpose, attention has to be drawn to the question of subalternized people's agency, which has often been addressed. However, this article's objective is to not confirm that Surinamese and Guyanese Hindu women have had and continue to have agency, especially considering that, particularly in old age, many (Hindu) women claim powerful positions and have considerable influence in their families.[11] Such an objective would reproduce a specific scholarship that does not "move beyond the terms of emancipation versus subordination" (Fokken 2015, 286). Instead, *how* women claim agency should be addressed. Again, I emphasize that I do not want to trivialize the real pain suffered by many of my informants; gender-based violence is a serious problem in Guyana and Suriname, as elsewhere in the world, and should never be glossed over. In almost all life histories of women with whom I engaged, gender-based violence was either framed as their marriage's main characteristic or it was mentioned and normalized as a "side effect" of married life. However, the content of conversations in sequential ethnographic interviews often moved beyond the *Sita ki rasoi* narrative; women started explaining *godnas'* other meanings and interpretations—for example, as indicators that a woman had conducted a *gurmukh* ritual and become a guru's disciple. Thus, besides serving her husband and in-laws, she could conduct "service" (*sevā*) toward a guru and deities. I turn to this interpretation of *godnas* in the following section, referring to it as the *gurmukh* reading of *godnas*.

MARKS OF SUBVERSION: GURMUKH READING OF GODNAS

Most informants stated that in the past, a married woman needed a *godna* to be accepted by her parents-in-law. My two oldest female informants from Suriname and Guyana, with *godnas* on their arms and hands, similarly recalled this function. In contrast to most other informants, however, both women further elaborated on procedures and meaning of *godna* during several ethnographic interviews, additionally highlighting the empowering link between *godnas* and Hindu baptism. Both women related *godna* to "baptism" by a *pandit*, and thus having acquired the status of being the "godchild" of a guru (Daro, Guyana) or of being *gurmukh/goermoekh* (Soenita, Suriname)—of "having a guru." For example, 81-year-old Soenita* from Nieuw Nickerie in Suriname explained why as a young woman, she had gotten a *godna*:

> ***Soenita***: Those old people said, "You must have *godna* on your hand." If you didn't have *godna*, those people, . . . those old people, didn't want to drink water from your hands. They didn't want to. Is not *goermoekh*.
>
> ***Sinah***: Is not . . . ?
>
> ***Soenita***: *Goermoekh*! Does not have a guru. You must have a guru.
>
> ***Sinah***: Ah! So that [*godna*] means you have a guru?
>
> ***Soenita***: Hmm [affirmative]. We must have *godna*. If you were going to give someone water, she was going to say, "Your hand has *godna*?," then they were going to drink [the] water. If you didn't have *godna*, she/he was not going to drink.
>
> (Soenita, 81, woman, September 2018, Nieuw Nickerie/Suriname; author's translation from Dutch)

Soenita referred to a baptized person as "a *goermoekh*"; *goermoekh* is the Dutch spelling for *gurmukh*, which translates as "baptized person" or "baptism" according to the Dutch-Sarnami dictionary (Bosch 2002, 159). In Guyana, Daro similarly talked about baptism in relation to *godna*, describing it as (Hindu) "christening" by a *pandit*. According to Daro, *godnas* displayed a person's connection to and relation with a guru. Like Soenita, Daro clarified in follow-up conversations that her *godna* signified her status of being a guru's "godchild." The guru, she explained, was usually a local *pandit* in Guyana who "christened" several "godchildren." The concept of *gurmukh* is referenced almost exclusively to Sikhism in academic literature. In the Sikh tradition, the word *gurmukh* refers to a person who is guru-oriented and follows the teachings of a guru (Singh 2019). *Gurmukh* also

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 793

19549402, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts-U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

denotes a person who "has overcome ego" (Singh Mandair 2017, 169) and has changed from a "self-willed being (*manmukh*)" (Cassio 2019, 155). In contrast to the *gurmukh*, a *manmukh* "is controlled by the impulses of man, rather than by the dictates of the Gurū" (Bowker 2003). When in November 2020, I inquired whether the *gurmukh* was relevant to Guyanese Hindus, Daro responded (via her daughter Anto on social media) that *gurmukh* refers to a kind of teacher and relates to a person's most-liked yogi (spiritual teacher).[12]

According to these senior Hindu women, a *godna* portrays and (re)creates an empowering relationship between a guru and his disciple(s); the condition of having become guru-oriented. Knowledge and interpretations of *godna* as marks that signify a tattooee's baptism or Hindu christening are rare. Still, senior informants highlighted *godna* as a means of becoming *gurmukh*, indicating the necessity of also considering *godnas* in Guyana and Suriname in this context and, more specifically, in light of the *gurmukh* ritual. According to Cornelis Johannes Maria de Klerk, the ritual of *gurmukh* is "widely-known" among Surinamese (1998, 116). In *Cultus en ritueel van het orthodoxe Hindoeïsme in Suriname* (*Cult and Ritual of Orthodox Hinduism in Suriname*), he relates the *gurmukh* to the *upanayana*, which is one of the *sanskaras* (rites of passage) in Hindu life. Klerk lists the *gurmukh* as having a "complementary and substitute function" (1998, 116, author's translation) relative to the *upanayana*. In Suriname and Guyana, the *upanayana* is popularly referred to as *janeu* or *janneuw*; these terms denote the sacred thread handed to an initiate during a ritual. Traditionally, the *upanayana* or *janeu* is accessible only by upper-caste Hindu boys, who achieve "twice-born" status after having performed the ritual (Fuller 2004; Michaels 2004). According to Hindu philosophy, a twice-born boy is accepted by the guru who officiated at the ritual and who is henceforth responsible for the boy's (spiritual) education, thereby initiating the disciple's second, spiritual birth. The *upanayana* rite of passage consists, among other actions, of receiving the guru mantra and the sacred thread from the guru (Klerk 1998, 116). Traditionally, some groups—lower-caste and casteless Hindus as well as women in general—were restricted from conducting the *upanayana* and thus from achieving twice-born status and spiritual birth.[13] They were unable to achieve salvation from the cycle of reincarnation and had to hope for and work toward reincarnation as an upper-caste Hindu man. According to Klerk, the *gurmukh* ritual became relevant especially to groups restricted from conducting the *upanayana*—for example, women (Klerk 1998, 116).

If the *gurmukh* ritual allowed women to undergo substitute *upanayana*, *godnas* can be considered substitutes to the *janeu*, the sacred thread handed over during the ritual. Although *godnas* were not tattooed during the ritual itself, they were still perceived to mark a *gurmukh* ritual and symbolize the tattooed woman's discipleship to and dependency on a guru. In contrast to the *Sita ki rasoi* interpretation, *godnas* and their related *gurmukh* ritual may be perceived as emancipatory or even subversive in relation to Hindu orthodoxy, for they enabled women's spiritual birth and possibly births of other subalternized groups. Like twice-born Hindu men, *gurmukh* women could consequently free themselves of ego and acquire (spiritual) education. From a non-Hindu perspective, the necessary "loss of ego" seems to support wives' subordination to husbands in the patriarchal societies of Guyana and Suriname and to justify through religion their often servant-like status in their husbands' households that include their parents-in-law. From a Hindu perspective, however, the *gurmukh* ritual in itself—as a substitute for *upanayana*—must foremost be considered an emancipatory aspect of Caribbean Hindu practices; loss of ego is considered an auspicious and most desirable goal among all human beings, including men. Soenita and Daro's statements, in which they self-confidently highlighted their discipleship and link to a guru, support this interpretation.

Godnas that recreate the *gurmukh* state and a relation to a guru have to be further contextualized in the development of Caribbean Hindu traditions to fully understand their subversive potential. In colonial Guyana and Suriname, Hindu traditions were marginalized, and Hindu practices and beliefs were commonly denoted as inferior to Christian values (Kloß 2016, 2017). Hindu leaders, including *pandits*, actively sought to consolidate the Hindu community from the beginning of the twentieth century, fearing mass conversion to Christianity, and created an "official" or "Brahmanic" Hinduism (van der Veer and Vertovec 1991; Younger 2009). The so-called "Sanatan tradition" consolidated and was aimed at implementing a Sanskritic Hindu orthodoxy in Guyana and Suriname, creating a religious tradition that could be legitimized as "respectable," on a par with Christianity (Kloß 2017; Vertovec 1994; Williams 1991). To acquire respectable status, all practices labeled as "uncivilized" had to be banished.

Christians and European colonizers considered tattooing an "uncultured" practice that needed to be eradicated. Contemporary research on tattoos and tattooing has highlighted the influence of European colonization and Christian missionization on tattooing practices, illustrating how part of the "civilizing mission" was to eradicate the "savage" and "heathen" practice of tattooing (Alvarez 2020; D'Alleva 2005; Ford 2020; Krutak 2020). As tattoo research in other regions has demonstrated, some groups and people covered their tattoos in such contexts of subalternization and colonization (Gengenbach 2003). They did not necessarily eradicate tattooing altogether but maintained the practices as a means of resistance to dominant powers. Analyses of the disappearance or replacement of tattoos with less permanent modes of body modification may provide significant insight into negotiations of (colonial) power relations and concepts such as permanence and materiality. Such transformation has been documented in Latin America and the Caribbean but has not been a major focus of analysis. For example, commenting on the motifs of Indigenous body painting in *Tristes Tropiques*, Claude Lévi-Strauss points to the "exceptional importance" of body painting in Amazonian cultures, further only mentioning that the motifs were "at one time, either tattooed or painted" and adding that "tattooing has now quite dropped out" ([1955] 1961, 166).

By continuing the practice of *godna* amid the quest for respectability and associating it with the *gurmukh* ritual, Hindu women challenged traditional Hindu orthodoxy (according to which women were denied *upanayana*) and furthermore contributed to

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 794

19534940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts-U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

the creation of an alternative Caribbean Hindu orthodoxy that challenged Christian and colonial standards of respectability. Such subversive practice may not have been highly visible, however: Daro indicated in one of our conversations that, in the past, *godnas* were usually covered by women's jewelry (Kloß forthcoming). This aspect indicates the need to include covered, hidden, and allegedly disappearing tattoos into analyses of (colonial) power relations and analyze them as embodied means of resistance.

Janeu and *godna* both symbolically signified a Hindu's discipleship, but, furthermore, they directly impacted receivers' bodies. Application of auspicious symbols and objects on one's body not only indicated but also actively affected the body's purification, which was later supported by the person's spiritual birth and subsequent spiritual purification. *Godnas* were not only considered to represent the *gurmukh* state but as continually creating and recreating it—similar to *janeus* that recreated men's twice-born status. *Godnas* actively purified and cleansed the bodies on which they were inscribed. They prevented others from being polluted, especially the in-law family for whom the wife had to cook and serve food and drinks. The common explanation, "Your parents-in-law would only eat your food if you had *godna*," directly refers to a *godna's* cleansing capacity; food and drinks are considered infected and contaminated by a cook and/or a server's bodily impurities, which can be transferred to those who receive and consume items. Rather than having a mere symbolic or indexical function, *godnas* directly and effectively purified bodies, recreating the *gurmukh* state and representing a woman's relation to a guru.[14]

CONCLUSION: EMBODIED DEPENDENCY

Godnas mark, (re)create, and embody different relations of dependence. The husband's initials and *Rāmnām* embody the asymmetrical dependence of a woman on her husband and family-in-law. They (re)create her status as wife and daughter-in-law, two highly subalternized status positions in Guyanese and Surinamese Hindu communities. The tattoo of Aum signifies everybody's and everything's inferiority to the Supreme and marks the woman's (and any human's) dependence on a guru. It (re)creates the status of being a guru's godchild and disciple, which is significant as without serving a guru, no human is able to acquire spiritual knowledge, overcome ego, and reunite with the supreme consciousness—that is, to overcome human suffering and the cycle of reincarnation.

Godnas are marks of dependency that relate to multiple levels of service (*sevā*). They reinstate women's subalternized positionalities in socioreligious hierarchies and networks of power, and recreate experiences and memories thereof, especially in relation to husbands and in-laws, deities, and gurus. At the same time, they also subvert patriarchal hierarchy and orthodox Hindu structures: they provide female tattooees with the capacity to ritually purify their bodies, to acquire spiritual knowledge, and to serve a guru and deities. By applying a mark that seems to overtly bind them to various dependency relations, they indeed gain the capacity to overcome the highest level of dependency: the dependence on and the existence in the physical world.

Tattoos and tattooing practices provide innovative approaches to analyze embodied dependencies and (a)symmetrical power relations. Not only do they symbolize and visualize but they also materialize and actively recreate social relations and power asymmetries, for example in (post)colonial and patriarchal contexts. Tattoos never have singular meanings. Both the marks and the tattooing processes facilitate a variety of sensory experiences and memories. To overcome an exclusive focus on tattoos' visual characteristics, I suggest integrating tattooing practices and narratives of the tattooing process into future analyses and research. Such approaches would highlight tattooing as an event or practice, drawing further attention to the underresearched area of tattooing's material culture and to sensory approaches of tattooing. This case study of *godnas* has illustrated how diversified approaches can overcome simplified juxtapositions of tattoos' meanings and motifs, such as subordination versus emancipation and oppression versus resistance.

ORCID

Sinah Theres Kloß https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7990-9329

ENDNOTES

[1] Names w have been changed to ensure the anonymity of my informants.

[2] For an overview, see Kloß (2021), Kosut (2015), Lane (2014), and Schildkrout (2004).

[3] Between 1838 and 1917, 238,909 Indian laborers were shipped to then-British Guiana. Between 1873 and 1916, 34,000 Indian indentured laborers arrived on Surinamese plantations (van der Veer and Vertovec 1991, 150).

[4] For detailed analyses of Hindu traditions in the Caribbean, see van der Veer and Vertovec (1991), Klerk (1998), Singh (2012), and Kloß (2016).

[5] I thank Aruna Mungra for her support of my research project and sharing her experiences, photographs, and information with me.

[6] I thank Sebieren Hassenmahomed for her continuing support of my research, including her opening up of opportunities for me to talk to senior Hindoestani women in The Hague.

[7] *Pativrata* refers to a virtuous wife who has made a vow (*vrata*) to her husband (*pati*), offering him devotion and protection.

[8] For the Surinamese context, U. Arya speculates in *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam*, collected during the late 1960s, on the origin of the name, hypothesizing that the design may symbolize "a woman's role in the home," but ultimately admits to being unaware of the name's origin (1968, 26–27).

[9] Marina Carter and Khal Torabully summarize this trope in their discussion of *Coolitude* (2002) as follows: "As the indenture system expanded and flourished over the nineteenth century, stereotypes of the 'helpless coolie as victim' gained a wide circulation. Transmuted to the sugar estates of the British Empire, the

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 795

'docility' of the Indian coolie, and his relative lack of ambition, became the official explanations for the seemingly smooth running of what was deemed an essentially coercive institution" (2002, 51).

[10] She also highlights that Western knowledge production on Suriname remains biased, as the former Dutch colony of Indonesia continues to be attached with "more value" in comparison to Suriname (Wekker 2001, 178–79).

[11] Elsewhere I discuss how senior Hindu women use their *godna* narratives as "narratives of suffering" to claim more powerful positions and enhance their social status in their families, communities, and with regard to future lives (Kloß, forthcoming).

[12] Anto texted: "*Gurmukh* like teacher / your most Like yoga" (text message to author on November 19, 2020).

[13] In the Indian caste system, some upper castes are considered "twice-born." In the Caribbean, no caste system similar to the Indian one has been maintained, but caste identities sometimes prevail (Ayyathurai 2021; van der Veer and Vertovec 1991).

[14] It has to be mentioned that women's bodies are conceptualized to be more polluted than men's in most Hindu traditions. Thus, the need to apply (purificatory) *godna* to serve could also be read as a means of subordination, as discussed above. In the context of conceptualizing *godnas* as substitutes to *janeus*, my informants did not consider *godnas'* purifying capacity as reproducing gendered inequalities, I believe. Further research is needed, however, that compares the purifying capacities and material implications of *janeu* and *godna*.

ACKNOWLEDEGMENTS

I thank my Surinamese and Guyanese friends and informants for their time, enthusiasm, and support of my research. I am indebted to Dharamdai 'Daro' Bhowandin and the Bhowandin family for introducing me to the topic of *godna*. I thank Claudette Austin, Maurits Hassankhan, Sebieren Hassenmahomed, and Aruna Mungra, who allowed me access to various institutions in Guyana, Suriname, and the Netherlands. I also thank Quetzil Castañeda, Taynã Tagliati, and three anonymous reviewers for their input.

Open Access funding enabled and organized by Projekt DEAL.

REFERENCES

Allison, Marvin J., Lawrence Lindberg, Calogero Santoro, and Guillermo Focacci. 1981. "Tatuajes y pintura corporal de los indígenas precolombinos de Perú y Chile." *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 7: 218–28, 230–36.

Alvarez, Pauline. 2020. "Indigenous (Re)Inscription: Transmission of Cultural Knowledge(s) through Tattoos as Resistance." In *Tattoo Histories*, edited by Sinah T. Kloß, 157–75. New York: Routledge.

Arriaza, Bernardo T. 1995. *Beyond Death: The Chinchorro Mummies of Ancient Chile*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Arya, U. 1968. *Ritual Songs and Folksongs of the Hindus of Surinam*. Leiden, Netherlands: Brill.

Ayyathurai, Gajendran. 2021. "Emigration against Caste, Transformation of the Self, and Realization of the Casteless Society in Indian Diaspora." *Essays in Philosophy* 22 (1–2): 45–65. https://doi.org/10.5840/eip20212194.

Baldus, Herbert. 1962. "Etnografia: escarificação e tatuagem entre índios do Brasil." *Humboldt: Revista para o mundo luso-brasileiro* 2 (3): 77–80.

Boedjarath, Indra. 2017. "Gender-Specific Problems among Surinamese Hindustanis: Suicide and Alcoholism." In *Social and Cultural Dimensions of Indian Indentured Labour and Its Diaspora: Past and Present*, edited by Maurits S. Hassankhan, Lomarsh Roopnarine, and Radica Mahase, 113–48. London: Routledge.

Bosch, A. L. 2002. *Beknopt Nederlands-Sarnami Hindoestani Woordenboek*. Paramaribo: Instituut voor Taalwetenschap.

Bowker, John. 2003. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of World Religions*, edited by John Bowker, s.v. "Manmukh." Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Caplan, Jane. 2000. "Introduction." In *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*, edited by Jane Caplan, xi–xxiii. London: Reaktion Books.

Carter, Marina, and Khal Torabully. 2002. *Coolitude: An Anthology of the Indian Labour Diaspora*. London: Anthem Press.

Cassio, Francesca. 2019. "The Sonic Pilgrimage: Exploring Kīrtan and Sacred Journeying in Sikh Culture." *Sikh Formations* 15 (1–2): 152–82. https://doi.org/10.1080/17448727.2019.1593298.

Choenni, Chan E. S. 2020. "Hindostani Women in Suriname: From Coolies to Matriarchs." In *Indentured and Post-Indentured Experiences of Women in Indian Diaspora*, edited by Amba Pande, 185–96. New York: Springer.

Crooke, William. 1896. *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*. London: Londres.

Da Serra Netto, Helio Figueiredo. 2011. "O corpo como espaço imaginativo: tatuagem, práticas sociais e simbolismo." PhD diss., Universidade Federal do Pará.

D'Alleva, Anne. 2005. "Christian Skins: Tatau and the Evangelization of the Society Islands and Samoa." In *Tattoo: Bodies, Art, and Exchange in the Pacific and the West*, edited by Nicholas Thomas, Anna Cole, and Bronwen Douglas, 90–108. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Fokken, Margriet. 2015. "Beyond Stereotypes: Understanding the Identities of Hindustani Women and Girls in Suriname Between 1873 and 1921." *Tijdschrift voor Genderstudies* 18 (3): 273–89. https://doi.org/10.5117/TVGN2015.3.FOKK.

Ford, Kate. 2020. "Two 'Ways of Proceeding': Damage Limitation in the Mission to the Chiquitos." In *Cultural Worlds of the Jesuits in Colonial Latin America*, edited by Linda A. Newson, 41–68. London: Institute of Latin American Studies.

Fuller, C. J. 2004. *The Camphor Flame: Popular Hinduism and Society in India*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Garrido, Cintia Daiana. 2010. "Cuando el recuerdo se hace piel: tatuarse para no olvidar." *VI Jornadas de Sociología de la UNLP*: 1–18. http://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/trab_eventos/ev.5729/ev.5729.pdf.

Gell, Alfred. (1993) 2004. *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon.

Gengenbach, Heidi. 2003. "Boundaries of Beauty: Tattooed Secrets of Women's History in Magude District, Southern Mozambique." *Journal of Women's History* 14 (4): 106–41.

Gounder, Farzana. 2020. "Gender Performativity in Subaltern Life Stories: Changing Discourses of Indentured Women as Mothers and Labourers." In *Indentured and Post-Indentured Experiences of Women in Indian Diaspora*, edited by Amba Pande, 21–35. New York: Springer.

Gustafson, W. M. 1997. "Inscripta in Fronte: Penal Tattooing in Late Antiquity." *Classical Antiquity* 16 (1): 79–105.

Haniff, Nesha. 1999. "My Grandmother Worked in the Field: Stereotypes Regarding East Indian Women in the Caribbean: Honorable Mention." In *Matikor: The Politics of Identity for Indo-Caribbean Women*, edited by Rosanne Kanhai, 18–31. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of the West Indies School of Continuing Studies.

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts-U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 796

Hassenmahomed, Sebieren. 2016. *Levens Van Vreugde En Verdriet: Verhalen Van Hindostaanse Vrouwen*. The Hague, Netherlands: Amrit.
Hoefte, Rosemarijn. 1987. "Female Indentured Labor in Suriname: For Better or for Worse?" *Boletín de estudios latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 42: 55–70.
Hourquebie, Noemí. 2008. "Archivo de una historia inscripta en el cuerpo: el tatuaje como expresión narrativa." In *Narrativa, identidades y memorias*, edited by María I. Palleiro, 201–14. Buenos Aires: Editorial Dunken.
Hosein, Shaheeda. 2011. "Unlikely Matriarchs: Rural Indo-Trinidadian Women in the Domestic Sphere." In *Bindi: The Multifaceted Lives of Indo-Caribbean Women*, edited by Rosanne Kanhai, 101–20. Kingston: University of the West Indies Press.
Johnson, W. J. 2010. *A Dictionary of Hinduism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Jones, C. P. 2000. "Stigma and Tattoo." In *Written on the Body: The Tattoo in European and American History*, edited by Jane Caplan, 1–16. London: Reaktion Books.
Khodabaks-Hasnoe, Rehanna, and Maureen Habieb. 1999. "Gender Issues in the Indian Joint Family System in Contemporary Rural Suriname." In *Matikor: The Politics of Identity for Indo-Caribbean Women*, edited by Rosanne Kanhai, 32–39. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of the West Indies School of Continuing Studies.
Klerk, Cornelis Johannes Maria de. 1998. *Cultus En Ritueel Van Het Orthodoxe Hindoeïsme in Suriname: Boek I. The Hague*, Netherlands: Amrit.
Kloß, Sinah T. 2016. *Fabrics of Indianness: The Exchange and Consumption of Clothing in Transnational Guyanese Hindu Communities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Kloß, Sinah T. 2017. "Contesting 'Gifts from Jesus.'" *Social Sciences and Missions* 30 (3–4): 346–65. https://doi.org/10.1163/18748945-03003003.
Kloß, Sinah T., ed. 2020. *Tattoo Histories: Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*. New York: Routledge.
Kloß, Sinah. 2021. The International Encyclopedia of Anthropology, s.v. "Tattoo." 1–11.
Kloß, Sinah T. Forthcoming. "Tattooed Dependencies: Sensory Memory, Structural Violence and Narratives of Suffering among Caribbean Hindu Women." In *Narratives of Dependency*, edited by Elke Brüggen and Marion Gymnich. Berlin: De Gruyter.
Kosut, Mary. 2015. "Tattoos and Body Modification." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, edited by James D. Wright, 32–38. Boston, MA and Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier. https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.64027-8.
Krause, Fritz. 1911. *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens: Bericht und Ergebnisse der Leipziger Araguana-Expedition 1908*. Leipzig, Germany: R. Voigtländer Verlag.
Krause, Fritz. 1952. "Tatuagem De Unha De Dedo De Um Índio Yamarikumá." *Revista do Museu Paulista Nova Série* 6: 465–67.
Krischke Leitão, Débora. 2004. "'Sinal De Nascença Escolhido': A Prática Da Tatuagem E a Valorização Da Pessoa Singular." In *Antropologia Da Emoção. Ensaios*, edited by Mauro G. Pinheiro Koury and Maria C. Rocha Barreto, 133–44. João Pessoa: João Pessoa.
Krutak, Lars. 2020. "Sacred Skin: Tattooing, Memory, and Identity Among the Naga of India." In *Tattoo Histories: Transcultural Perspectives on the Narratives, Practices, and Representations of Tattooing*, edited by Sinah T. Kloß, 191–217. New York: Routledge.
Kuwahara, Makiko. 2005. *Tattoo: An Anthropology*. Oxford, UK: Berg.
Lane, David C. 2014. "Tat's All Folks: An Analysis of Tattoo Literature." *Sociology Compass* 8 (4): 398–410.
Lévi-Strauss, Claude. (1955) 1961. *Tristes Tropiques*. New York: Criterion Books.
Maita Agurto, Patricia Karina, and Enma Minaya Cabello. 2014. "El trauma en la piel: el registro de tatuajes paracas necrópolis." *Jangwa Pana* 1: 14–33.
Michaels, Axel. 2004. *Hinduism: Past and Present*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Míguez, Daniel. 2002. "Inscripta en la piel y en el alma: cuerpo e identidad en profesionales, pentecostales y jóvenes delincuentes." *Religião e Sociedade* 22 (1): 21–56.
Mohammed, Patricia. 1999. "From Myth to Symbolism: The Construction of Indian Femininity and Masculinity in Post-Indenture Trinidad." In *Matikor: The Politics of Identity for Indo-Caribbean Women*, edited by Rosanne Kanhai, 62–99. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of the West Indies School of Continuing Studies.
Morello, Gustavo. 2021. "I've Got You Under My Skin: Tattoos and Religion in Three Latin American Cities." *Social Compass* 68 (1): 61–80. https://doi.org/10.1177/0037768620962367.
Oliveira, Gislene Farias de, and Francinete Alves de Oliveira Giffoni. 2007. "Aspectos sócio-culturais das tatuagens: uma visão histórica." *IDonline* 1 (3): 14–19. https://doi.org/10.14295/idonline.v1i3.167.
Osório, Andréa. 2006. "Tatuagem e autonomia: reflexões sobre a juventude." *Cad. Campo (São Paulo, 1991)* 15 (14–15): 83–98. https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-9133.v15i14-15p83-98.
Peck, Marissa. 2014. "Global Cultures Local Interpretations: A Comparison of Wearing Tattoos in Ecuador and in the United States." BA thesis, Union College. https://digitalworks.union.edu/theses/576.
Pérez, Andrea Lissett. 2006. "A identidade à flor da pele: etnografia da prática da tatuagem na contemporaneidade." *Mana* 12 (1): 179–206. https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-93132006000100007.
Pérez Fonseca, Andrea Lissett. 2009. "Cuerpos tatuados, 'almas' tatuadas: nuevas formas de subjetividad en la contemporaneidad." *Revista Colombiana de Antropología* 45 (1): 69–94.
Ramos, Beatriz Eugenia. 2002. "La letra con sangre entra: disquisiciones acerca del tatuaje." *Desde el Jardín de Freud* 2: 62–67.
Rocha Valverde, Claudia. 2018. "El cuerpo femenino como territorio sagrado: una interpretación de la ritualidad sobre la piel entre las indígenas huastecas del oriente de México." *Estudios Atacameños* 59: 59–78.
Ruiz Estrada, Arturo. 2012. "Tatuajes prehispánicos de Huacho, valle de Huaura, Lima." *Revista Quillasumaq: Estudios Interdisciplinarios del Antiguo y Actual Perú* 1 (1): 6–19.
Santiana, Antonio, and María Angélica Carluci. 1962. "Vestidos, adornos, dibujo facial y tatuaje de los indios Cayapas." *Anthropos* 57 (3/6): 660–69.
Schildkrout, Enid. 2004. "Inscribing the Body." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (1): 319–44. https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.33.070203.143947.
Shah, Shampa, and Aashi Manohar. 1996. *Tribal Arts and Crafts of Madhya Pradesh*. Ahmedabad, India: Mapin.
Shiw Parsad, Basmat. 1999. "Marital Violence Within East Indian Households in Guyana: A Cultural Explanation." In *Matikor: The Politics of Identity for Indo-Caribbean Women*, edited by Rosanne Kanhai, 40–61. St. Augustine, Trinidad and Tobago: University of the West Indies School of Continuing Studies.
Singh, Pashaura, ed. 2019. *A Dictionary of Sikh Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Singh, Sherry-Ann. 2012. *The Ramayana Tradition and Socio-Religious Change in Trinidad, 1917–1990*. Kingston: Ian Randle.
Singh Mandair, Arvind-Pal. 2017. "Gurmukh." In *Sikhism*, edited by Arvind-Pal Singh Mandair, 169–70. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands.
Swamy, Priya. 2016. "'Let Us Live as Hindus': Narrating Hindu Identity Through Temple Building Processes in Amsterdam Zuidoost (1988–2015)." PhD diss., Leiden University.
Thomas, Nicholas. 2005. "Introduction." In *Tattoo: Bodies, Art, and Exchange in the Pacific and the West*, edited by Nicholas Thomas, Anna Cole, and Bronwen Douglas, 7–29. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts- U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 797

Thomas, Nicholas, Anna Cole, and Bronwen Douglas, eds. 2005. *Tattoo: Bodies, Art, and Exchange in the Pacific and the West*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Tinker, Hugh. 1993. *A New System of Slavery: The Export of Indian Labour Overseas: 1830–1920*. London: Hansib.

Wekker, Gloria. 2001. "Of Mimic Men and Unruly Women: Family, Sexuality and Gender in Twentieth-Century Suriname." In *Twentieth-Century Suriname: Continuities and Discontinuities in a New World Society*, edited by Rosemarijn Hoefte and Peter Meel, 174–97. Kingston: Ian Randle.

van der Veer, Peter, and Steven Vertovec. 1991. "Brahmanism Abroad: On Caribbean Hinduism as an Ethnic Religion." *Ethnology* 30 (2): 149–66.

Vertovec, Steven. 1994. "'Official' and 'Popular' Hinduism in Diaspora: Historical and Contemporary Trends in Surinam, Trinidad and Guyana." *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 28 (1): 123–47.

Williams, Brackette F. 1991. *Stains on My Name, War in My Veins: Guyana and the Politics of Cultural Struggle*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Younger, Paul. 2009. *New Homelands: Hindu Communities in Mauritius, Guyana, Trinidad, South Africa Fiji and East Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press.

How to cite this article: Sinah Theres, Kloß. 2022. "Embodying dependency: Caribbean *godna* (tattoos) as female subordination and resistance." *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 27: 601–612. https://doi.org/10.1111/jlca.12644

19354940, 2022, 4, Downloaded from https://anthrosource.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/jlca.12644 by Universitäts- U Landesbibliothek Bonn, Wiley Online Library on [07/05/2024]. See the Terms and Conditions (https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/terms-and-conditions) on Wiley Online Library for rules of use; OA articles are governed by the applicable Creative Commons License

3. Research Lenses

3.3. Norms, Institutions, Practices

Introduction

Over the last few years, the strong legalistic approach to slavery and asymmetrical dependency has been productively challenged. Under the heading of 'second slavery' or 'hidden Atlantic', scholars examined the unfree living conditions of the emancipados, recaptives and kuli in the post-emancipatory colonial societies of Latin America, all of which had long remained invisible due to the predominant Western Abolitionist discourse. Additionally, a large number of previously unnoticed traditions relating to enslavement practices in Muslim and Christian societies in the Mediterranean from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries has been discovered. Unfree conditions in other times and spaces as well as diverse practices of enslavement beyond the legal institution of slavery have also increasingly come into focus. In other words, there is currently a shift within research towards acknowledging the historical heterogeneity of the phenomenon of slavery. Especially those forms of strong asymmetrical dependencies where religious justifications, a supposed agreement of the persons involved, symbolic payments, a signed contract, or a document of manumission render a categorization in terms of the common characteristics of slavery impossible have gained more attention. Thus, the object of research was to analyze 'slaving' as a historical strategy and enslavement as a human experience. Dynamics of slaving ought to be seen as both a product and a strategy of change itself, of time and timing. Instead of assuming a dichotomy between the powerful masters and powerless slaves, the objective was to analyze – from an expressly historical perspective – the contexts of both sides' agency, strong asymmetrical dependency and mutual impact. This productive revision and extension of our previous understanding of 'slavery' needed to be made productive for the study of all other forms of asymmetrical dependency and economic exploitation. In a dialogue between current slavery studies and the New Legal History, the concepts of justice, power and authority had to be imagined in a much more pluralistic and complex way. Based on this very broad understanding of justice and authority, this research area took into account the wealth of institutional regulations and normative concepts in their historical variety. Statements on differences in terms of social status and on social hierarchies and dependencies have been examined in capitularies and codes of law as much as in loose collections of customary-law settlements, mirrors for princes and other instructional sources. Sacred texts, religious treatises and dogmatic literature as well as records of religious courts and secular jurisdiction were researched for their normative conceptions of servitude, dependency and unfreedom. The research also focused on the mutual effects between processes of institutionalizing and the establishment of norms relating to social asymmetries on the one hand, and social practices of slaving and subjugation on the other. These processes of negotiating social power and status relations were analyzed on the macro-, meso- and micro-levels. What were the effects of legislation by key authoritarian institutions on the legal practices of regional and local decision-making? How did the social interactions of individuals affect the small- and large-scale organization of justice, norms and social order? What was the ratio in the mixture between politics and religion on different levels, and what were the consequences of a change in the legal status of persons for their social behavior? The answers to these questions have been positioned within a transculturally comparative perspective. The interdisciplinary exchange across different times, societies and cultures served as an ideal basis for a comparison across space and time, and the study of transregional similarities and differences, entanglements and disentanglements in the regulation of social power and status relations.

3. Research Lenses

3.3. Norms, Institutions, Practices

Martin Schermaier. “Without rights? Social Theories meet Roman Law Texts,” in *The Position of Roman Slaves. Social Realities and Legal Differences*, ed. Martin Schermaier (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2023): 1-24.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110987195-001

Martin Schermaier

Without Rights? Social Theories Meet Roman Law Texts

The title holds out great promise: but it immediately becomes clear from the format that this paper does not address Roman slave law as a whole. For that purpose, we can still confidently turn to Buckland's masterwork,[1] which, despite the many recent, more narrowly focused studies, has not lost its value as an exhaustive survey of the topic. This paper does not address the question of slave law as such, but instead asks whether Roman legal texts can provide information about the social reality of Roman slavery.

To start with, there are methodological questions: what terms and concepts can we use to describe a society that we do not know from empirical observation but only from its artefacts? The term 'slave law' (1) is just as multi-layered and imprecise as the term 'slavery' (2). Both are modern, and as such have the potential to get in our way as we examine historical conditions. Awareness of this hermeneutical problem enables us to clarify in outline (3) how Roman jurists classified slaves and categorised them as objects or actors of property law. In doing so, we confront sociological concepts and socio-historical findings with modern exegesis. Unsurprisingly, not all Roman texts that are used to support popular arguments are in fact suitable for this purpose. Ideas about so-called 'Roman slave law' feed on narratives that emerged during the period of transatlantic slavery. However, the fact that Roman jurists also had very definite ideas about the social inferiority of Roman slaves emerges clearly even from a close reading of Roman legal sources. But it is not only the rules but also the nuances that deserve attention.

1 Was There Ever a Roman Slave Law?

This question will surprise many: was there ever a Roman slave law? There were slaves and there was a legal system, so there will have been slave law in Rome. How could Roman law, worked out with such great precision and in minute detail, have bypassed the millions of slaves[2] on whose very existence Rome's specialised

1 William Warwick Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery. The Condition of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908).

2 For the proportion of slaves among the general population see for example Walter Scheidel, "Quantifying the Sources of Slaves in the Early Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997): 156–69; diverging slightly is William V. Harris, "Demography, Geography and the Sources of Roman Slaves," *Journal of Roman Studies* 89 (1999): 62–75; more recently Walter Scheidel, "The Roman Slave

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110987195-001

economy was based in the first place? Have not thousands[3] of ancient legal texts on slavery[4] come down to us? Was Roman slave law not repeatedly used as a model for later rules[5] or codifications, such as Louis XIV's 'Code Noir'?[6] The parallel to the Roman model was certainly repeatedly invoked in the era of the transatlantic slave trade.[7] So did what was so often observed and described never even exist?

Not necessarily. For what we think of as slave law today builds on concepts that the Roman jurists probably were not even aware of. Each generation creates its own conception of what slavery is, of what law is. Both define what might be identified as 'slave law'. A Roman jurist would probably have classified early nineteenth-century wage labourers as slaves and might think of civil servants and agency workers today

---

Supply," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1, *The Ancient Mediterranean Worlds*, ed. Keith Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 287–310.

3 Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto, "Die Sklaverei in antiken Theorien und deren Bedeutung für die moderne Menschrechtsdiskussion," in *Grundlagen der antiken Sklaverei. Eine Institution zwischen Theorie und Praxis*, ed. Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2015): 39, 50 lists 'mehr als 5,000 Paragraphen allein in den 50 Büchern der Digesten'.

4 A considerable part has now been made accessible through the publications in the series *Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur antiken Sklaverei* (*Corpus of Roman Legal Sources on Ancient Slavery*), founded by the Mainz Academy and edited by Tiziana Chiusi, Johanna Filip-Fröschl and Johannes Michael Rainer (Stuttgart, since 1999); an overview of the volumes so far published can be found at: https://www.adwmainz.de/index.php?id=712&L=4 [accessed 04.08.2022].

5 So David Mevius, *Ein kurtzes Bedencken über die Fragen so von dem Zustand, Abfoderung und verwiederter Abfolge der Bawrsleute zu welchen iemand Zuspruch zu haben vermeynet, bey jetzigen Zeiten entstehen und vorkommen* (Stralsund: Zachariä, 1645); see Marion Wiese, *Leibeigene Bauern und Römisches Recht im 17. Jahrhundert. Ein Gutachten des David Mevius* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2005).

6 *Code noir, ou recueil d'edits déclarations et arrets concernant les esclaves négres de l'Amérique* (1685), which Louis XIV enacted for the French colonies in the Caribbean; see for example Vernon V. Palmer, "Essai sur les origines et les auteurs du Code Noir," *Revue internationale de droit comparé* 50, no. 1 (1998): 111–40; Dominique A. Mignot, "Le droit romain et la servitude aux Antilles," *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe* 127–128, no. 1–2 (2001): 25–46; Dominique A. Mignot, "Du 'ius vetus' au code noir: Le délit de l'esclave aux îles françaises d'Amérique (XVIIe – XVIIIe siècle)," *Latomus* 64, no. 3 (2005): 733–41; Frédéric Charlin, "Droit romain et Code Noir. Quelques réflexions a posteriori," *Clio@Themis. Revue électronique d'histoire du droit* 8 (2015), https://publications-prairial.fr/cliothemis/index.php?id=1491?id=1491#toc [accessed 04.08.2022]; Linda De Maddalena, "Spuren des römischen Rechts im Code Noir," in *Sklaverei und Recht: Zwischen römischer Antike und moderner Welt*, Berner Universitätsschriften 61, ed. Iole Fargnoli and Thomas Späth (Bern: Haupt Verlag, 2018): 85–99. For the *Code Noir* in general and its history see Jean-François Niort, *Le Code Noir. Idées reçues sur un texte symbolique* (Paris: Le Cavalier Bleu, 2015).

7 Alan Watson, *Slave Law in the Americas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989); Sally Hadden, "The Fragmented Laws of Slavery in the Colonial and Revolutionary Eras," in *The Cambridge History of Law in America*, vol. 1, *Early America (1580–1815)*, ed. Michael Grossberg and Christopher Tomlins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2008): 253–87 and 646–57; Peter van den Berg, "Slaves: Persons or Property? The Roman Law on Slavery and Its Reception in Western Europe and Its Overseas Territories," *Osaka Law Review* 63 (2016): 171–88. More sophisticated is Robin Blackburn, "The Old World Background to European Colonial Slavery," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 65–102.

as slaves, too. Conversely, a modern jurist might waver in his assessment of Roman 'slave society'[8] if he was told that many masters kept and cared for their slaves even in old age and sickness.[9] Even if, in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, people thought that their own regulations on slavery would follow Roman law, this was not a historical claim. At the time, as in the *usus modernus iuris romani*[10] in general, the ancient texts were used to solve current legal questions. But these often had little or nothing to do with what we know today as historical Roman law.

Many modern studies of slavery in Roman law continue to make very similar mistakes. Even Buckland already rebuked this 'defect of the gravest kind'.[11] Some studies idealise the curbs on slave masters' despotism as an expression of the idea of *humanitas* in jurisprudence.[12] Others put Roman slavery on a par with transatlantic slavery;[13] yet others resort to purely legal terminology and define Roman slaves as their masters' objects and property.[14] While none of these approaches produces exclusively false insights, none quite does justice to the historical circumstances either.

They all share the same mistaken approach: they try to describe and classify ancient slavery with the help of modern concepts. Those who speak of 'humanity' will find it hard to distance themselves from the meaning this term acquired during the

8 The term originates in Marxist theory, but is still being used today, for example by Christian Delacampagne, *Die Geschichte der Sklaverei* (Düsseldorf/Zürich: Artemis und Winkler Verlag, 2004): 73 (for Rome): 'Sklavenhaltergesellschaft' ('société esclavagiste'). Cf. as well Wilfried Nippel, "Sklavenhaltergesellschaft," in *Handwörterbuch der Antiken Sklaverei*, ed. Heinz Heinen et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017): 2601–3. It should however be noted that the term survived in the concept of a 'slave society', for example in Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York: The Viking Press, 1980): 9, who identifies five 'genuine slave societies'. Critically on that 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): 15–58.

9 See Stefan Knoch, *Sklavenfürsorge im Römischen Reich. Formen und Motive zwischen humanitas und utilitas* (Hildesheim: Georg OlmsVerlag, 2005): 119–42; succinctly Herrmann-Otto, "Sklaverei in antiken Theorien" (n. 3): 32, with reference to Sen. clem. 1.18.2.

10 On this topic see Franz Wieacker, *A History of Private Law in Europe, with Particular Reference to Germany*, transl. Tony Weir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995): 159–67.

11 Buckland, *Law of Slavery* (n. 1): 2.

12 So for example Joseph Vogt, *Sklaverei und Humanität: Studien zur antiken Sklaverei und ihrer Erforschung* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983); largely in agreement with him are Wolfgang Waldstein, *Operae libertorum. Untersuchungen zur Dienstpflicht freigelassener Sklaven* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1986): 388; Johannes M. Rainer, "Humanität und Arbeit im römischen Recht," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 105 (1988): 745–70, referring to Fritz Schulz, *Prinzipien des römischen Rechts* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1934).

13 Especially by Finley, *Ancient Slavery* (n. 8): 93–122. Delacampagne, *Geschichte der Sklaverei* (n. 8): 73–96, pursues a similar argument.

14 Such as Herrmann-Otto, "Sklaverei in antiken Theorien" (n. 3): 51.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 803

Enlightenment,[15] and so struggle to separate its philosophical[16] from its socio-ethical significance.[17] What makes it all the more difficult to distinguish between the two is the fact that Roman jurists actually used *humanus* or *humanior* in a legal-ethical sense, correcting strict law.[18] 'Strict law', however, does not refer to the norms that regulated the positions and duties of slaves but to the formalised *ius civile* that was rigid in content and had come down from the ancestors. The *humanitas* of the Roman jurists is therefore not the one that we expect of humane law today.

Much the same is true for analogies with transatlantic slavery. Being a slave in the late Republic or the Empire was a deplorable fate for most. The vast majority of Roman slaves worked on latifundia, in quarries and mines or on galleys; their lives were joyless, miserable and usually short, and probably differed little from those of the slaves in the European colonies. But archaeological and literary evidence for the enslaved labouring masses is rare. We are, however, very well informed about the much smaller number of more advantaged domestic slaves. This may distort our view of ancient slavery. Even so, comparison with transatlantic slavery is misleading. One essential difference is that Roman slavery, unlike its transatlantic counterpart, had no racist basis.[19] In addition, the position of Roman slaves cannot be clearly described either in social or legal terms: 'Roman slaves were of many types', as Watson rightly noted.[20] This is also the subject of this paper. If we want to perceive and classify the differences, it helps to leave behind the stereotypes of transatlantic slavery. In this as in any historical study, moral judgements do more harm than good.

15 See Marc Laureys and Rolf Lessenich, "Humanität," in *Bonner Enzyklopädie der Globalität*, ed. Ludger Kühnhardt and Tilman Mayer (Wiesbaden: Springer Verlag, 2017): 1379–88; Rudolf Rieks, "Humanitas," in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, vol. 3, ed. Joachim Ritter, Karlfried Gründer and Gottfried Gabriel (Basel: Schwabe, 1973): 1231–32.

16 Jörg Splett, "Humanität: I. Philosophisch," *Staatslexikon online*, 04.01.2021, https://www.staatslexikon-online.de/Lexikon/Humanit%C3%A4t [accessed 04.08.2022].

17 Arndt Küppers, "Humanität: II. Sozialethisch," *Staatslexikon online*, 04.01.2021, https://www.staatslexikon-online.de/Lexikon/Humanit%C3%A4t [accessed 04.08.2022].

18 Cf. for example Antonio Palma, *Humanior interpretatio. 'Humanitas' nell'interpretazione e nella normazione da Adriano ai Severi* (Turin: Giappichelli, 1992); see also my review in *Iura. Rivista internazionale di diritto romano e antico* 44 (1993/1996): 343–51.

19 This was already observed by Alan Watson, *Roman Slave Law* (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987): XVIII: '[N]on racist slavery is very different but may be no less horrifying in many regards than racist slavery'.

20 Alan Watson, "Seventeenth-Century Jurists, Roman Law, and the Law of Slavery," *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 68, no. 3 (1992): 1343, 1347.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 804

2 Roman Slaves and 'Social Death'

Orlando Patterson, following Claude Meillassoux,[21] described slavery as 'social death'. He defined a slave as a person who has no kin, no origin and no home, who is at the mercy of his master and has 'no social existence outside his master',[22] arguing that this concept fully applied also to Roman slaves.[23] As fruitful as the concept of 'social death' can be in describing slavery, it is inaccurate as a description of Roman conditions. Patterson himself identified two possible objections to his hypothesis: for one thing, there were many Greek slaves in Rome and the esteem in which Greek culture was held could have been reflected in Roman attitudes towards them.[24] For another, certain slaves performed important tasks in the imperial administration, so that their social status may have equalled that of free men.[25]

Patterson rightly rejected the first objection: respect for everything Greek did not improve the social status of Greek slaves. But there is another dimension to this objection that Patterson did not sufficiently consider: many elite Roman families employed Greek tutors, many of whom were slaves.[26] While the social position of these educators was not unassailable,[27] it was much more assured than that of other slaves. In addition, it should be kept in mind (which is not Patterson's point[28]) that as part of the reception of Greek culture, stoic ethics found great favour among Rome's educated classes. This was probably the driving force behind the acceptance of the concept of the equality of all human beings[29] endorsed in learned

21 Claude Meillassoux, *L'esclavage en Afrique précoloniale* (Paris: François Maspero, 1975).

22 Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death. A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982, quoted from the 2018 edition): 35–76, at 38.

23 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 40.

24 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 88–92.

25 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 300–308.

26 This is reported in detail by Lucian in his work *De mercede conductis*. Lucian assumed that tutors concluded contracts of employment that ran for a year at a time; but we may assume that the relationship with his master was probably not significantly different for a tutor who had been bought as a slave. See Markus Hafner, *Lucians Schrift 'Das traurige Los der Gelehrten'. Einführung und Kommentar zu De Mercede Conductis Potentium Familiaribus, lib. 36*, Hermes Einzelschriften 110 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017); see also the overview in Ludwig Friedländer, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antoninen*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1920): 280–91; briefly also Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 91–92.

27 See for example Luc. merc. cond. 39.

28 For a divergent opinion see Christian Delacampagne, *Geschichte der Sklaverei* (n. 8): 87–96.

29 D. 1.1.4 (Ulp. 1 inst.): [. . .] *iure naturali omnes liberi nascerentur* ('according to natural law all men are born free'). See for example Tony Honoré, "Ulpian, Natural Law and Stoic Influence," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 78, no. 1–2 (2010): 199–208.

discourses.[30] Such positions[31] were not without influence on the pertinent social norms, i.e. what was considered to be the right or decent way to act beyond legal stipulations in dealing with slaves. Even if the legal texts remain largely quiet on this front, we should not underestimate the 'inhibiting influence of social norms on the behavior of individual masters toward their slaves'.[32] The concept of *favor libertatis*[33] may show how this influence found expression in concrete legal terms. The same applies to a series of imperial measures that improved the legal position of slaves.[34]

The second objection, i.e. the prominent position of the *familia Caesaris*,[35] for example, is also not easy to refute. Patterson rightly points out that the members of the *familia Caesaris* were exposed to the whims of the emperor;[36] the ever-looming risk of falling from grace was one reason why the emperor could count on their absolute loyalty. But such loyalty arising from dependency alone does not make slaves. Freedmen or liegemen were dependent in a comparable manner. Moreover, empirical evidence shows that the vast majority of the *familia Caesaris* were not only financially well-off but also enjoyed social recognition.[37] Patterson has to concede this, and so he sums up the relationship between the emperor and his slaves or freedmen as being 'not wholly asymmetric'.[38]

Such slaves, whose occupation, training or special talents ensured their higher rank, as a rule were able to have their own families,[39] to count on later manumission,

---

30 Sen. benef. 3.18–20; epist. 47. Ulrich Eigler, "Familiariter cum servis vivere: Einige Überlegungen zu Inhalt und Hintergrund von Senecas Epistel 47," in *Seneca: philosophus et magister*, ed. Thomas Baier, Gesine Manuwald and Bernhard Zimmermann (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2005): 63–79, pointed out that Seneca was not concerned with the protection of slaves but rather with the moral integrity of the *dominus*.

31 Egon Flaig, *Weltgeschichte der Sklaverei*, 3rd ed. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2018): 75–76, refers to pre-stoic sources.

32 John Bodel, "Death and Social Death in Ancient Rome," in *On Human Bondage. After Slavery and Social Death*, ed. John Bodel and Walter Scheidel (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016): 81–108, 87.

33 Cf. J.F. Stagl, "'Favor libertatis': Slaveholders as Freedom Fighters" (in this volume).

34 Cf. Martin Avenarius, "Einleitung," in *Stellung des Sklaven im Privatrecht*, vol. 3, *Erbrecht. Aktive Stellung: Personeneigenschaft und Ansätze zur Anerkennung von Rechten*, Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur Sklaverei 4, ed. Martin Avenarius (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017): 14–19.

35 Still essential reading are Gérard Boulvert, *Esclaves et affranchis impériaux sous Haut-Empire. Rôle politique et administratif* (Naples: Jovene, 1970); Gérard Boulvert, *Domestique et fonctionnaire sous le Haut-Empire romain: La condition de l'affranchi et de l'esclave du prince* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1974); Paul Richard Carey Weaver, *Familia Caesaris: A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972). The role played by public slaves is no less remarkable, see Alexander Weiß, *Sklave der Stadt. Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Sklaverei in den Städten des Römischen Reiches*, Historia Einzelschriften 173 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2004).

36 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 300–301.

37 For numerous examples see the paper by Pierangelo Buongiorno in this volume.

38 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 308.

39 Cf. the examples in Reinhard Willvonseder, *Stellung des Sklaven im Privatrecht*, vol. 1, *Eheähnliche Verbindungen und verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen*, Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur Sklaverei

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 806

and to accumulate wealth of their own. These privileges were not legally protected. But both our extant epigraphic and legal evidence about such slaves testify to their comfortable social position. They do not seem to have experienced a 'social death', or to have lived their lives as social 'nobodies'. So Roman slaves were complex figures. Even most of the social criteria that Patterson and others see as typifying slavery fail wholly or in part when faced with the wide range of slave conditions in Rome. And if we start to look for legal criteria to define these relations, things get even more difficult.

3 The Legal Status of Roman Slaves

3.1 *Nullum caput*

It is only at first glance that the legal classification of slaves seems simple: all slaves were unfree, and as such unable to enter into valid marriages, to acquire property or even to undertake political tasks. In addition, they were the property of their masters. But what did 'unfreedom' really mean at Rome? And what did it mean to be the property of another person? The answer to these questions is more difficult than some modern historians or sociologists imagine. And even the answer given by jurists and legal historians often leaves out the grey area between social reality and legal rules.

Regardless of their social position, the legal status of all slaves was the same: *servile caput nullum ius habet*, as the jurist Paulus wrote.[40] But this sentence is easily misunderstood unless we take its context into account. The fragment is about changes in the legal status of a person. The Roman jurists distinguished three such statuses:[41] *status libertatis*, according to which a person was free and not a slave; *status civitatis*, according to which a person was a Roman not a foreigner; and *status familiae*, according to which a person was either under the authority of a *pater familias* or not.

4 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010); Henrik Mouritsen, "The Families of Roman Slaves and Freedmen," in *A Companion to Families in the Greek und Roman World*, ed. Beryl Rawson (Chichester/Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011): 129–44; Jonathan Edmondson, "Slavery and the Roman Family," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 1, *The Ancient Mediterranean World*, ed. Keith R. Bradley and Paul Cartledge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 347–49.

40 D. 4.5.3.1 (Paulus 11 ad ed.).

41 Cf. John A. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome, 90 B.C. – A.D. 212* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1967): 36–45; Max Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, vol. 1, *Das altrömische, das vorklassische und klassische Recht*, 2nd ed. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1971): 271–72; Andrew Lewis, "Slavery, Family and Status," in *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law*, ed. David Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015): 151–74.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 807

Since the time of Cicero, a loss of status was called *capitis deminutio*.[42] But because there could be not only loss but also gain, the jurist Gaius noted succinctly, *capitis minutio est status permutatio*.[43] *Caput* here did not mean 'head' or 'person', but the legal categorisation of a person.[44] In this context, Paul considers the question of whether the manumission of a slave is also a *capitis minutio*, but rejects this because a slave, who has no status, cannot change it. Nothing more, but also nothing less, is meant by the strange sentence that 'a slave's *caput* is possessed of no right'. Justinian added a clarification by Modestinus, *hodie enim incipit statum habere*.[45] Status could only be discussed where it existed. From a strictly conceptual point of view, the acquisition of *status libertatis* can therefore not be described as a change of status. But Paul did not mean that a slave had 'no right'.

3.2 A Person or a Thing?

But how else, apart from their status, could the legal position of slaves be established? In legal texts, they were often treated as *res*, objects of law. But in many respects the slaves' ability to establish rights and obligations through their own actions was also taken into account. Jurists would ask under which conditions slaves could independently entitle or obligate their masters. But the fact that slaves were human beings who thought and acted is never generally addressed in the legal sources. It seems to have been taken for granted. This was probably why Gaius, when he distinguished in his textbook between objects of law (*res*) and legal subjects (*personae*), counted slaves among the *personae* (Gaius inst. 1):[46]

> Gai. Inst. 1.8–9: Omne autem ius, quo utimur, vel ad personas pertinet vel ad res vel ad actiones. Et prius videamus de personis. 9. Et quidem summa divisio de iure personarum haec est, quod omnes homines aut liberi sunt aut servi.
>
> Gai. Inst. 1.8–9: All our law is about persons, things or actions. We turn to persons first. 9. The main classification in the law of persons is this: all men are either free or slaves.[47]

42 Cic. top. 18 and 29; see also Max Kaser, review of *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*, by Alan Watson, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 36, no. 3 (1968): 429–33.

43 D. 4.5.1 (Gai. 4 ad ed. prov.): 'Capitis minutio is the change of status'.

44 Hermann Gottlieb Heumann and Emil Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts*, 9th ed. (Jena: G. Fischer, 1914): 56 accordingly note the meaning of 'Leben, Freiheit und Zivität einer Person', with reference to D. 48.11.7 pr.-1 and D. 37.14.10.

45 D. 4.5.4 (Mod. 1 pandect.): 'For now he begins to have status.' (MacCormack in Alan Watson, *The Digest of Justinian*, vol. 1–4 [Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985]).

46 The text is even conserved in the Digests of Justinian: Gai. inst. 1.8 (= D. 1.5.1) and Gai. inst. 1.9 (= D. 1.5.3) and also forms the backbone of Justinian's Institutes: I. 1.2.12–1.3 pr.

47 Transl. Gordon and Robinson in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

The fact that Gaius also describes 'man' (*homo*) as a thing (*res*)[48] in his textbook does not prevent him from categorically classifying slaves as *personae*.[49] This double assignment,[50] so to speak, is an apt expression of the fact that the legal position of Roman slaves cannot be clearly described in modern terms. In any case, unlike other movable objects,[51] slaves were not considered 'merchandise' (*merx*);[52] but in certain circumstances Romans had no qualms legally to equate slaves with objects.

This understanding of persons as objects of law or of claims stands in stark contrast to our own liberal creed. We do not interpret the *vindicatio liberorum*, which in modern German law is represented by § 1632 para 1 of the German Civil Code (BGB),[53] as the parents' claim in rem but rather as an expression of their right of custody.[54] We do not construe as debt slavery the fact that a creditor can benefit from the debtor's labour until the debt is paid off but rather as a right enforced by the courts to satisfy the creditor.[55] Even so, if the court seizes a part of their wages for the creditor, the debtor in effect works for the creditor without having contracted about it. And the child, like a thing, can be demanded from anyone who withholds it from its parents (i.e. from any 'possessor'). In those cases, human beings become the objects of claims, but the legal constructions used to dress up such relationships[56] make them appear innocuous and civilised.

---

48 Such as Gai. inst. 2.13: (*Corporales*) *hae, quae tangi possunt, velut fundus, homo vestis, aurum argentum et denique aliae res innumerabiles* (transl. Gordon and Robinson in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45): 'Corporeal things can be touched – land, a slave, clothes, gold, silver and of course countless others').

49 See for example Hans-Dieter Spengler, "Zugleich Person und Sache – vielleicht Arbeitstier oder Unternehmer: Rechtliche Aspekte der römischen Sklaverei," in *Recht der Wirtschaft und der Arbeit in Europa. Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Blomeyer*, ed. Rüdiger Krause, Winfried Veelken and Klaus Vieweg (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 2004): 271–83; Hans-Dieter Spengler, "Homo et res," in *Handwörterbuch der Antiken Sklaverei*, vol. 2, ed. Heinz Heinen et al. (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017): 1444–48; Antonio Saccoccio, "Römische Sklaverei zwischen ius gentium und ius naturale," in *Sklaverei und Recht: Zwischen römischer Antike und moderner Welt*, Berner Universitätsschriften 61, ed. Iole Fargnoli and Thomas Späth (Bern: Haupt Verlag, 2018): 41, 45–50.

50 Concise and still relevant is Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, vol. 1 (n. 41): 285.

51 D. 50.16.66 (Ulp. 74 ad ed.): *Mercis appellatio ad res mobiles tantum pertinet*.

52 D. 50.16.207 (Afr. 3 quaest.): *Mercis appellatione homines non contineri Mela ait: et ob eam rem mangones non mercatores, sed venaliciarios appellari sit, et recte*.

53 § 1632 para 1 BGB: 'The care for the person of the child includes the right to require surrender of the child from every person who is unlawfully withholding it from the parents or from one parent.' English translation by the German Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection and the Federal Office of Justice: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_bgb [accessed 04.08.2022].

54 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 21–22 chooses as an example for US American law the fact that spouses are one another's 'property'.

55 Relevant regulations are to be found in §§ 850 ZPO (*Zivilprozessordnung* = Law on Civil Procedure).

56 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 22, regards this as merely a 'social convention', or 'an exercise in semantics' or simple 'politeness'. With regard to a discussion of European civil law, this is however not the whole story.

But what does this oscillation of the legal position between 'person' and 'object' mean for historical research? First of all, classification as *persona* clearly does not mean that slaves were always treated as subjects. By the same token, even in those instances where slaves were objects, such as when a jurist counted them as a factor in their master's estate, they were not completely dehumanised. Buckland's decision not to use a modern term for Roman slaves but rather to consider them from two angles, as thing and as persons, was therefore correct.[57]

Okko Behrends[58] and Martin Avenarius[59] even believe that from the imperial period onwards, slaves had a 'partial legal capacity'. But rather than linking this partial legal capacity to the notion of person, they base it on the ability of slaves to litigate certain matters themselves. The best-known example is that of a slave manumitted by will (in the form of a *fideicommissum*), who could independently enforce the claim for liberation against the heir.[60] Buckland had previously already criticised those who applied the concept of rightlessness to Roman slaves. He pointed out that although the servile population lacked many of the rights that were readily available to the 'free', this did not apply to all matters; he added that those who speak of 'rightlessness' did so from a modern understanding of the term.[61]

It is however difficult to define the 'rights' of slaves in specific terms or case groups. What frequently happened in social practice was that slaves were granted favours. Such concessions created grey areas in legal terms because, while slaves could expect their masters to grant them certain privileges, there was no legal means of enforcing those privileges. We will need to look more closely at this 'soft law' in slave law.[62]

This leaves us with the preliminary conclusion that modern concepts of persons and things, of legal subjects and objects of law, cannot clearly describe the legal

---

57 Buckland, *Law of Slavery* (n. 1): 10–72 ('Slave as Res') and 73–238 ('Slave as Man'); so also Watson, *Roman Slave Law* (n. 19): 46–66 and 67–89.

58 Okko Behrends, "Prinzipat und Sklavenrecht. Zu den geistigen Grundlagen der augusteischen Verfassungsschöpfung," in *Rechtswissenschaft und Rechtsentwicklung*, ed. Ulrich Immenga (Göttingen: Schwartz, 1980): 56–62 [= in *Institut und Prinzip*, vol. 1, ed. Martin Avenarius (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2004): 417–55]; see also Wolfgang Waldstein, "Zur 'Teilrechtsfähigkeit der Sklaven nach Kaiserrecht'," in *Ars Iuris. Festschrift für Okko Behrends zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Martin Avenarius, Rudolf Meyer-Pritzl and Cosima Möller (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2009): 589–602.

59 Avenarius, "Einleitung" (n. 34): 1–5.

60 See for example Francesca Lamberti, "Fideicommissa libertas ancillae data," in *Femmes-esclaves. Modèles d'interpretation anthropologique, économique, juridique*, ed. Francesca Reduzzi Merola and Alfredina Storchi Marino (Naples: Jovene, 1999): 2385–94; Rolf Knütel, "Rechtsfragen zu den Freilassungsfideikommissen," in *Sklaverei und Freilassung im römischen Recht. Symposion für Hans Josef Wieling zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Thomas Finkenauer (Berlin: Springer Verlag, 2006): 131–51; Francesco Maria Silla, *La 'cognitio' sulle 'libertates fideicommissae'*, L'Arte Del Diritto 11 (Padua: Cedam, 2008).

61 Buckland, *Law of Slavery* (n. 1): 2.

62 See below at p. 237–268 (Martin Schermaier, "Neither Fish nor Fowl").

position of Roman slaves. This is not only due to the intricacies of Roman slave law but rather to the fact that the concepts that we apply to Roman law do not do justice to historical circumstances. Christianity and the western Enlightenment elevated humanity to the exalted position of 'crown of creation',[63] which deepened the chasm between 'person' and 'thing' to the extent of rendering it unbridgeable.[64] Those modern terms do not allow for any nuances in between. The concept of 'half-freedom', despite its popularity, cannot help us with classical law because the Romans had one consistent definition of servile legal status: a slave was a person without status.

3.3 Slaves as Their Masters' 'Property'

To say that slaves were the property of their masters also inadequately describes the legal position of slaves. Certainly, it is true that in Roman thinking slaves were property: *in persona servi dominium*, Paul wrote about the power relationship between masters and slaves:

> D. 50.16.215 (Paul. 1 ad legem Fufiam et Caniniam): 'Potestatis' verbo plura significantur: in persona magistratuum imperium: in persona liberorum patria potestas: in persona servi dominium. Et cum agimus de noxae deditione cum eo qui servum non defendit, praesentis corporis copiam facultatemque significamus. In lege Atinia in potestatem domini rem furtivam venisse videri, et si eius vindicandae potestatem habuerit, Sabinus et Cassius aiunt.
>
> D. 50.16.215 (Paul, Lex Fufia Caninia, sole book): The word "potestas" has many meanings; in the person of magistrates it means imperium; in the person of children it means parental power; in the person of a slave it means ownership. But when we are dealing over noxal surrender with someone who does not defend his slave, we mean the capacity and ability to hand over an actual body. In the lex Atinia, according to Sabinus and Cassius, something stolen seems to have come into the potestas of its owner if he has acquired the potestas of claiming it by vindicatio.[65]

Even if other jurists employed similar terms,[66] it does not follow that it was the fact of being a property of their master's that made the slave a slave. Even abandoned

---

63 The literature is vast; see as a representative example Theo Kobusch, *Die Entdeckung der Person. Metaphysik der Freiheit und modernes Menschenbild* (Darmstadt: Herder Verlag, 1997); so also, albeit with a different take on the history of ideas, Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the Individual. The Origins of Western Liberalism* (London: The Belknap Press, 2014).

64 Critically, Roberto Esposito, *Le persone e le cose* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2014).

65 Transl. Crawford in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

66 D. 12.6.64 (Tryph. 7 disp.): [. . .] *dominatio ex gentium iure introducta est* ('The domination of slaves was introduced by the common law of nations'); D. 1.5.4.1 (Flor. 9 inst.): *Servitus est constitutio iuris gentium, qua quis dominio alieno contra naturam subicitur* ('Slavery is constituted by the common law of nations, according to which somebody is – contrary to natural justice – subjected

slaves, whose masters had given up their possession in them, remained slaves.[67] But if we look at it from the other side, the connection between slave status and property is quite correct: being a slave usually entailed belonging to the *dominium* of another.

But what is *dominium*? Paul describes it as that form of *potestas* which pertained to slaves and objects. But the children of the family[68] were under comparable *potestas*, as was the wife – who is not mentioned in D. 50.16.215 – in a *manus* marriage.[69] *Dominium*, *patria potestas* and *manus* were forms of being under the domestic power of the *pater familias*; those in it included all objects or persons of which or whom the head of the household could say, *mea sunt*, they belong to me. This in no way implies that he was able to exercise unlimited power over the person in question. The concept is better understood as the owner's ability to demand the return of the object or the person from anyone less entitled to possess it. *Meum est, quod ex re mea superest, cuius vindicandi ius habeo*, Celsus wrote.[70]

So Roman property was conceptualised from the possibility to bring an action, i.e. from *ius vindicandi*: whoever was able to demand the return of the thing (or person) in question from another was considered its (or their) owner. That is why – as we saw above (§ 1632 para 1 BGB) – a Roman jurist would regard twenty-first-century German parents as the owner of their child because he can reclaim it.

But we today do not understand property from the potential to bring a lawsuit, instead we define it materially, i.e. as comprehensive power of disposition. An owner is someone who can 'deal with the thing at his discretion'.[71] This does not apply to custody. So, according to our modern view, children are not the 'property' of their parents. With the same conviction, Article 1 of the Slavery Convention of the League of Nations (1926), which is still in force today, states,

---

to the ownership of another'); D. 1.5.5.1 (Marc. 1 inst): *Servi autem in dominium nostrum rediguntur* ('People are brought under our power as slaves', transl. based on MacCormick and Birks in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]).

67 Cf. D. 9.4.38.1 (Ulp. 37 ad ed.); D. 41.7.2 (Paul. 54 ad ed.); cf. Friedrich Affolter, *Die Persönlichkeit des herrenlosen Sklaven. Ein Stück aus dem römischen Sklavenrecht* (Leipzig: Von Veit, 1913).

68 Gaius (inst. 1.52 and 55) referred to the power over both slaves and over children as *potestas*, domestic power.

69 Gai. inst. 1.49 and 108–115b.

70 D. 6.1.49.1 (Cels. 18 dig.): 'Whatever remains from my property which I have a right to vindicate is itself mine'. (transl. Stein in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]); similar to the definition of *bona* in D. 50.16. 49 (Ulp. 59 ed.): [. . .] *aeque bonis adnumerabitur etiam, si quid est in actionibus petitionibus persecutionibus*. ('Among our goods will equally be reckoned also anything which is subject to actions, petitions, or claims', transl. Crawford in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]).

71 E.g. § 903 BGB: 'Der Eigentümer einer Sache kann, soweit nicht das Gesetz oder Rechte Dritter entgegenstehen, mit der Sache nach Belieben verfahren [. . .]'; engl. translation (n. 53): 'The owner of a thing may, to the extent that a statute or third-party rights do not conflict with this, deal with the thing at his discretion [. . .]'.

> (1) Slavery is the status or condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised.

Slavery is said to exist even if only some of the powers that constitute ownership are exercised. But this does not change the fact that the Slavery Convention is based on a clearly defined concept of ownership. It defines ownership according to how it is exercised. This both acuminates and narrows Roman *dominium*. Certain forms of control over things or persons are not covered by such a definition. What this means in practice is made clear by the 2005 decision of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of *Siliadin v France*: the case was that of a young woman who had been employed as an unpaid domestic worker by a French family for many years. The woman was unable to escape because the family had confiscated her passport. While the court ruled that she had been subjected to forced labour, it denied that she had been a 'slave':[72]

> Although the applicant was, in the instant case, clearly deprived of her personal autonomy, the evidence does not suggest that she was held in slavery in the proper sense, in other words, that Mr and Mrs B exercised a genuine right of legal ownership over her, thus reducing her to the status of an "object".

From this reasoning we can see not only that modern law makes a strict distinction between subject and object, but also that the concept of 'property' is being measured against this distinction: entitlement to treat someone as an object is what constitutes property.

This ruling makes clear what had already been pointed out by Orlando Patterson, i.e. that slavery cannot be accurately described by the legal concept of 'property'.[73] Moses I. Finley, probably one of the most distinguished scholars of ancient slavery, had implied the same for the conditions in Greek and Roman antiquity.[74] Most recently David M. Lewis casts doubt on Patterson's position. He believes that it

72 ECtHR, 28. June 2005, no 73316/01 para 122; on this decision cf. Rebecca J. Scott, "Under Color of Law. Siliadin v France and the Dynamics of Enslavement in Historical Perspective," in *The Legal Understanding of Slavery. From the Historical to the Contemporary*, ed. Jean Allain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 152–64, as well as several other contributions in that volume, e.g. Robin Hickey, "Seeking to Understand the Definition of Slavery" in *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary*, ed. Jean Allain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 220–41; James E. Penner, "The Concept of Property and the Concept of Slavery" in *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary*, ed. Jean Allain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 242–52; Jean Allain, "The Definition of Slavery in International Law," *Howard Law Journal* 52, no. 2 (2009): 239–75.

73 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 20–27.

74 Moses I. Finley, "Between Slavery and Freedom," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 6, no. 3 (1964): 248: '[N]either the property-definition nor any other single test is really meaningful'.

is possible clearly to distinguish the rights of masters to their slaves from the rights to other dependents in ancient societies, citing Tony Honoré, who, in a short comparative survey of law listed the typical entitlements of owners.[75] Lewis argued that such typical entitlements could also be identified for the relationship between masters and slaves. But this argument, built on the 'bundle of rights-theory',[76] is still tied too closely to the concept of one person belonging to another. More promising is the approach – most recently advocated by Tony Honoré himself[77] – of looking for typical forms of social discrimination.

Moreover, Lewis misses the point of Patterson's argument. Patterson rejected the idea of defining the position of slaves in terms of 'ownership' or 'property'. He was not concerned with the material substance of these terms. Even so, Patterson's conceptual position is weak because he assumes that the 'conception of absolute ownership' originates in Roman law: '[T]he Romans invented the legal fiction of dominium or absolute ownership, a fiction that highlights their practical genius'.[78] He argues that this precisely expressed their understanding of slavery because *dominium* had derived from the word *dominus* in its meaning of slave master. Thus, he sums up:[79]

> It is not the condition of slavery that must be defined in terms of absolute notions of property, as is so often attempted: rather it is the notion of absolute property that must be explained in terms of ancient Roman slavery.

This sounds plausible and convincing, but the approach is wrong. Because what Patterson refers to as 'the notion of absolute property' is a product not of Roman but of late medieval law. It was only then, in the fourteenth century, that property as *dominium* became an 'absolute' concept, in which the right was founded on the owner's discretion in dealing with the thing in question.[80] Only then was property no longer defined in order to fend off third parties but also according to substantive criteria such as the way an owner was entitled to deal with slaves. This was where the modern concept of property originated. This is the basis of Article 1 of the Slavery Convention, quoted above, and, unfortunately, also the basis of modern historians' ideas about Roman property and the position of Roman slaves. The fact that Patterson even identifies the concept of *dominium* as based on Roman slavery completes the hermeneutic

75 Tony Honoré, "Ownership," in *Oxford Essays in Jurisprudence*, ed. Anthony Gordon Guest (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961): 107–47.

76 On this theory and the concept of property see e.g. James E. Penner, "The 'Bundle of Rights' Picture of Property," *UCLA Law Review* 43 (1995–1996): 711–820.

77 Tony Honoré, "The Nature of Slavery," *in The Legal Understanding of Slavery. From the Historical to the Contemporary*, ed. Jean Allain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014): 10–16.

78 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 31.

79 Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 32.

80 Cf. Martin Schermaier, "Dominus actuum suorum: Die willenstheoretische Begründung des Eigentums und das römische Recht," in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Romanistische Abteilung* 134 (2017): 49–105.

circle; his fallacy is perfect. What should have caught his attention is the fact that the *dominus* gets his name from the *domus*, the house or household he heads.[81] Although the terms *dominus* and *dominium* appear comparatively late,[82] it is reasonable to assume that both were derived from 'domestic property', that property which in contrast to gentile property was held exclusively by the *pater familias*, the master of all persons and objects in the household.[83]

It is a different matter that the classification of Roman slaves into their master's *dominium* – such as in Paul – resulted in a social discrimination[84] which must have occurred at the time of Rome's expansion in the third and second centuries BCE. But even this classification says little about the legal position of slaves. And it would be overstated even if we were to think of *dominium* as absolute property in the modern sense.

3.4 Servi pro nullo habentur

But it is not only the *dominium* that induces modern scholars to retroject later conditions back onto Roman slavery. There are numerous other, mostly short, sentences that also imply the inferior legal position of slaves. The same applies to them as to the *dominium* over slaves: they frequently do not contain as much as modern readers wish to find in them. A well-known example is Ulpian's statement that slaves counted *pro nullis*, as nothing, under civil law. It sounds unambiguous: slaves do not legally exist.[85] But that is probably not what Ulpian wanted to express. If we read the fragment to the end, we learn that it is a completely different matter according to natural law:

> D. 50.17.32 (Ulp. 43 ad Sab.): Quod attinet ad ius civile, servi pro nullis habentur: non tamen et iure naturali, quia, quod ad ius naturale attinet, omnes homines aequales sunt.
>
> D. 50.17.32 (Ulpian, Sabinus, book 43): As far as concerns the civil law slaves are regarded as not existing, not, however, in the natural law, because as far as concerns the natural law all men are equal.[86]

81 Cf. Alois Walde and Johann Baptist Hofmann, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. 1, Indogermanische Bibliothek, 2. Reihe: Wörterbücher (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1938): 367; Richard P. Saller, "Familia, Domus, and the Roman Conception of the Family," *Phoenix* 38, no. 4 (1984): 342–49.

82 Still seminal is Max Kaser's *Eigentum und Besitz im älteren römischen Recht* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1943): 306–12.

83 E.g. Plaut. Most. 661 (*nomen domini*) and 686 (*dominus aedium*); Pseud. 1140 (*dominus aedium*); Cat. Agr. 1,4 (*dominus agri*); for further examples see Kaser, *Eigentum und Besitz* (n. 83): 308 n. 6.

84 Concisely Luigi Capogrossi Colognesi, "Das Eigentum in Rom vom Ende der patriarchalischen Ordnung bis zur Blütezeit der Sklavereiordnung," in *Eigentum. Beiträge zu seiner Entwicklung in politischen Gesellschaften. Werner Sellnow zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Jens Köhn and Burkhard Rode (Weimar: Böhlau, 1987): 117–39, esp. 121–23.

85 This is how Patterson reads it*: Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 40.

86 D. 50.17.32 (Ulp. 43 ad Sab.) (transl. Crawford in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 815

According to natural law, all men were equal, both slaves and free. So, we now have put at least Ulpian's statement that *ius civile* regards slaves as nothing into perspective. To interpret it correctly, however, we need to know that the Roman jurists regarded *ius civile* as only one part of positive law. There was also *ius gentium* (international law) and *ius honorarium*, made up by edicts of the magistrates. When he referred to *ius civile*, Ulpian meant only a certain section of positive law. In addition, although the Roman jurists thought of *ius naturale* as a philosophical category, it was not meaningless for the way they understood and applied positive law. The terse statement *servi pro nullis habentur* merely means that according to this particular aspect of law, under *ius civile*, slaves counted as nothing.

In addition to these general considerations, it is worth paying attention to the context from which the sentence is taken. The forty-third book *ad Sabinum* also contains the following fragment:

D. 15.1.41 (Ulp. 43 ad Sab.): Nec servus quicquam debere potest nec servo potest deberi, sed cum eo verbo abutimur, factum magis demonstramus quam ad ius civile referimus obligationem. itaque quod servo debetur, ab extraneis dominus recte petet, quod servus ipse debet, eo nomine in peculium et si quid inde in rem domini versum est in dominum actio datur.	D. 15.1.41 (Ulpian, Sabinus, book 43): A slave cannot really owe or be owed anything, but we use the word loosely to indicate the facts rather than with reference to obligations at civil law. Thus, a master may sue third parties for what they owe the slave, and he may be sued for what the slave owes them up to the amount of the peculium, and for any benefit thereby accruing to him.[87]

Under *ius civile*, a slave could be neither a creditor nor a debtor. This was because slaves were not entitled to take legal action, i.e. they could not assert claims in court nor be sued for debt: *cum servo nulla actio est*, Gaius noted succinctly.[88] This is noteworthy because in Greek law, slaves were entitled to take legal action.[89] But even under Roman law the servile lack of entitlement did not exclude slaves from being able to establish debts or claims, as the text continues: their master could claim what they were owed; while, if a slave owed a debt to another person, their master would be liable for it from the slave's *peculium*.

To readers unversed in Roman law, the text sounds perplexing: a slave unable to be a debtor was able to owe; a slave unable to be a creditor could be owed a debt. Behind this aporia hides a problem specific to classical law, which originated as case law and was therefore oriented towards litigation and the procedural enforcement of

87 Transl. Weir in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

88 D. 50.17.107 (Gai. 1 ad ed. prov.): 'There is no action with a slave' (Crawford in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]). Cf. Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, vol. 1 (n. 41): 286.

89 See for example Alfons Bürge, "Lo schiavo (in)dipendente e il suo patrimonio," in *Homo, caput, persona: La construzione giuridica dell'identità nell'esperienza romana; dall'epoca di Plauto a Ulpiano*, ed. Alessandro Corbino, Michel Humbert and Giovanni Negri (Pavia: IUSS Press, 2010): esp. 370–72.

law. In its scholarly treatment, however, this law only started on the path towards becoming an institutional system of substantive rights and claims with Masurius Sabinus' *ius civile*,[90] on which Ulpian comments here. We probably already have a merging of the procedural and the institutional views in this account by Sabinus, and we certainly do in Ulpian.[91] The procedural view is that no claim could be brought for the debts of slaves. They could, however, be effectively settled; from the 'natural' perspective they were still owed: and it was for this reason that the Roman jurists called them *obligationes naturales*.[92]

D. 15.1.41 is an eloquent testimony to this. If the two fragments D. 50.17.32 and D. 15.1.41 were originally closely associated,[93] *servi pro nullis habentur* merely means that from the point of view of procedural law, slaves were treated as non-existent persons – just as, incidentally, women were.

Ulpian's sentence that slaves did not participate in *ius civile* has a similar meaning:

> D. 28.1.20.7 (Ulp. 1 ad Sab.): Servus quoque merito ad sollemnia adhiberi non potest, cum iuris civilis communionem non habeat in totum, ne praetoris quidem edicti.
>
> D. 28.1.20.7 (Ulpian, Sabinus, book 1): It is also right that a slave cannot be used in solemn acts as he is totally excluded from participation in the civil law, and even in the praetor's edict.[94]

It is unclear how much of this text is Ulpian's own statement: *iuris civilis communionem non habeat in totum* could either mean that slaves could not fully participate in *ius civile*,[95] or that they could not participate in it at all.[96] In my view, the former translation is the correct one. But even if we were to prefer the second one, the text does not

90 Cf. as well D. 15.1.49.2 (Pomp. 4 ad Quint. Muc.); the manual on *ius civile* of Quintus Mucius Scaevola, which was later commented by Pomponius, is presumably the first institutional depiction of the *ius civile* (D. 1.2.2.41; Pomp. sing. ench.) and could have been the model for Sabinus' work.

91 The two schools of thought in classical jurisprudence can still be traced in the structure of the *Digest*, compare D. 41.1 (material preconditions of property acquisition) to D. 6.1 (acquisition of property as consequence of loss of the right to claim of previous owner).

92 See, in detail, Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, vol. 1 (n. 41): 480–81, esp. 481 (on debts of slaves); Götz Schulze, *Die Naturalobligation. Rechtsfigur und Instrument des Rechtsverkehrs einst und heute – zugleich Grundlegung einer Forderungslehre im Zivilrecht* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

93 Otto Lenel, *Palingenesia iuris civilis*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Bernhard Tauchnitz, 1889; repr. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 2000): 1173 (Ulpian no. 2899) assumes that they were.

94 Transl. Gordon in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

95 This is the translation by Carl E. Otto, Bruno Schilling and Carl F.F. Sintenis, *Das Corpus Juris Civilis in's Deutsche übersetzt*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: G. Focke, 1831): 10; likewise that by Dominique Gaurier, *Les 50 livres du Digeste de l'Empereur Justinien. Edition traduite et annotée*, vol. 2 (Paris: Éditions La Mémoire du Droit, 2017): 1036.

96 This is the translation by Rolf Knütel, Berthold Kupisch, Thomas Rüfner and Hans Hermann Seiler, *Corpus Iuris civilis. Text und Übersetzung*, vol. 5, *(Digesten 28–34)* (Heidelberg: C.F. Müller, 2012): 6; likewise Watson's (n. 94).

completely exclude slaves from the law. The starting point of the argument was that slaves and others who were subject to authority were incapable of witnessing a will. This included women. Solemn acts of law based on ancient tradition, like the *testamentum per aes et libram*, were not available to slaves. This legal incapacity to make or to witness a will[97] echoes the lack of entitlement to take legal action; both were formal requirements, and both were part of public law.[98] So *ius civile* and *ius praetorium*, which latter Ulpian rules out for slaves, do not mean civil law as a whole but merely that part of the law which concerned formalised, and therefore also procedural, acts.

The sources provide further evidence for both. A slave to whom an inheritance had accrued could not himself formally declare its acceptance: this had to be done by his master. In D. 28.8.1 we read:

> D. 28.8.1 (Ulp. 60 ad ed.): Si servus fuerit heres institutus, utique non ipsi praestituimus tempus ad deliberandum, sed ei cuius servus est, quia pro nullo isti habentur apud praetorem.
>
> D. 28.8.1 (Ulpan, Edict, book 6): If a slave has been instituted heir, we have certainly not provided [the slave] himself with time for consideration, but the person who owns the slave, because, before the praetor, those people [slaves] are regarded as non existent.[99]

Slaves could inherit,[100] but they could not themselves declare their acceptance of the inheritance. For this reason, it was not they themselves but instead their masters who were granted a suitable period of reflection.[101] Slaves were unable to make a corresponding application to the *praetor* because they were incapable of raising actions. So, the sentence *pro nullo isti habentur* does not mean, as Patterson assumed,[102] that slaves were without rights. It merely means that slaves could not bring effective procedural action.

We have already mentioned that in a legal system like the Roman one, in which entitlements were conceived of in terms of procedural enforceability, procedural capability determined substantive law. In this respect, it could be argued that slaves possessed no rights merely on the grounds that they were denied access to the

97 Cf. D. 28.1.8 (Gai. 17 ad ed. prov.); D. 28.1.19 (Mod. 5 pand.); however, a slave could be appointed as scribe of a will, D. 28.1.28 (Mod. 9 reg.).

98 For the making of a will see D. 28.1.3 (Pap. 14 quaest.): *Testamti factio non privati, sed publici iuris est* ('*Testamenti factio* is matter not of private, but of public law', transl. Gordon in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]).

99 Transl. Gordon in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

100 Cf. Wolfram Buchwitz, *Servus alienus heres. Die Erbeinsetzung fremder Sklaven im klassischen römischen Recht* (Vienna/Cologne/Weimar: Böhlau, 2012); for the text see 125–26; for general points see Buckland, *Law of Slavery* (n. 1): 137–39.

101 Cf. D. 50.17.107 (Gai. 1 ad ed. prov.): *cum servo nulla actio est*. 'There is no action with a slave', transl. Crawford in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

102 Cf. again Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 40.

courts. But this conclusion is fallacious for two reasons: firstly, it fails to recognise the legal reality, which – as we shall see – could diverge from formal law.[103] And secondly, the principle that slaves could not appeal to the praetor and the courts was broken several times. There is a description of one case in the following text:

> D. 48.10.7 (Marc. 2 inst.): Nullo modo servi cum dominis suis consistere possunt, cum ne quidem omnino iure civili neque iure praetorio neque extra ordinem computantur: praeterquam quod favorabiliter divi Marcus et Commodus rescripserunt, cum servus quereretur, quod tabulae testamenti, quibus ei data erat libertas, subprimerentur, admittendum ad suppressi testamenti accusationem.
>
> D. 48.10.7 (Marcian, Institutes, book 2): Slaves can in no way bring actions against their masters, since they are reckoned as altogether unable to raise actions in the jus civile most surely, and also not in praetorian law nor in cognito proceedings; except for [the case] of which as a concession the deified Marcus and Commodus wrote in a rescript, when a slave was making a complaint that the tablets of a will, in which he had been granted his freedom, were suppressed, that he should be allowed to bring an accusation concerning the suppression of the will.[104]

Marcian explains that slaves were unable to sue their masters, under neither *ius civile* nor *ius praetorium*, nor according to the *extraordinaria cognitio*. They were accordingly excluded from all forms of litigation that existed side by side during the empire: the *legis actio*, preaetorian litigation and the post-classical procedures of extraordinary inquiry.[105] However, Marcian continues, the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus allowed an exception: if a slave had grounds to assume that their deceased master had set them free in his will, and if the heir denied access to the document, the slave could accuse the heir of withholding the will. A comparable *favor libertatis*[106] underlies cases in which emperors allowed slaves to bring cases against an heir for freedom granted by will or bequest.[107]

There are even exceptions for the exclusion of slaves from *ius civile* or *ius honorarium*, which was limited to procedural law and formal legal acts. So *pro nullo habere* should not be taken literally: for one thing, because of the exceptions mentioned; for another, and most importantly, because it says nothing about the material entitlement of slaves.

---

103 See for more detail p. 249–251.

104 Transl. Robinson in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

105 On these forms of litigation see Max Kaser and Karl Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht*, 2nd ed. (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1996): 25–51, 151–62 and 435–514; more concisely Ernest Metzger, *Litigation in Roman Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

106 For information on other relevant texts, apart from Stagl (in this volume), see Liselot Huchthausen, "Zum Problem der Freiheitsbegünstigung (favor libertatis) im römischen Recht," *Philologus* 120, no. 1 (1976): 47–72. Thomas Finkenauer, Die Rechtsetzung Mark Aurels zur Sklaverei (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2010): 13–26 is sceptic about the influence of favor libertatis.

107 Such as D. 40.7.34.1 (Pap. 21 quaest.); D. 47.4.1.7 (Ulp. 38 ad ed.).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 819

3.5 Enslavement as 'Death'

Those legal texts in which slavery is being compared with death deserve particular attention as they seem to express what Patterson means by the concept of 'social death'. While Patterson does not discuss these texts, Bodel comments:[108]

> The figuring of slavery as social death, so far from being opposed to a legal definition of the institution, was built by the Romans into the law of persons, to characterize a status that was absolute but potentially temporary.

The institution of *postliminium* testifies to the fact that Roman law potentially understood slavery as a transitory, temporally limited event. This, at any rate, applied to Romans who had been taken captive in war and so – from the Roman point of view – lost all family and property rights through enslavement. Of those who died as captives, the time of capture was considered their time of death.[109] A will set up prior to capture would then become effective.[110] In the absence of a will, intestate succession would take effect.[111] Dependents who had been under *manus* or *potestats* attained their freedom, while slaves would go to the heirs or legatees unless their manumission had been decreed in the will. If, however, the captive returned, was released from slavery or ransomed, his old rights were restored (*ius postliminii*).[112]

Because enslavement could happen not only as a result of captivity, but also of a criminal sentence,[113] D. 35.1.59.2 provides for the same consequences for the latter case. It is again useful to consider the context fully to understand this text:

D. 35.1.59 (Ulp. 13 ad leg. Iul. et Pap.): Intercidit legatum, si ea persona decesserit, cui legatum est sub condicione. (1) Quid ergo, si non decesserit, sed in civitate esse desierit?	D. 35.1.59 (Lex Julia et Papia, book 13): A legacy fails if the person to whom it was left under a condition dies. 1. What, then, if he does not die but ceases to be a citizen?

108 Bodel, "Death and Social Death" (n. 32): 94.

109 D. 49.15.18 (Ulp. 35 ad Sab.): *In omnibus partibus iuris is, qui reversus non est ab hostibus, quasi tunc decessisse videtur, cum captus est* ('In every branch of the law, a person who fails to return from enemy hands is regarded as having died at the moment when he was captured', transl. Robinson in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* [n. 45]). We know from I. 2.12.5 that this regulation was based on a law of P. Cornelius Sulla's (*lex Cornelia de confirmandis testamentis*).

110 Cf. most recently Sebastian Lohsse, "Die Beerbung des Kriegsgefangenen. Entwicklungsstufen der Auslegung der lex Cornelia de confirmandis testamentis," in *Facetten des römischen Erbrechts*, ed. Jan Dirk Harke (Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 2021): 79–111; Carlos M. Sánchez-Moreno Ellart, "Die fictio legis Corneliae in P.Berol. 11753 A and 21294 A," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 67, no. 1 (2021): 102–9.

111 This conforms to the currently prevailing view, cf. D. 49.15.22 pr. (Iul. 62 dig.); D. 38.16.1 pr. (Ulp. 12 ad Sab.).

112 Still relevant is August Bechmann, *Das Ius Postliminii und die Lex Cornelia: Ein Beitrag zur Dogmatik des römischen Rechts* (Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1872).

113 See Aglaia McClintock (in this volume).

114 Transl. Thomas in Watson, *Digest of Justinian* (n. 45).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 820

puta alicui legatum 'si consul fuerit' et is in insulam deportatus est: numquid non interim exstinguitur legatum, quia restitui in civitate potest? quod probabilius esse arbitror. (2) Non idem erit dicendum, si ea poena in eum statuta fuerit, quae irrogat servitutem, quia servitus morti adsimulatur.

Suppose a legacy to someone, "if he becomes consul", and he be deported to an island; is it to be said that the legacy is not destroyed in the interim, because he could be restored to citizenship? I think this is the more acceptable view. 2. The same would not be said if he were subjected to a penalty entailing slavery; for slavery is equated with death.[114]

The examples dealt with here in brief[115] address the effectiveness of a bequest decreed under a conditional precedent. Did the heir have to wait for the condition to be met before fulfilling the bequest, or could he consider the bequest to be discharged if something befell the legatee? The *principium* states briefly that the legatee's death would cause the legacy to lapse unless the condition had occurred by then. If it already had, the case was different: in this case, the claim passed to the heir of the legatee. Only his premature death caused the legacy to lapse entirely. If the condition did not occur before the legatee's death, it was of no use to his heir. This was the starting point for the following deliberations.

In § 1, the legatee had not died, but been exiled as the result of a criminal conviction. In this case, the legacy was not extinguished even if the condition had not yet been met before banishment. Upon being exiled, the legatee would lose his citizen rights, which was why the condition that he becomes consul could not occur. There were good grounds for assuming that the legacy was extinguished, but, Ulpian countered, the exiled might yet be pardoned, and so regain his citizenship and become consul after all. So, the heir was required to wait and see whether this would happen during the legatee's lifetime.

This case discussed in § 1 was not dissimilar from the one in § 2: what applied if, before the stipulated condition had occurred, the legatee was given a punishment that entailed losing his freeman status? Ulpian's answer is clear and concise: because *servitus poenae* was equated with death (*servitus morti adsimulatur*), the legacy was going to expire. But could it not again be argued that the condemned might still be pardoned? This was indeed not impossible. But for one thing a pardon did not automatically result in the reinstatement of proprietary status.[116] And even if the ex-convict had been exceptionally[117] reinstated into all citizen rights by means of *restitutio in integrum*, this restitution could not completely erase the reduction in status: with death occurring as a result of the conviction, there was now no possibility of the condition ('that he becomes consul') occurring and the bequest

115 On the fragment see most recently Tommaso Beggio, *Contributo allo studio della 'servitus poenae'* (Bari: Cacucci Editore, 2020): 219–21.

116 Cf. Wolfgang Waldstein, *Untersuchungen zum römischen Begnadigungsrecht. Abolitio – indulgentia – venia*, Commentationes Aenipontanae 18 (Innsbruck: Universitätsverlag Wagner, 1964): 132.

117 Cf. Waldstein, *Begnadigungsrecht* (n. 116): 135–37 (on Paul. sent. 4.8.22).

claim being effective. A different decision would have resulted in significantly increased uncertainty for the heir: his obligation would no longer have depended solely on the condition occurring but also on the pardon, and even on whether the condition had occurred only *after* the pardon. This would go too far beyond the testator's stipulations. So, if a legatee had been sentenced to penal slavery before the stated condition had occurred, the heir was thereby freed from his obligation.

This is what Ulpian intended to say by the short sentence *servitus morti adsimulatur*: a liability that had not yet fallen effective would expire permanently with the creditor's enslavement, just as if he had died.

Another sentence of Ulpian's, D. 50.17.209, sounds much more universal: *Servitutem mortalitati fere comparamus* – 'In general, becoming a slave is compared with death'. We can be certain that this sentence – like all the rules contained under the heading of D. 50.17 (*De diversis regulibus iuris antiqui*) – had been phrased for a specific reason and now, without this context, appeared to have general validity and greater weight. Here too, however, we can reconstruct this context. Like fragment D. 35.1.59, the sentence originates in Ulpian's commentary on the *lex Iulia et Papia*. Augustus had passed these two laws[118] in order to promote marriage and encourage procreation. Especially the *lex Papia Poppaea* with its sanctions against the unmarried and the childless had a considerable impact on Roman inheritance law: anyone who was still unmarried at the stipulated age and had not already given birth to or fathered three (legitimate) children, could not receive anything from a will and a legacy. Those who were married but childless could only receive half of what they were left. The portions of inheritance or legacies thus released (the so-called *caducum*) went to married heirs or legatees with at least one child.[119] If there were none, the inheritance or legacy went to the state.

What does all this have to do with Ulpian's rule? The connection is revealed by the cases discussed in D. 35.1.59: the question is which persons could obtain the *caducum* before it went to the state.[120] If any among them were married with children but had lost their freedom at the time of the possible acquirement, they did not count as acquirers; the inheritance or legacy went to the next potential inheritor

118 *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* in 18 BCE and *lex Papia Poppaea* in 9 CE; see for example James A. Field, "The Purpose of the Lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea," *The Classical Journal* 40, no. 7 (1945): 398–416; Angelika Mette-Dittmann, *Die Ehegesetze des Augustus: Eine Untersuchung im Rahmen der Gesellschaftspolitik des Princeps* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991); Susan Treggiari, *Roman Marriage: 'Iusti Coniuges' from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991): 60–80; Riccardo Astolfi, *La 'lex Iulia et Papia'* (Padua: Cedam, 1996).

119 For more details, see Kaser, *Das römische Privatrecht*, vol. 1 (n. 41): 319–21; Astolfi, *lex Iulia et Papia* (n. 118): 126–32; most recently Filippo Bonin, "Tra ius antiquum, lex Iulia e Lex Papia: Il complesso destino di caduca in età Augustea," *Teoria e Storia del diritto Privato* 12 (2019), https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=7236855 [accessed 05.08.2022].

120 Lenel, *Palingenesia*, vol. 2 (n. 93): 948, puts D. 35.1.59 under the heading '*Quae lege Papia caduca fiant*'.

or to the state. D. 50.17.209 is a similar case: the few extant fragments from Ulpian's fourth book of *ad legem Iuliam et Papiam libri XX* discuss the question which children could be considered to be the testamentary beneficiary's. Did they include children born by his wife while he was a prisoner of war (and thus in slavery)?[121] Did they include the children fathered by a man while he was a prisoner of war?[122] The sentence contained in D. 50.17.209 can probably be placed in a similar context.[123] Here again, *servitus* is discussed with reference to the child and not to the person whose entitlement to inherit is being discussed. Children in captivity or slavery did not count in favour of their parents (in terms of the *lex Papia Poppaea*): it was as if they had been stillborn or died. This, and nothing more, is meant in Ulpian's pronouncement that 'becoming a slave is compared with death'.

4 Some Results

Such terse, formulaic sentences, which are sometimes used to illustrate sociological arguments or to express social-historical findings, often turn out to be unsuitable for this purpose. This has been shown by the deliberations in this paper on *nullum caput* (a), *pro nulla habentur* (d) or *servitus morti adsimulatur* (e). That is not to say that these phrases are meaningless for the legal classification of slaves. Whether it was slaves not being admissible to trial or to bring a formal action, or the fact that in Augustus' legislation to encourage population expansion only free persons were counted while slaves were not: all of these show quite clearly the legal discrimination against slaves that did exist. Even so, the legal context matters. It tells us whether something is the brief outline of a legal issue, or an actual rule that can be universalised.

But just like the description of slaves as the 'property' of their masters, these sentences also have an important significance in the history of ideas. Most of those who later wanted to understand and use the Roman sources were not concerned with their historical meaning.[124] The sentences and pronouncements stand for themselves, they are not *explanandum*, but *explanans*. They are just as normative as they are (being part of Roman law) authoritative. The concept of *dominium*, for example, took on a life of its own in the high middle ages, becoming a key concept not only in jurisprudence but also in moral theology and in political and social philosophy. In slave law, as indicated, it turned into an Archimedean point from which

121 D. 1.7.46 (Ulp. 4 ad leg. Iul. et Pap.).

122 D. 49.15.9 (Ulp. 4 ad leg. Iul. et Pap.).

123 Cf. Lenel, *Palingenesia*, vol. 2 (n. 93): 943–44.

124 In this sense, Patterson's observation in *Slavery and Social Death* (n. 22): 189 is quite correct: 'Roman legal theory, which probably did not depart much from practice, certainly influenced most subsequent slaveholding societies in the Western world'.

it became possible to conceptualise slavery for the first time. Much the same is true for the rules cited as examples. While they may not have contributed to legitimising asymmetrical dependencies, we use them to analyse dependency structures. This is unproblematic as long as we do not want to use them to explain Roman slavery itself. In other words: the fact that being a slave was tantamount to 'social death' can be proven with many details from Roman slave law but not with the dictum that jurists considered slaves *pro nullo* (or *pro nullis*).

If we try to understand Roman slavery from the experience of transatlantic slavery, we cannot do justice either to the social or the legal conditions in antiquity. The study of Roman slavery must begin *ab ovo*: we must first understand the role of the *servi* in the small-scale structures of early Rome because it was during this period that the rules governing status began to be developed, which would, centuries later, continue to provide the frame of reference for the legal status of slaves. Only from this point is it possible to explain the consequences of the prosperous slave economy of the late Republic and the Empire which turned slaves into 'merchandise'[125] while at the same time causing a strong social differentiation within the slave class. This is the period in which most of our sources originated, at the peak of the Roman slave economy. For Roman jurists, all *servi* still shared the same status, and so were essentially all in the same legal situation. But it would be absurd to understand them as a homogeneous class because of this. The social differences among the unfree were immense and were respected by contemporary law. The following contributions will examine this tension in more detail.

125 In an economic, not a legal, sense: cf. Mela in D. 50.16.207 (Afr. 3 quaest.), see above n. 52.

3. Research Lenses

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Introduction

Research Area D took up debates that have recently emerged at the intersection between slavery studies and comparative dependency studies on the one hand and Global Labor History and a new economic and social history on the other. Here, at the crossroad of these debates, a new and expanding field of research has emerged that advocates a systematic expansion of the traditional concept of labor and a revision of the master narratives of Western modernity. Instead of starting with the Industrial Revolution and thus adopting European free wage labor as the standard labor relation of modernity, all forms of labor need to be taken into account in equal measure: 'free' and 'unfree' forms of labor, productive and reproductive labor, capitalist and non-capitalist labor relations – in both Western and non-Western societies, from within and beyond European (colonial) history. In that sense, slave labor is now conceptualized as one form of coerced labor alongside convict labor, debt bondage, serfdom or servitude. This approach has brought to the fore the many grey areas, overlaps and contradictions between (purely formal-legalistically and terminologically speaking) distinct forms of 'unfree' labor and personal dependency relations. The BCDSS' focus on societies and areas outside the realm of Western colonization and on pre-modern European phenomena could contribute to this debate by challenging present distinctions between 'free' and 'unfree' labor relations and helping to re-conceptualize long-term socio-economic shifts and trends beyond the European master narrative of the rise of the West. Transculturally and diachronically comparative studies have shown that unfree labor relations are not necessarily associated with despotic regimes and that the development of markets and economic growth was not always tied to the emergence of a capitalist economic system. Similarly, the idea that human history can be written teleologically, as a long-term development from unfree to free forms of labor organization, is considered disproved. What was still missing, however, was a dialogue between socio-economic historians working on earlier periods and global labor historians focusing on the time from 1500 up to the present. The fourth research area therefore advocated a temporal extension of the field. While Global Labor History has understood its extension of traditional labor history mainly in spatial terms, it is high time to link this research with earlier periods. In order to move beyond the Western/modern dichotomies of 'free' and 'unfree' labor relations as well as capitalist and feudalistic economic systems and to overcome facile labels of 'modernity' and 'pre-modernity', we only needed to look at modern conditions inside and outside the West, but also to combine this research with studies of the so-called 'premodern era' both within and outside of Europe. What was called for was a strategic alliance between Europe-centered pre-modernity studies and the diachronically oriented area studies in the field of labor. The traditional image of the worker had to be challenged by the figure of the unskilled ancilla in late medieval Europe just as much as by today's textile worker in Bangladesh or the outsourced worker in a call center in Western Europe. Only through such a transculturally and diachronically comparative perspective on servitude relations was it possible to examine conjunctures of slavery beyond the modern/Western conception of history. While existing pre-modern studies on the history of labor have remained largely separate from the debates of Global Labor, the research area within the cluster of excellence aimed to establish a connection between the two and thus acted as a productive spur to current discussions. Second, the research area targeted the spatial dimension

of strong asymmetrical dependencies. The history of labor cannot be told without taking into consideration the history of migration. It is not by chance that migration, coercion and labor precariousness have become keywords for a new research agenda of Global Labor History. Most forms of dependent labor are closely entangled with the history of forced migration and small-scale or large-scale work migration between town and countryside, metropolis and periphery, economically strong and weak regions as well as with the history of hunting and trafficking humans in times of military conflict or through piracy and smuggling rings and with the history of slave trade between cultural spaces and continents. At the same time, processes of immobilization (i.e., the serf bound to the soil, or a convict tied to a prison, a camp or a remote plantation) are equally crucial for understanding the 'logic of deployment' of the workforce by an employer. Spatial mobility therefore must include short-, medium- and long-distance migration as well as voluntary and coerced forms of mobility. What needs to be studied here, therefore, is the dialectics between the spatial mobilization and immobilization of the workforce. In order to study both processes simultaneously, we addressed the question of how mobilization and immobilization were entangled in specific sites and institutions of dependency (e.g. the plantation, the household, the military, etc.). Thirdly, this research area explored workers' practices for coping with dependency, reducing the degree of coercion and expanding their own autonomy. By looking at (a) individual and collective everyday practices, (b) organizations, (c) relationships with institutions (e.g. the use of laws and norms), and (d) anti-systemic practices, this research area made it possible to map dependency on an alternative scale, between autonomy and coercion, and to increase the awareness of the dependents' scope of action and their options for social mobility.

3. Research Lenses

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Dennis Mario Beck. *Systems of Dependent Labour in Roman Imperial Quarries. The Chaîne Opératoire as a Method for Identifying Dependencies* (Berlin: EB Verlag, 2023).

https://doi.org/10.53179/9783868934595

Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture Series

19

eds. Janico Albrecht, Jeannine Bischoff, Sarah Dusend

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Dennis Mario Beck

Systems of Dependent Labour in Roman Imperial Quarries. The Chaîne Opératoire as a Method for Identifying Dependencies

EBVERLAG

Systems of Dependent Labour in Roman Imperial Quarries. The Chaîne Opératoire as a Method for Identifying Dependencies

Joseph C. Miller Memorial Lecture Series

eds. Janico Albrecht, Jeannine Bischoff, Sarah Dusend

Volume 19

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Dennis Mario Beck

Systems of Dependent Labour in Roman Imperial Quarries. The Chaîne Opératoire as a Method for Identifying Dependencies

ebv BERLIN

EBVERLAG

Bibliographic information published by
the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means, including information storage and retrieval systems, without written permission from the publisher or author, except in the case of a reviewer, who may quote brief passages embodied in critical articles or in a review.

Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-No-Derivatives 4.0 (BY-NC-ND) which means that the text may be used for non-commercial purposes, provided credit is given to the author. For details go to http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/
To create an adaptation, translation, or derivative of the original work and for commercial use, further permission is required and can be obtained by contacting post@ebverlag.de
Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.) not original to the Open Access publication and further permission may be required from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

This book is available for free download in the Open Access section of the publishers' website. (https://doi.org/10.53179/9783868934595).

A print version is available for a fee from the publisher.
The page numbers in the print and in the online version are identical.

© EB-Verlag Dr. Brandt
Berlin, 2023

Coverdesign: © Rainer Kuhl, Berlin

ISBN 978-3-86893-452-6 (Print)
ISBN 978-3-86893-459-5 (Open Access)
DOI 10.53179/9783868934595

1. Introduction and Methodology

In the last twenty years, ancient quarries have become an interdisciplinary research topic for scholars who are particularly interested in technical and structural organization, trading networks and infrastructure, as well as the individual workforces, work processes and resource exploitation. Due to the influence of New Institutional Economics (NIE) theories on the study of ancient networks and supply chains in particular, and the ancient economy in general, the study of individual actors and of production and organizational processes has become an important research focus and it also introduced new methods into research, such as network analysis or the chaîne opératoire.[1] Research into ancient quarries, their

[1] See, Alfred M. Hirt, "Chresimus, procurator a marmoribus und der Strassenbau. Überlegungen zu Logistik und Transportwesen kaiserlicher Steinbrüche," in *Siedlungen und Verkehr im Römischen Reich: Römerstrassen zwischen Herrschaftssicherung und Landschaftsprägung; Akten des Kolloquiums zu Ehren von Prof. H. E. Herzig vom 28. und 29. Juni 2001 in Bern*, ed. Regula Frei-Stolba (Bern: Fritz Lang, 2010): 115–34; Henrik Mouritsen, *The Freedman in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Wim Broekaert, *Navicularii et Negotiantes. A Prosopographical Study of Roman Merchants and Shippers*, Pharos 28 (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2013); Paul Erdkamp, Koenraad Verboven and Arjan Zuiderhoek, eds., *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Wim Broekaert, "Freedmen and Agency in Roman Business," in *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World: Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy*, ed. Andrew Wilson and Miko Flohr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 222–53; Cameron Hawkins, *Roman Artisans and the Urban Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Seth G. Bernard, "Workers in the Roman Imperial Building Industry," in *Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World*, ed. Koenraad Verboven and Christian Laes, Impact of Empire 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2017); Elio Lo Cascio, *Die neue Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Römischen Reiches. Paradigmen und Ansätze*, Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsarchäologie 1 (Bonn: Habelt, 2017). For the use of the term chaîne opératoire, see Nathan Schlanger, "'Suivre les gestes, éclat par éclat'. La chaîne opératoire d'André Leroi-Gourhan," in *Autour de l' homme: Contexte et actualite d'André Leroi-Gourhan*, ed. Françoise Audouze and Nathan Schlanger (Antibes: Editions APDCA, 2004): 127–47; Joanna E. Fairlie and Lawrence S. Barham, "From Chaîne Opératoire to Observational Analysis: A Pilot Study of a New Methodology for Analysing Changes in Cognitive Task-Structuring Strategies Across Different Hominin Tool-Making Events," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 26, no. 4 (2016): 643–64; Ben Russell, "Roman Stone Carvers and Their Chaîne Opératoire," in *The Value of Making: Theory and Practice in Ancient Craft Production*, ed. Helle Hochscheid and Ben Russell, Studies in Classical Archaeology 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021): 71–88. For network analysis in history and archaeology, see, e.g., Ulrich Müller, "Netzwerkanalysen in der Historischen Archäologie: Begriffe und Beispiele," in *Historia archaeologica. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 70. Geburtstag*,

exploitation and in particular the trade of stones and marbles were, from the very beginning, closely linked to the study of imperial slaves and freedmen in these economic systems. Already in the nineteenth century, Luigi Bruzza studied the offices and individuals mentioned in inscriptions with regard to their participation, organisation and tasks in the Roman marble trade, using mostly marble blocks and columns that came to light during the excavations directed by Pietro Ercole Visconti at the Emporium in Rome.[2] In the course of the twentieth century, the material base for this research was continually expanded by the discovery of additional marble depots, for example, the marble yards in Ostia and Portus as well as in the city of Rome, and by the investigation of several quarry sites throughout the entire Mediterranean region.[3] Current research draws on a quite small number of individually and comprehensively investigated quarry sites throughout the Mediterranean, in particular concentrated in modern Egypt, Tunisia, Italy, Greece and Turkey – all former parts of the Roman Empire.[4] The investigation of quarries as

Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 70 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009): 735–54.

2 Luigi Bruzza, "Iscrizioni dei marmi grezzi," *Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 42 (1870): 106–204; Luigi Bruzza, "Gli scavi dell'Emporio," in *Triplice Omaggio alla Santità* di Papa Pio IX nel suo giubileo episcopio (Rome: Tipografia della Pace, 1877): 39–46. Further investigations were conducted by Otto Hirschfeld and Charles Dubois with the then-known stock of inscriptions from some quarries; see Otto Hirschfeld, *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905); Charles Dubois, *Etude sur l'administration et l'exploitation des carrières (marbres, porphyre, granit, etc.) dans le monde romain* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1908). The quarries were thus one of the first areas of the ancient economy to be investigated with regard to the roles of slaves and freedmen in dependencies, and their personal relationships to the emperor. On this issue, see J. Clayton Fant, "The Roman Emperors in the Marble Business: Capitalists, Middle-men or Philanthropists?" in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology and Trade*, ed. Norman Herz and Mark M. Waelkens, NATO ASI series E: Applied Sciences 153 (Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 1988): 147–58, with an influential and, until today, often quoted contribution on the emperor and his role in the marble trade, which also contains an almost complete list of the early investigations and studies from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

3 For an overview of the scholarship, see Martin Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom: Anlieferung, Lager- und Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit* (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 1997): 13–31; for this early period of research, see Alfred M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

4 Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Patrizio Pensabene, *I Marmi nella Roma antica* (Rome: Carocci Ed., 2013); for the localisation of the quarries, see Ben Rus-

archaeological sites emerged predominantly from a first wave of interest and studies, mainly during the second half of the twentieth century, in the origin and distribution of stones used in antiquity, especially in the Roman imperial period, and from an interest in the technical and organizational aspects of quarrying processes, transports and logistics.[5] In addition to these basically well-studied quarries from the Roman

sell, "Gazetteer of Stone Quarries in the Roman World," Version 1.0 (2013), https://oxrep.web.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/oxrep/documents/media/russell_2013_gazetteer_of_roman_stone_quarries.pdf [accessed 07.02.2023]; Lorenzo Lazzarini, "Ancient Mediterranean Polychrome Stone," in *The Contribution of Mineralogy to Cultural Heritage*, ed. Gilberto Artioli and Roberta Oberti, EMU Notes in Mineralogy 20 (London: European Mineralogical Union and the Mineralogical Society of Great Britain & Ireland, 2019): 367–92.

5 In general: Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*: 13–31; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Ben Russell, *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Russell, "Gazetteer"; Hirt, "Centurions, Quarries, and the Emperor," in *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 289–314, which includes a summary on Egypt; Lorenzo Lazzarini, "The Distribution and Reuse of the Most Important Coloured Marbles in the Provinces of the Roman Empire," in *ASMOSIA 7. Actes du VIIe colloque international de l'ASMOSIA. Thasos 15–20 septembre 2003*, ed. Yannis Maniatis, Bulletin de correspondence hellénique, Suppl. 51) (Athens: École française d'Athènes, De Boccard Édition, 2009): 459–81; Lazzarini, "Ancient Mediterranean." For Simitthus/Chimtou, see Josef Röder, "Die Steinbrüche des Numidischen Marmors von Chemtou," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 17–53; Mustapha Khanoussi, "Les officiales marmorum Numidicorum," in *L'Africa Romana. Atti del XII convegno di studio. Olbia, 12–15 dicembre 1996*, vol. 2, ed. Mustapha Khanoussi, Paolo Ruggeri and Cinzia Vismara (Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda, 1998): 997–1016; Stefan Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico in Context. Distribution, Use and Commercial Actors according to New Stratigraphic Data from the Western Mediterranean (2nd c. BC–1st c. AD)," in *ASMOSIA 11. Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of ASMOSIA, Split, 18–22 May 2015*, ed. Daniela Matetić Poljak and Katja Marasović (Split: University of Split, 2018): 155–65; Dennis Mario Beck, *Simitthus 6. Marmor Numidicum. Gewinnung, Verarbeitung und Distribution eines antiken Buntmarmors* (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 2024, in press). For Dokimeion, see John Clayton Fant, *Cavum Antrum Phrygiae. The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1989); Patrizio Pensabene, "Cave di marmo bianco e pavonazzetto in Frigia. Sulla produzione e sui dati epigrafici," *Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stone* 6 (2010): 71–134. For Luni, see Patrizio Pensabene, "The Quarries at Luni in the 1st Century AD: Final Considerations on Some Aspects of Production, Diffusion and Costs," in *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. Proceedings of the IX ASMOSIA Conference (Tarragona 2009)*, ed. Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-Moreno, Pilar Lapuente Mercadal and Isabel Rodà de Llanza (Tarragona: Indústries Gràfiques Gabriel Gibert, 2012): 731–43.

imperial period, during which the distribution of stone throughout the Mediterranean was a well-organized business for the first time in history, much smaller and often only locally and regionally used quarries began to be studied in the last two decades – to both complement and differentiate the overall picture.[6] Apart from a few recent studies, however, the quarry sites have mostly been studied on their own and independently from each other.[7] This data situation was examined from several perspectives through models and theories from the New Institutional Economics. The influence of the NIE on ancient studies has constantly led to systematic, overarching and interdisciplinary approaches and studies of quarrying processes, the organization of labour and the actors involved that employed new models, an approach that has expanded and deepened our general knowledge considerably over the last couple of years.[8] This area of research is particularly important for the overall picture as it pays much closer attention than before to questions about the every-

6 Ameur Younès, Mohamed Essghaier Gaied and Wissem Gallala, "Quarries in Tunisia," in *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 2014): 1–9; Matthias Bruno and Fulvia Bianchi, *Marmi di Leptis Magna* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015); Matthias Bruno and Fulvia Bianchi, "The Limestone Quarries of Wadi Gadatza in the territory of Leptis Magna," in *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. ASMOSIA 10. Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of ASMOSIA. Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones in Antiquity. Rome, 12–26 May 2012*, ed. Patrizio Pensabene and Eleonora Gasparini (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015): 35–42; Stefan Ardeleanu, *Numidia Romana? Die Auswirkungen der römischen Präsenz in Numidien (2. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr.)* (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 2021); Dennis Beck, "The Quarries," in *Studies on the Urban History of Meninx (Djerba): The Meninx Archaeological Project 2015–2019*, ed. Stefan Ritter and Sami Ben Tahar, Archäologische Forschungen 43 (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 2022): 197–202.

7 Fant, *Cavum*; Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Valeria A. Maxfield and David Peacock, "The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries: Gebel Dokhan, Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82 (1996): 15–19; Hélène Cuvigny, *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina III. O. Claudi. 417 à 613* (Cairo: Boustany's Publishing House, 2000); Pensabene, "Cave"; Pensabene, "The Quarries at Luni"; Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, *Mons for Mons Claudianus: Ostraca Graeca et Latina IV—The Quarry Texts: O. Claud.* (Cairo: Boustany's Publishing House, 2009): 632–896; Bernard, "Workers"; Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico."

8 See Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Russell, *The Economics*; Hirt, "Centurions"; Bernard, "Workers"; Russell, "Roman Stone"; Hélène Cuvigny, "The Organization Chart of the Personell of an Imperial Quarry According to an Ostracon of Mons Claudianus," in *Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, ISAW Monographs (New York: New York University Press, 2021): 181–212; Beck, *Simitthus*.

day operation of the quarries and the different labour and status groups required for the numerous different processes. Due to this interest and these different approaches, both epigraphic and archaeological finds came into sharper focus, allowing us to draw conclusions about specialized workforces and craftsmen, organizational structures, workplaces and thus dependencies in systems and networks, especially regarding the interconnectedness of people in different legal status groups. Numerous Latin and Greek inscriptions both at quarry sites and on quarried objects in marble depots – such as semi-finished or finished and stored columns or blocks as well as other ancient media like tablets, ostraca, papyri, and ingots – can provide concrete insights into these structures and individuals, for instance, during production based on a division of labour or specialization in crafts. These new insights have recently been summarised in some overviews, mainly for the roman imperial period.[9]

At the current state of research, we have some information about the archaeological and socio-historical contexts of different organizational structures of labour in quarries, and about the various actors and institutions involved. However, there are now more comprehensive observations, interpretations based on them and models of the imperial marble trade or its structures than there are individual observations on specific quarry sites that take into account new questions and methodological approaches.[10] If we take, for example, the question of the emperor's influence on marble extraction, the evidence from individual quarry sites was mainly used selectively to generate overarching models of the imperial marble trade.[11] Although, as mentioned, theories from the New

9 For a summary of the scholarship, see Bülow-Jacobsen, *Mons*; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 10–47; Russell, *The Economics*: 2–5; Pensabene, *I Marmi*; Patrizio Pensabene, "Marmi pubblici e marmi privati. Note in margine ad un recente volume di Ben Russell," *Archeologica Classica* 66 (2015): 575–94; Bruno and Bianchi, *Marmi di Leptis*; Lazzarini, "Mediterranean"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

10 On this issue, see Beck, *Simitthus*.

11 Special mention should be made of the influential publication by Ward-Perkins and Fant. See, in brief, Russell, *The Economics*; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Dennis Mario Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics of Coloured Marble Columns in the Western Mediterranean during the Late Republic and Early Roman Empire," in *Materiality in Roman Art and Architecture. Aesthetics, Semantics and Function*, ed. Annette Haug, Adrian Hielscher and M. Taylor Lauritsen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 95–112.

Institutional Economics offered new approaches and broadened the view substantially. Comparable approaches were very rarely used before in the quarries themselves. Connected with this is an essential aspect of the problem of identifying dependency in these organizational structures in quarries, the question of whether the influence of the Roman emperor made itself felt – and if so, to what extent, and as a result, what individual developments and changes were due to imperial control over the quarries and their operation. This paper will examine these questions both in terms of how they contrast with divergent or earlier organizational structures and from a long-term perspective in the Roman Empire.[12] Based on the work done on the topic in the last twenty years and the sources now available, some quarries are particularly well-suited as objects of comprehensive study of the ancient economy, since both imperial as well as private and municipal officials interacted there in several perspectives, and different legal status groups were involved in the system.[13] In addition to the Roman imperial organizational structures, there was the mass of non-imperially operated or influenced quarries, which were often managed by private entrepreneurs or municipal officials. Here, too, questions can be asked about dependencies, personal relationships and the actors involved in these processes – they cannot, however, be considered in detail in this contribution.[14] Several questions arise from the results and observations in research: Who was affected by personal dependencies? Which sources can we use to infer the various dependencies, and also to compare them? What levels of depend-

12 See the different approaches by Fant, "The Roman Emperors"; Fant, *Cavum*; John Clayton Fant, "Ideology, Gift, and Trade: A Distribution Model for the Roman Imperial Marbles," in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of Instrumentum Domesticum*, ed. Wiliam V. Harris (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1993): 145–70; and Röder, "Die Steinbrüche." For recent debates, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Russell, *The Economics*, and Pensabene, *I Marmi*. A similar approach can be found in Bryan Pfaffenberger, "Mining communities, chaînes opératoires and sociotechnical systems," in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Eugenia W. Herbert, A. Bernard Knapp and Vincent C. Pigott (London: Routledge, 2013): 291–300.

13 This was first postulated in a particularly insightful and convincing manner by Hirt, *Imperial Mines* and Russell, *The Economics*, in the general discussion on the study of the marble trade and the people involved.

14 On this topic, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, chapter 7; Russell, *The Economics*: 53–60.

ency existed between the individual actors? To what extent was the organization of work based on personal and structural dependencies and relationships, and what structures of dependency can we identify with the approach proposed? Which actors were needed mandatorily in the networks to establish a stable and continuous system?

The methodological approach to answering these questions has so far been based on the objects found in both the quarries and marble depots; therefore, the evidence not only varies quantitatively but is also only comparable to a limited extent and under certain circumstances. In order to arrive at a systematic basis for comparison, I propose to use the chaîne opératoire method and to apply it in the second part of this paper to one of the quarries – namely the marble quarries at Simitthus/ Chimtou in present-day Tunisia. This method will make it possible to analyse the quarrying process of one case in detail in its individual steps and, in addition, to answer specific questions on the basis of the primary sources originating at this quarry. The results are therefore compared as far as possible with those of other quarries and industries in order to gain further insights and make more general statements.

2. Types of Sites and Differences in Spatiality

In both Greek and Roman antiquity, the majority of large stone objects were always further processed on site after quarrying to prepare them for transport both within and especially outside of the quarry[15]. Quarries were numerous and therefore need to be further defined as objects of study.[16] As mentioned above, my focus is on the Roman imperial period, during which there were, broadly speaking, three different administrative structures for the quarries. These will also guide the selection of my examples in what follows: 1. Imperial quarries, where actors dependent

[15] "Large stone objects" are defined as larger than hand size and heavier than can be carried by one person alone. Stone pieces were usually not completed until at the construction site, a process that happened in several steps. On this issue, see Russell, *The Economics*: 95–140; Bernard, "Workers."

[16] For the most widely used marbles in antiquity, see Russell, "Gazetteer"; Lazzarini, "Mediterranean."

on the emperor were predominantly responsible for both the organisation and operation of the quarries; 2. Municipal quarries, where mainly municipal officials and private entrepreneurs (individuals and groups are testified) were responsible for the operation and infrastructure; and, lastly, 3. Private quarries, where exclusively private individuals or groups oversaw the entire operation.[17] In categories 2) and 3), usually there were no interactions with imperial officials; or to be more precise, no indications of such interactions have been preserved in the archaeological and epigraphic evidence. Due to my focus on dependency on the emperor, both by individuals and in the structural organisation and operation, the focus of the present paper will be on the first type, the quarries with imperial officials.

2.1 The Imperial Quarries in the Roman Empire

Since the beginning of the study of ancient stones and marbles, the imperial quarries in the Roman Empire have received by far the most attention among all quarry sites. One reason for this is the large number of quarried materials and remains that have been preserved from them in archaeological contexts, another is scholars' interest in the use to which the emperors put these prestigious and expensive stones, especially in Rome, but also in other cities in the empire. At this point, I can only mention in passing the long history of this research, which has been summarized in recent studies by Martin Maischberger, Ben Russell, Alfred M. Hirt and other scholars.[18] As a starting point, let me briefly mention results from recent research in order to provide the basis for further deliberations: One characteristic of the imperial quarries above all was the fact that over a period of approximately 200–250 years, in a few quarries in the Mediterranean region, officials in personal dependence

17 For details on these categorisations, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Russell, *The Economics*; Russell, "Gazetteer."

18 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Russell, *The Economics*. For a complete list of earlier scholarship, especially for the marble depots in Rome, Ostia and Portus, see Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*: 14–15; for the late republican and early imperial marble economy, see Pensabene, *I Marmi*; Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics."

on the emperor or the wider imperial family, often imperial slaves and freedmen, were involved in the procurement, or the quarrying and distribution, of marble. These quarries included, among others, those at Mons Claudianus and Mons Porphyrites in Egypt; Chios, Paros, Penteli and Karystos in Greece; Teos and Dokimeion in Turkey; Simitthus in Tunisia, and Luni in Italy.[19] Imperial officials are mainly attested by inscriptions on workpieces that have been found either in the quarries, at urban collection points and port depots, or in archaeological contexts.[20] A central result of recent studies is that these actors were active in several networks at the same time, but that only individual sites can ever be inferred from the combination of sources. Interestingly, while the administrative structures in each quarry were slightly different, they also shared certain similarities, especially from the second century AD onwards. This is quite likely closely related to the inconsistent development of and allowance for local conditions in the administrative structures and the actors involved in the first century AD.[21] It is therefore

19 Peacock and Maxfield, "The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries"; Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*: 20 note 55; Hirt, "Chresimus"; Bülow-Jacobsen, *Mons*; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 295–96 and 307–9; Pensabene, "Cave"; Pensabene, "The Quarries at Luni"; Pensabene, *I Marmi*; Russell, "Gazetteer"; Lazzarini, "Mediterranean"; Mustafa Adak and Musa Kadıoğlu, "Die Steinbrüche von Teos und 'Marmor Luculleum'," *Philia* 3 (2017): 1–43; Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico"; Cuvigny, "The Organization Chart"; Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

20 See Patrizio Pensabene and Matthias Bruno, "Aggiornamenti, nuove acquisizioni e riordino dei marmi di cava dal canale di Fiumicino," in *Marmi Antichi II. Cave e tecnica di lavorazione provenienze e distribuzione,* ed. Patrizio Pensabene (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1998): 1–22; Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Matthias Bruno, "Blocchi, marchi e sigle di cava di Leptis Magna," *Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stone* 5 (2009): 71–94; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Russell, *The Economics*; Bernard, "Workers"; Lo Cascio, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*; Beck, *Simitthus* for the inscriptions and their interpretation. In a few cases, additional offices and actors are known from honorary and funerary inscriptions that can be linked to the marble trade and the emperor.

21 Based on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence at the quarry sites and on the basis of the empire-wide distribution of only a few types of marble in the Mediterranean region, scholars no longer uniformly assume that the emperors took complete control of quarrying in the early imperial period, but rather that there was a multiplicity of local administrations by urban elites and entrepreneurs in the late republic and early imperial period, which would differ from place to place. If necessary, in the early imperial period, the emperor used middlemen to procure materials. Those middlemen appear in the inscriptions as *rationarii*. They were not based at the quarries,

key to consider the history of each quarry individually, and only then to formulate overarching questions.

An important change, which, however, only occurred in a few quarries in Trajanic and Hadrianic times, was the creation of specific, high-level offices for marble procurators (named in the inscriptions as *procuratores marmorum* or *procuratores montis/metallorum*) with an arguably narrowly defined area of responsibility, which is indicated by the designation added to their title (e. g., *procurator marmorum Numidicorum*). This led to a standardisation and targeted change in the different organizational structures in the quarries (fig. 1).[22] The office of procurator was predominantly held by imperial freedmen, more rarely by slaves. We know from some cases in other quarries that officials and intimates of the imperial family were drawn from the ranks of the military, although this has so far been proven only for Egypt.[23] In fact, the offices were clearly based on personal dependencies on the emperor, for example, in Simitthus, which can be seen from the fact that imperial freedmen held the office of *procurator marmorum*, and imperial slaves were part of the staff.[24] The procurators were certainly at the top of the hierarchy in the individual quarries, although in local interactions with some officials of cities or estates, the responsibilities cannot be clarified for all quarries, and competences and responsibilities certainly varied from quarry to quarry[25]. With the institution of the office of procurator in the quarrying industry, a separate organisational structure was created for the first time in the second century AD, independent of other administrations, for example, the provincial administration. The trigger for this process of specialisation may have been material needs and shortages due to the expansion of cities throughout the empire, especially at Rome in the late

but in Rome, and probably at ports and transhipment hubs. The emperor's influence on the local administration and processing of workpieces in the quarries was therefore small, and the emperor was merely one of many interested parties. On the late republican and early imperial history of quarry organisation, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*, 2010: 80–82; Hirt, "Centurions": 306–14; Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics."

22 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Pensabene, "Marmi pubblici."

23 See the appendix in Hirt, *Imperial Mines* for a nearly complete list of all *procuratores marmorum.*

24 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Hirt, "Centurions"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

25 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 202–60.

first and early second centuries AD.[26] The testimonies of these *procuratores* provide valuable insights into local administrative structures and hierarchies, enabling us to infer interactions between different actors, which will be the objects of the reflections in the following section, using the example of Simitthus.

2.2. Case Study: Imperial Administrative Structure in the Quarries of Simitthus/Chimtou

Both the urban development and the quarries have been studied by the German Archaeological Institute and the Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, since the 1960s.[27] Recent excavations and research have revealed some new evidence about the early inhabitants of Simitthus in the first millennium BC. The earliest traces of settlement found so far at the site date to the fifth century BC, although some archaeobotanical evidence has been carbon-dated to the eight century BC.[28] It is thought that marble quarrying started in a later, still pre-Roman settlement period from the late second century BC onward.[29] The first building entirely constructed of *marmor Numidicum* was a large Hellenistic monument on the top of Chimtou's 'temple hill', which was probably built by the Numidian king Micipsa.[30] Large funerary monuments document the increasing

26 Russell, *The Economics*: 232–38.

27 For an overview of the scholarship, see Philipp von Rummel, Stefan Ardeleanu, Dennis Mario Beck, Heike Möller and Moheddine Chaouali, "Simitthus/Chimtou, Tunesien. Die Arbeiten der Jahre 2016 bis 2018," *e-Forschungsberichte des DAI* 2019, no. 1 (2019): 197–205; see also Ardeleanu, *Numidia*; Beck, *Simitthus*.

28 For the topographic and chronological development of the city, see Friedrich Rakob, "Zur Siedlungstopographie von Chemtou/Simitthus," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 1–16; von Rummel et al., "Simitthus."

29 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico"; Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

30 Friedrich Rakob, "Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika," in *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*, ed. Christoph B. Rüger and Heinz Günther Horn (Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag; Habelt, 1979): 119–71; Friedrich Rakob, "Der Tempelberg und seine Heiligtümer," in *Simitthus II. Der Tempelberg und das Römische Lager*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994): 1–38; Josephine Crawley Quinn, "Monumental Power: Numidian Royal Architecture in Context," in *The Hellenistic*

wealth of the population by at least the end of the Iron Age and the beginning of the Hellenistic period. In 46 BC, after the defeat of Pompey and Juba I, Chimtou and its surrounding area probably became part of the Roman province of *Africa*. It acquired the status of a roman *colonia* under Augustus, named *Colonia Iulia Augusta Numidica Simitthensium*, in 27–25 BC.[31] Marble from Chimtou was in high demand as a luxury good in the Roman Empire from the first century BC onward[32], causing an increase in marble quarrying activities. While the running of the quarry was very probably in municipal hands before and also after the founding of the roman colony, from the Augustan period and into the reign of Trajan, there is occasional evidence of a few imperial slaves acting as *rationarii*[33], who were involved in marble quarrying and probably also trading in cooperation with local workshops within the framework of *locatio-conductio*-contracts – the standard form of Roman contracts in economic systems.[34]

West. Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean, ed. Josephine Crawley Quinn and Jonathan Prag (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 179–215.

31 Rakob, "Zur Siedlungstopographie":1; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 25–27.

32 For a complete list of the ancient literary sources, see Rolf-Michael Schneider, *Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigem Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst von Augustus bis Trajan* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft Worms, 1986): 142–60; Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Lazzarini, "Mediterranean"; Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics"; Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

33 The *rationarii* are controversial in their interpretation. They bore responsibility for quarried material, since they are named exclusively in the inscriptions on quarried marble. Possibly they are individual and independent entrepreneurs who have an area of responsibility in their own or rented unit of account (ratio)/ account-holders. Probably the accounting in a ratio is connected with a contractually fixed quarrying quantity, which would give rise to the logic of counting the workpieces and found comparisons in other economic systems based on contracts. On the *rationarii*, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 305 and 312; Russell, *The Economics*: 46.

34 Within the *locatio conductio*-contracts, a distinction is made between *locatio conductio operis* and *locatio conductio rei* on the basis of the old laws that have been handed down. This means that the quarry administration as *conductor* could lease the rights to the quarry to private entrepreneurs as *coloni*, under the terms of a *locatio conductio rei* contract, for a general fee or a share of the production. The *locatio conductio operis* contracts, on the other hand, give the quarry administration the possibility to hire contractors to carry out a certain type of work, e.g., quarrying a certain amount of marble blocks, pillars or generally working in a quarry area. In research, it is generally assumed that these contracts were concluded with terms of five years, although this was probably also more flexibly manageable. On the *locatio-conductio*-system, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 117–19; Sophie Schmall, "Patrimonium und Fiscus. Studien zur kaiser-

However, in addition to the imperial *rationarii*, private entrepreneurs and municipal magistrates were also involved in the quarrying and trading of marble, resulting in its wide distribution during the early imperial period.[35] In parallel with the intensification of quarrying and trading activities, the city of Simitthus expanded and gained political importance on a regional level and prospered during the height of the Roman imperial period, especially under the reign of the Antonine and Severan emperors, as did most other towns in North Africa. The city's prosperity is so far evidenced by several monumental entertainment buildings, such as a theatre, an amphitheatre, several baths, and huge administrative and political buildings around the forum, as well as many temples in the urban area and a major cult centre on the so-called 'temple mount' in the second to fourth centuries AD.[36]

However, with the creation and establishment of the office of the *procuratores marmorum Numidicorum* during the reign of Hadrian, the previously regularly mentioned *rationarii* disappeared completely from the inscriptions in Simitthus. The leasing and operating systems must have changed along with the whole procurement structure. This is reflected in the facts that from 137 AD onwards, the emperor is mentioned as the owner of the quarried material on almost all workpieces, and that his *procurator marmorum* was responsible for the contracts and overseeing the quality of materials, as the formula *sub cura* in the inscriptions very probably indicates.[37] Moreover, the marble procurators were on site, as is evidenced by several dedications in sanctuaries, repairs and donations of buildings, and sometimes also funerary monuments for citizens.[38] The archaeological and epigraphical evidence in Simit-

lichen Domänen- und Finanzverwaltung von Augustus bis Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr." (PhD-diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2011): 161–65; Russell, *The Economics*: 45; Hirt, "Centurions": 300, with examples. For the evidence from the quarries, see Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico": 158–59; Beck, *Simitthus*.

35 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Lazzarini, "Mediterranean"; Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico"; Lazzarini, "The Distribution"; Beck, "Use, Aesthetics and Semantics"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

36 Rakob, "Zur Siedlungstopographie"; Rakob, "Tempelberg"; von Rummel et al., *Simitthus*.

37 For summaries on this issue, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 421–24; Hirt, "Centurions": 305; Beck, *Simitthus*.

38 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 117–19 and 421–24.

thus from the Roman imperial period therefore offers the opportunity to investigate the interactions and the underlying dependency structures both within the organizational system and in their connection to the imperial family. Moreover, it is possible to examine the personal dependencies of imperial slaves and freedmen as well as of private individuals and other office holders in the quarry administration, too. To approach this systematically, chapter 3 will present a scenario using the chaîne opératoire method, applied to the production of a column during the high imperial period.

3. Chaîne Opératoire: The Logic of Procedure

In essence, the method of the chaîne opératoire makes it possible to illuminate the production chain of an object in temporal and spatial reflection and with a detailed focus on the actors involved. The method has been widely used in archaeological research, and various new approaches have been added in recent years, adapting and developing the original concept of André Leroi-Gourhan.[39] In the present paper, the method provides the observational framework and thus pursues a new aspect that has so far never been explored for the issues of ancient quarries and their operation.[40]

The initial question concerns the different actors in the quarry at Simitthus, their legal statuses and personal dependencies, especially those on the emperor, but also on each other. I will briefly list the actors concerned below (see 3.1 and fig. 1). There is a broad consensus among scholars that a *procurator marmorum* was responsible for a single quarry

[39] For the chaîne opératoire, see André Leroi-Gourhan, *Le Geste et la Parole. I, Technique et langage* (Paris: Albin Michel edition, 1964); Schlanger, "Suivre les gestes": 127–47; Fairlie and Barham, "From Chaîne Opératoire": 643–64; Russell, "Roman Stone."; Pfaffenberger, "Mining communities, chaînes opératoires and sociotechnical systems": 291–300 for mines.

[40] Apart from Ben Russell, who recently mentioned a similar idea; see Russell, "Roman Stone."

or a region with several quarries.[41] He would have stood at the head of the quarry's administration. In the roman senatorial provinces, this office most likely evolved from that of the regional procurator, who was in charge of all imperial property in a given region, including its resources (imperial domains).[42] At Simitthus as well as in some other quarries, it is likely that this office was predominantly, if not exclusively, filled by imperial freedmen who were replaced in a regular cycle of not more than three years.[43] The emperor therefore acted as owner of the quarries and could appoint direct administrators, with a local representative for the resources, especially if they were located in senatorial provinces like Africa Proconsularis or Asia (figs. 1 and 4).[44] These *procuratores marmorum* therefore headed the respective workshops and work units, by virtue of their imperial prestige and the authority conferred on them by both their office and the relation to the emperor (fig. 4). The sources do not allow us to infer who worked in the quarry workshops, but we can assume that slaves, freedmen and *coloni*, i.e., partially free citizens, worked side by side, or were at least connected on a contractual level (fig. 1).[45] Moreover, we can identify less than a handful imperial slaves in the inscriptions who probably worked on the procurator's staff.[46] They would have been placed in the hierarchy at a level below the procurators, but in an area that is difficult to classify in relation to the respective work units due to their responsibilities and skills (fig. 4). These actors also had a personal relationship with and

41 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 107–49, with details; Russell, *The Economics*: 43–45; Beck, *Simitthus*.

42 See Hirt, "Chresimus"; Schmall, *Patrimonium*: 472, on the development and status of procuratorial offices.

43 Cf. Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Beck, *Simitthus*.

44 For several comparisons, see Schmall, *Patrimonium*; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*.

45 See Russell, *The Economics*: 344–51, on this subject and with an example of the production of sarcophagi. Further examples are mentioned in Miriam. J. Groen-Vallinga and Laurens E. Tacoma, "Contextualising Condemnation to Hard Labour in the Roman Empire," in *Global Convict Labor*, ed. Christian G. de Vito and Alex Lichtenstein, Studies in Global Social History 19 (Leiden: Brill 2015): 49–78.

46 For an overview, see Theodor Kraus, "Steinbruch- und Blockinschriften," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 55–64; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 155–67, on the "subaltern staff"; Ardeleanu, "Giallo Antico"; Beck, *Simitthus*.

dependence on the emperor, but the authority to issue instructions was the responsibility of the procurators. There is controversy among scholars as to whether military units and prisoners, the so-called *damnati ad metalla*, were present in the quarries both in general and in Simitthus and involved directly in the quarrying work.[47] The findings of archaeological investigations in a large building complex north of the quarries and the town tell us that slaves and prisoners may have been housed in a building briefly used as an *ergastulum* (dormitory for slaves and small workshops) and guarded by military units.[48] As Alfred M. Hirt pointed out, the *damnati ad metalla* had even fewer rights than other slaves, so that they were probably assigned the heaviest and most dangerous work in the quarries.[49] However, the number of prisoners and working slaves housed in the *ergastulum* remains indeterminable[50].

The method of the chaîne opératoire is particularly revealing in showing the individual connections between these actors, as I will show in the following section.

47 Khanoussi, "Les officiales"; Michael Mackensen, *Simitthus III. Militärlager oder Marmorwerkstätten. Neue Untersuchungen im Ostbereich des Arbeits- und Steinbruchlagers von Simitthus-Chemtou*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005); Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Beck, *Simitthus*. Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 49–53, summarize on the basis of Roman law for forced labour. Moreover, for the evidence in ancient sources see D. Lassandro, "I 'damnati in metalla' in alcune testimonianze antiche," in *Coercizione e mobiltà umana nel mondo antico*, ed. Marta Sordi (Milan: Vita e pensiero, 1995): 271–77. See also the discussion regarding controversial evidence for the presence of a small military detachment at Mons Claudianus to supersivse convicted criminal labourers: Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, ed., *Mons Claudianus, ostraca Graeca et Latina. IV: The quarry-texts: O. Claud. 632–896* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2009): 2; Groen-Vallinga andTacoma, "Hard Labour": 75–76*;* summarized by Hirt*, Imperial Mines*: 93–98.

48 See below, chapter 3.3; Khanoussi, "Les officiales"; Mackensen, *Simitthus III*: 100; Beck, *Simitthus*.

49 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 97 and 223. This fact was also addressed by Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 53. 60–63. with some examples from Egyptian quarries in the imperial period.

50 Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 53 argue that the number of working slaves and prisoners was probably always larger than is generally assumed; so also Manuel Fernández-Götz, Dominik Maschek and Nico Roymans, "The Dark Side of the Empire. Roman Expansionism Between Object Agency and Predatory Regime," *Antiquity* 94 (2020): 1635–38.

3.1. Case Study of the Production of a Marble Column in the Quarries

Actors: The abbreviations listed in the legend indicate the social and legal status of the actors where this information can be gleaned from the sources or plausibly inferred through comparisons to other economic sectors:

(S) = slave(s)
(IS) = imperial slave(s)
(F) = free citizen(s)
(FM) = freedman/men
(IFM) = imperial freedman/men
(IPM) = imperial *procurator marmorum*
Other abbreviations:
ind. = indeterminable
< 8h = this information refers to less than one working day
> 8h = this information refers to more than one working day

No	work step	space	duration	actor(s)	source(s)
1	Ordering/ acceptance by imperial *procurator marmorum* (IPM), *locatio-conductio-operis*-contract	Simitthus	ind.	Several options; emperors to traders (F; FM)	Epigraphic sources: cf. Hirt, *Imperial Mines*
Quarrying					
2	Sighting + selection of quarry area	quarry	ind.	Experts (FM, S), possibly *procurator marmorum* (IPM)	Test drillings in several quarries in the Mediterranean
3	Preparation of quarrying	quarry	ind.	S, ind.	Röder, “Die Steinbrüche”: 36 f. fig. 19, 3, Tav 53 b, c

No	work step	space	duration	actor(s)	source(s)
4	Scraping of the column blank	quarry	20h per worker and sqm, cf. Röder	Experts (F, S, FM), unskilled workers (F, S)	Archaeological evidence; traces of wedge-shaped grist Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 32 fig. 18. 47 f.
5	Wedging and scraping the column	quarry	several days	Experts (F, S, FM), unskilled workers (F, S)	Archaeological evidence; traces of wedge-shaped grist; Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 47
Processing and finishing of the prefabricated column (workpiece)					
6	Rough finishing	quarry workstation	several days	Experts (F, S, FM)	Archaeological evidence for workplaces, cf. Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 42–4
7	Fine work	quarry workstation	several days	Experts (F, S, FM)	Archaeological evidence
8	Inscription	quarry workstation	ind. < 8h	Experts (F, S, FM)	Archaeological and epigraphic evidence
Röder calculated that the production of a semi-processed column of l: 8 m and diam: 1 m in Simitthus took approximately 864 man-hours or 108 days, assuming a working day of eight hours. It would have taken four skilled workers approx. 27 days.					
Quality inspection by the *Procurator marmorum* (IPM)					
Transports within the quarry					
9	Transport with logs and sledges	quarry workstation to loading bay	ind.	Experts (F, S, FM), unskilled (F, S, FM)	Archaeological evidence; cf. Korres, *Penteli*: 26-31; Rakob, "Zur Siedlungstopographie": 50; Russell, *The Economics*: 101
10	Loading onto a wagon	loading bay in quarry zone	ind. < 8h	Experts (F, S, FM)	Archaeological evidence; plausible assumption

No	work step	space	duration	actor(s)	source(s)
Transport from Simitthus to Carthage					
11	On transport wagons or sledges to the river	streets	ind. strongly depend-ing on quarry area	Experts (F, S, FM), unskilled (F, S, FM) IFM; IS military?	Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 49
12	Loading by crane	harbour, Simitthus	< 8h	Experts (F, S), unskilled (F, S); mili-tary?	Archaeological evidence
13	Transport by River Med-jerda	river	Wilson, "Rivers," 1–2 days	Freight for-warder/trader (F, FG, S), military?	Cic. Att. 1, 8, 2. 1, 9; Wilson, "Rivers": 111–14 and 118
14	Loading by crane and transport to Carthage	harbour, Carthage	usually < 8h	Experts (F, S, FM)	Plausible assumption

Detailed description and interpretation of the single steps

In the passages below, I will describe the individual steps for the production of an assumed column up to its delivery in Carthage on the basis of a chain of operations during the high imperial period. The diagram above can be referenced for the description below. (1) I have assumed that the production of a column of approximately 8 m in length was governed by a fixed-lease contract based on *locatio-conductio-operis*, which was concluded between the *procurator marmorum* by mandate of the emperor and a workshop owner after a request by a third party.[51] We do not know from the ancient sources whether a particular quarry area was selected in connection with a specific order. The fact that the marble variants of certain quarry areas were definitely preferred and appropriate for

[51] On the fragmentary nature of the evidence regarding the initial stages of such treaty negotiations, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 205; Russell, *The Economics*: 24 and 45–53.

certain objects makes this very likely, but the selection process cannot be deduced from the sources so far. In Simitthus, there are both deep fractures for column quarrying and near-surface quarrying (fig. 2).[52] The selection of the quarry areas was certainly done by specialists, as numerous test drillings in the quarries show. In Simitthus, it was possible to quarry marble in all areas due to the technical capabilities of the craftsmen using the wedge-slot technique in quarrying.[53] (2) After selecting the quarry area, the surface was cleared of vegetation and debris, mainly by unskilled workers, mostly slaves and probably convicts, too.

Quarrying[54]

Because of numerous traces of the extraction of columns using the wedge-shot technique in the quarries in Simitthus, which are still partly visible today, we are able to reconstruct the individual steps exactly and with important details of the process[55]. (3) After the surface had been prepared, the process of cutting free the whole length of the column body began, with a surplus for protection. Skilled and unskilled craftsmen cut deep furrows into the rock with pointed chisels and mallets to first isolate a rectangular block on all sides (fig. 3). (4) For orientation, the circle line served as the centre point on both sides of the column head. From here, the diameter of the column was calculated and worked out.[56] Individual shafts were driven deep into the rock, with depths of up to one metre being not uncommon in Simitthus for quarrying large columns.[57] Röder calculated that approximately 20 man-hours were needed

52 See Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": Suppl. 4.

53 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 37–41 on the wedge shot technique, "Keilschrottechnik." In this technique, iron and wooden wedges are inserted at regular intervals into previously knocked-out holes in the rock. Once the wedges are put into the rock, the wedges are rhythmically struck with hammers until the rock dislodges from the bedrock.

54 For illustrations of individual processes, see Pensabene and Bruno, "Aggiornamenti": 1–22; Manolis Korres, *Vom Penteli zum Parthenon: Werdegang eines Kapitells zwischen Steinbruch und Tempel* (München: Glyptothek, 1992); Röder, "Die Steinbrüche."

55 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 32, fig. 18; 47–48 has a detailed description.

56 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 45–47.

57 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 45.

for quarrying one square metre of marble.[58] This required experienced craftsmen who could monitor the breaking process and react in case of mistakes. (5) After the column had been broken free on both sides, the column was worked on at each end. This could be done either in a semi-circular form or in a full curve.[59] The next step was the shaping of the semi-circular column, which was done with pointed chisels, hammers and mallets. The surface of the column was worked on piece by piece between the rounded corners along the entire length of the column. For this, the deeply hewn shot from the first step was relevant, as the workers had to climb into the shot and sometimes work in uncomfortable positions. As soon as the rounding was created, the decisive event of detaching the workpiece was executed. We can deduce from the blanks lying in the quarry zones that it was during this part of the process that most errors happened. The semi-cleared column was wedged off the rock or partially cleared by deeper cuts.[60] These steps were carried out by several trained workers who kept the rock under tension or wedged it directly with wooden slats.

Preparing the column

After the column shape had been detached from the rock, it was moved from the quarry site to the work site with ropes, hoists and beams and then suspended so that it could be worked on all around. For the transport of a column of about 8 metres in length and a weight of about 20 tonnes, draught animals were probably necessary. (6) At the work site, any projecting material was removed with different tools, mostly with iron or wooden chisels. This was followed by a rough trimming, during which the broken material was checked. (7) At this point at the latest, the mason's marks would be put on one end of the workpiece, if this had not already been done beforehand when the compass point was applied. For the production of a semi-processed column of 8 metres in length

58 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 49.
59 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 47.
60 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 47 and tav. 47c. 57c with some examples.

and one metre in diameter in Simitthus, Röder calculated an average of 860 man-hours, which, if we assume an eight-hour working day, corresponds to approximately 108 days. If at least four workers were permanently assigned to the stonemasonry work, it would have taken them 27 days until a column with these dimensions was ready for transport.[61] Whether an inspection and examination of the column was carried out by the *procurator marmorum* or his staff cannot be proven, but it is plausible, since the responsibility for the workpiece included the delivery of defect-free material. An inscription or other markings may also have been added during this process (8).

Transport within the quarry

(9) We can assume that during transport, our column was securely fixed and that experts did the work. The preserved post holes in the quarries (fig. 2) make it likely that the column had been lowered onto a sledge or wooden rollers for transport.[62] Depending on the specific point of origin of the column, it may have been possible to roll it down the southern slope so that it would have reached the north-south road that ran there. The length of the road, its course and its proximity to the quarry areas cannot be determined in the north, but in the south, it probably led to a loading station on the Medjerda River. Our column would most likely have been transported to this station on wooden sledges with logs.[63] (10) Transport experts would have been responsible for this, as the column had to pass through the city and many draught animals were needed.[64]

61 Compare Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 47–49 to these calculations.

62 Korres, *Penteli*: 26–31; Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 1993, 50.

63 See Colin E. P. Adams, *Land Transport in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 67–68, with comparisons from Egypt; Hirt, "Chresimus"; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 332–342; Russell, *The Economics*: 98.

64 See Russell, *The Economics*: 99–100, with comments on the draught animals in such transports.

To what extent experienced military personnel were involved in these transport operations cannot be inferred for Simitthus.[65]

Transport to the export port in Carthage

(11-12) For lifting and loading of columns of this size, there must have been permanently installed cranes at a river site in Simitthus, most likely slewable cranes, which could have been used for these purposes.[66] For a column weighing 20 tonnes, it needed a balancing ballast as cargo on a small river ship.[67] For river transport across the Medjerda, vessels with a loading capacity of up to 100 tonnes were probably common.[68] In general, flat-bottomed boats (e.g., prahms) would have been used for river transport.[69] The transport was most likely organised by private skippers who acted in cooperation with the *procurator marmorum* or other middlemen and were financially remunerated for these activities.[70] Depending on the vessel's loading capacity and ballast, they could load additional goods and sell them along the route and at the destination.[71] To ensure a continuous supply, transport needed to be well-organised. This was possibly one of the reasons why a *procurator marmorum* was appointed in Simitthus in the second century AD. We can assume that the shipping network on the Medjerda was as stable as that on the Tiber in the imperial period.

---

65 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 179–85, doubts the involvement of soldiers in Simitthus in the transports as they were much more likely to guard the prisoners in the camp; contra Russell, *The Economics*: 41, 100–103.

66 Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*: 31.

67 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 51.

68 Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*: 29–30; on cargoes and river ships, see Ronald Bockius, "Antike Prahme. Monumentale Zeugnisse keltisch-römischer Binnenschifffahrt aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis ins 3. Jh. n. Chr.," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanishcen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 47, no. 2 (2000): 439–93.

69 Maischberger, *Marmor in Rom*: 29–30; for a detailed discussion of this issue and the relevant ancient sources, see Bockius, "Antike Prahme": 439–93.

70 Pascal Warnking, *Der römische Seehandel in seiner Blütezeit. Rahmenbedingungen, Seerouten, Wirtschaftlichkeit* (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2015).

71 See Warnking, *Der römische Seehandel*: 154, on the division of labour between *gubernatores* and *magistri naves* on the ships.

After several days, the skippers and forwarders would bring the column to the mouth of the Medjerda in Utica. (13) There, they would transfer their goods for Carthage either to some form of land transport or to another ship; or they would have continued to the port of Carthage by sailing along the coast. In the latter case, they would have had the advantage that after unloading their cargo, they could load new trade goods for interested parties and trading partners and return to the hinterland (14).[72] Whether marble products were temporarily stored in Carthage or not depended on the onward transport. In any case, cranes would again have been necessary to transfer our column to a larger ship due to its great weight. These operations were probably organised by several middlemen in the harbour.[73]

3.2. Relations and Dependencies among the Workers within each Worksite

The examination of this chaîne opératoire exemplifies what was probably the most common method of procuring workpieces from Simitthus in the mid and late second century AD. The majority of the quarried columns were the results of *locatio-conductio*-contracts with leases and subleases, which ensured both the continuous work of the quarries and the constant procurement of material, and so met the demand of both the emperor and the interested parties in the market. Guided by the supervision of the *procurator marmorum*, the workshops worked out the contracted quantities of blocks and columns according to the defined orders, and very probably for a quarry-to-stock system, so that this material was available for delivery to its destinations and the flexible use afterwards[74] (fig. 4).

---

72 See Simon Keay, "The Port System of Imperial Rome," in *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*, ed. Simon Keay, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 21 (London: The British School at Rome, 2012): 46, on similar procedures with the boatmen on the Tiber and the *naves caudicariae*.

73 For references, see Bockius, "Antike Prahme"; Warnking, *Der römische Seehandel*.

74 Russell, *The Economics*: 314–16 for make-to-stock in the imperial period.

There were several dependencies within this marble procurement system in the quarries, which I have divided into systemic-structural and personal dependencies. The operation of the quarries, or the areas of the quarry that were part of an imperial possession, depended heavily on this system (fig. 4). Without the *procurator marmorum* as the highest official of the administration on site – the local workshops which carried out the quarrying and processing, and the interested parties – the operation of the quarries would not have been possible and successful over this long period. The various dependencies are taken into account in the respective contracts, whereby profit margins are calculated, and these dependencies kept the system in continuous operation and in a certain balance. This means that not only was the *procurator marmorum* dependent on the emperor – as owner and at the same time as the highest awarding authority of the quarry concessions – but that the emperor was also dependent to a certain extent on the procurator and his staff, who were able to generate profits for him and profits for themselves, too. The emperor and the procurator, as well as the imperial slaves, were also tied together by their individual personal dependencies.[75] Here, almost every individual was dependent on the other in order for the whole chain to function. In fact, everyone was forced to work together in this system. An inscription from Simitthus, which commemorated a local resident woman, was commissioned by a man named Galata, who described himself as the emperor's *verna* (a house-born slave). This not only shows Galata's close personal connection to the emperor, but also demonstrates that a slave could erect and finance a large tomb for a deceased female citizen of the city.[76] His personal connection to the imperial house as well as his work within an imperial economic system therefore allowed

75 For examples, see Paul Richard Carey Weaver, *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), with some details on the *familia Caesaris*; Koenraad Verboven, *The Economy of Friends. Economic Aspects of Amicitia and Patronage in the Late Republic*, Collection Latomus 269 (Brussels: Latomus, 2002); Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Mouritsen, *The Freedman*.

76 Khanoussi, "Les Officiales"; AE 1991, 1681; Mustapha Khanoussi, "L'armée romaine et les carrières impériales de marbre numidique," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 65–68; AE 1994, 1883.

the slave to raise the funds and endow the building. Moreover, and similiarily, as a member of the *familia Caesaris* (and part of the imperial slaves and freedmen), the procurator worked for his patron, while imperial prestige could elevate him to a higher legal status level. His office made him a colleague to other procurators in the province, some of whom held the rank of knights and enabled him to do business with senators and knights to whom he was otherwise subordinate in his status as a freedman.[77] Buildings donated by the *procurator marmorum* at Simitthus carry dedications both to the emperor and to the governor of the province and they also show the close connection between the procurator and both the emperor and the governors as well as the participation in official representational activities of cities as benefactor[78].

Contracts created further dependencies, both structural and personal, between the workshops as well as the other contractual partners and the *procurator marmorum*. The workshops supplied the material according to the orders and contracts, and were highly dependent on orders and profit margins. High demand and many orders, above all, enabled increasing profits. This in turn allowed the workshop owners to increase their influence and in the long run also to rise socially, at least in their local surroundings.[79] The workshop owners acted as contractors (*conductores*); they got their concession from the emperor, or through his procurator, and with this, the right to quarry. The workshop owners also used their own capital and staff in this way, but the emperor, as owner of the quarries, was especially dependent on the workshops, which guaranteed the provision of the material to him and could negotiate conditions.[80] The extant archaeological and written evidence allows us to answer the question of individual relationships or dependencies between the workers in a given workshop only to a very limited extent, because almost nothing is known about the personal composition of the workshops in the quar-

77 For detailed examples, see Weaver, *Familia Caesaris*; Schmall, *Patrimonium*.
78 On the *procuratores marmorum Numidicorum* as benefactors see Beck, *procuratores*.
79 For some examples, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: chapter 7; Mouritsen, *The Freedman*.
80 Russell, The *Economics*: 54.

ries[81]. It is also unclear whether the workshops employed convicts, who were certainly considered cheaper labour. Although the labour force in the quarries is well documented overall, virtually no self-testimonies of convicts and slaves have been preserved. We can only deduce some individual tales from inscriptions in the quarries at Simitthus. One of the rare examples is a dedicatory inscription by the slave Dorus. He worked in the workshop named Junonis and donated a votive to the god Saturn to fulfil a vow he had made.[82] In the inscription, Dorus reports that he is being sexually abused (*pedicatur*, sodomised), although he does not say by whom. This shows his lack of freedom and his inability to decide about his own body. This testimony may not represent a general picture of the people in the workshops, but it provides concrete insights into everyday life. The majority of the workers will have been men, although this cannot be proven from the sources; it is, however, generally assumed and widely accepted, as well as very plausible, due to the physically demanding nature of the work.[83]

The personal relationship between imperial slaves and slaves of private entrepreneurs is an interesting factor, but this information cannot be obtained from the sources in the quarries. Very likely, the slaves of interested parties would have carried out the ordering and procurement of marble for their masters, so that there must have been interactions, although these probably did not take place with fellow slaves, but rather with imperial administrative personnell, due to the authority of their patron.[84] Sometimes the slaves of city dignitaries interacted with imperial slaves, but this can only be assumed because of logical processes,

---

81 For Simitthus, the only names known are those of the workshops listed by Hirt. We do now know enough to be able to say how the workshops were staffed, Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 420–28. In general, see Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 67.

82 AE 1994, 1876; Theodor Kraus, "Steinbruch- und Blockinschriften," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 59 Neu 29, Tav. 61 b.

83 Some women are testified as workshop owners (*officinatrices*), and they were probably active in several sectors of the economy; see Päivi Setälä, "Women and Brick Production – Some New Aspects," in *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Päivi Setälä et al. (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2002): 181–201.

84 On this subject and the agency of slaves see Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 63.

and is not mentioned in the sources explicitly. Alfred M. Hirt has comprehensively discussed these questions of interagencies on the basis of the available sources in his volume about imperial mines and quarries.[85]

Inside the workshops, there were probably hierarchically structured work units at least due to the division of labour in several steps of production (see 3.1; fig. 1). With regard to the workshops, however, it is important to consider the individual legal statuses of the workers and the significance of these statuses within the system in a differentiated way. It was quite possible for slaves to be specialists in the manual processing of workpieces and to take on important tasks within the process chains. The specialization and division of work within a quarry crew is likely to have led to the temporary disappearance of status significance. Slaves as specialized craftsmen may also have organized the work of free citizens and freedmen who worked in the quarries as day labourers, and may have been mostly unskilled workers. Therefore, it must have been possible, at least for the slaves of workshop owners, to earn money through certain tasks, and even to buy their freedom. These observations have already been made in several fields of work. This permeability in status and rights is particularly important within the entire Roman economy. In some institutionally supported sectors of the economy, an individual's legal status could be less important than their expertise and specialization.[86] This issue has been defined by Arjun Appadurai with the concept of the 'social landscape'.[87]

The permeability and different statuses definitely did not include the convicts and *damnati ad metalla*, who usually worked in the quarries until they died. Without doubt, they formed the lowest group within the

85 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: chapter 7, "Private Partner to Imperial Operations: *Occupatores/Coloni* and *Conductores*," on the subject of private slaves and entrepreneurs; see also Russell, *The Economics*: 54–56.

86 See Mouritsen, *The Freedman*; Broekaert, "Freedmen": 222–53.

87 The term and concept of the "social landscape" have been defined in Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 295–310, and Martin Albrow, *The Global Age – State and Society beyond Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996). According to this concept, the social landscape is composed of social networks of individuals who form collective identities and interactions with each other based on their life circumstances or common undertakings and occupations.

hierarchy of the quarry. It is commonly held in scholarship on the imperial quarries that criminals and convicts were sent to the quarries for punitive labour in the Roman imperial period. However, these so-called *damnati ad metalla* are far from being well-studied.[88] During the peak period of quarrying in the second century AD, this group would have made up only a small percentage of the enormous amounts of labour required.[89] The bulk of the work must have been carried out by slaves who were either hired out or bought by private individuals or interest groups, especially since labour had to be constantly available.[90] The convicts were dependent to the highest degree on the *procurator marmorum* and workshop owners, as their lives lay in the hands of the local administration and workers: the *damnati* had already been sentenced to death, as it is evidenced for instance by a rescript under Hadrian[91]. They were subject to the harshest punishments if they did not do the work, so that they not only worked under coercion, but were also forced to work without respite.

3.3. Interagency and Spatial Relations as Indicators for Dependencies

In the study of personal dependencies, a particular focus lies on the sites of interaction. This was where the different status groups came together and acted in terms of their (institutional or personal) tasks. The guiding concept of interagency can therefore be combined with the method of

88 Gaius, Dig. 28.1.8.4; see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 97, on the issue of the *damnati ad metalla*; while Russell, *The Economics*: 41, disputes the archaeological and epigraphical evidence on the *damnati ad metalla* in the quarries.

89 See Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 53; 60 on the problem of quantifying the number of *damnati.* See Beck, *Simitthus*, for references and a discussion of a possible parallel structure by exclusively imperial quarry teams in the quarries that were run by military officials and where convicts very probably worked.

90 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: chapter 7; Russell, *The Economics*: 41.

91 Gaius, Dig. 28.13–14: *qui in tempus damnati erant, in perpetuum damnarentur, qui in perpetuum damnati erant, in metallum damnarentur, qui in metallum damnati id admiserint, summo supplicio adficerentur*; Gaius Dig. 48.19.8,7 for a similar descripton of penalties; see also Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 53.; 63–65 on the Roman penal system.

the chaîne opératoire, thus allowing for renewed individual observations at places.[92] All actors are reflected in their interactions with other actors, and therefore their activities are linked to spaces and times as methodological frames. This results in a detailed view of the actors themselves, distinct from or in combination with the others, including their fields of action.[93] One characteristic is the study of individuals who interact according to their professional tasks and are only visible in the sources in those specific terms. The name of a workshop, of a contractor or even the responsibility for a quarry area belonging to the emperor become visible within the interlinked actions.

Let us take as an example the *procurator marmorum* and his dependence on several people and groups (fig. 4). To separate the local from the distant and superordinate, the interdependencies according to networks can be divided into global and local.[94] Starting with a global perspective, the procurator and the emperor were personally and structurally interdependent within the marble business. In addition, there were certainly several other imperial freedmen, slaves and contractors who were dependent on the procurator in a global perspective, in particular in the marble business. In local terms, the procurator was in interaction with nearly all possible status groups by the authority of the emperor: senators and members of the provincial and city elites could have dealt with him and signed contracts. Interaction with the local administration of the city of Simitthus and the surrounding area as well as neighbouring cities must have been very important for representa-

92 On the term "interagency," see Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 10–11, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-concept-papers [accessed 13.04.2023]; see further Christoph Antweiler, "On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn," *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022) for additional definitons of the terms dependence and dependency.

93 On this, see Winnebeck et al., "On Asymmetrical Dependency": 6; for the concept of interagency, see Juliane Schiel, Isabelle Schürch and Aline Steinbrecher, "Von Sklaven, Pferden und Hunden. Trialog über den Nutzen aktueller Agency-Debatten für die Sozialgeschichte," *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 32 (2017): 17–48.

94 Müller, "Netzwerkanalysen": 736 fig. 1.

tion and participation in social life. The procurator's staff might include other freedmen and slaves, so that here, too, similar and lower status groups worked together.[95] On basis of the inscriptions found at Simitthus, the staff consisted at least of a *dispensator*[96] and a *vicarius*.[97] Both inscriptions can be dated to the second century, and both officials were slaves. However, this does not prove that these offices were permanently part of the procurator's staff.[98] In fulfilling their tasks, the procurators were heavily dependent on their subaltern staff, for which they needed experts and specialized, skilled people[99]. In addition, procurators interacted with free citizens, with Roman or other citizenships, who worked in the workshops and who, strictly speaking, were part of the contracts concluded (fig. 4). However, these organizational structures were far from being solid. Although the hierarchies were certainly clarified in the quarry administration, the procurator acted as local representative of the emperor in dependence on the latter. Urban elites up to senators and representatives of the provincial administration were therefore in contact with both the emperor and the procurator for possible business. Here, the differences in status of the actors existed in principle, but the high position of the emperor probably enabled the procurator to negotiate contracts on equal terms. Furthermore, the procurator very probably had direct contacts to members of the military of different ranks, although no authority to issue directives can have existed due to the competence and status differences. At Simitthus there are no sources for the interaction of the military and the marble procurator, although there

95 Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 165; Russell, *The Economics*.

96 AE 1991, 1681; AE 1994, 1883; see Mustapha Khanoussi, "Les officiales marmorum Numidicorum," in *L'Africa Romana. Atti del XII convegno di studio. Olbia, 12–15 dicembre 1996*, vol. 2, ed. Mustapha Khanoussi, Paolo Ruggeri and Cinzia Vismara (Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda, 1998): 997–1016; further Beck, *procuratores*; Beck, *Simitthus*.

97 AE 1994, 1884; Mustapha Khanoussi, "*Les oficiales*": 1009 nos. 25. 26.

98 The epigraphic evidence is not suitable for determining the responsibilities and precise functions of these officials within the organisation of the quarries. Only in the case of Mons Claudianus does the internal correspondence between the imperial officials provide enough information to assess their role in the administration of the quarries, see on Mons Claudianus and some other evidence Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 251–60.

99 On the functions of the imperial procurators and the imperial staff see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 258–60.

clearly must have been cooperation on the ground due to the division of tasks. Insofar as the commander of the military unit was responsible for the supervision and punishment of prisoners and slaves, there was interaction between procurator and commander.[100]

In addition to the theoretical reflections on interdependence, it is above all spatial relations and temporal contexts that provide a more precise picture of individuals and groups in interaction. In the quarries, the workplaces are specific spaces that must be studied in detail to identify actions and actors, as well as dependencies between actors and between actors and the place and their tasks. The quarries must therefore be examined for usable traces and remains in terms of archaeological and epigraphic sources. Unfortunately, actual workplaces or workshops are extant in only very few places.[101] Problems in identifying such workplaces include the fact that buildings have been destroyed, there were later alterations or remodelling, as well as backfilling or even the absence of permanent workspaces. However, in very few cases, for example, at Simitthus and in some Egyptian quarries, there were specialized workshops and shelters in the Roman imperial period which can still be investigated in terms of their actors and their social status. Inscriptions found in the quarries make it possible to locate individual workshops within the quarry areas, and also to date their working period (fig. 2). Some processing remains, and saw marks also show the technical aspects of quarrying and allow these to be hypothetically linked to certain work processes and workshops.[102] However, the mapping of the workshops only shows the distribution and concentration of the work areas. There are areas close to the city as well as more distant areas, although the remains do not reveal any details about ownership. In the quarries, the material was not only quarried but also largely processed

[100] In this case, too, the Egyptian quarries provide evidence of interaction between the military and procurators, but some tasks in the quarries of Egypt could only be managed and supervised by soldiers, see Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 94–98; Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 62.

[101] Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Beck, *Simitthus*.

[102] See Röder, "Die Steinbrüche," with some descriptions and observations in combination with fig. 2.

and manufactured for transport. Specialized craftsmen worked side by side with unspecialized workers (see 3.1).

Moreover, at Simitthus, a partially excavated large building complex – the so-called labour camp or, in German, 'Arbeits- und Steinbruchlager' – makes it possible to study actors and (inter)actions at work in space.[103] The architectural context can be complemented by archaeological and epigraphical finds to form an overall picture. The archaeological findings as well as inscriptions testify to its use as a so-called *ergastulum* (a prison-like building) where slaves were housed and very probably kept under surveillance by the Roman military during the first phase of the building.[104] Individual remains of discarded workpieces as well as substances like sawdust are archaeological legacies of the activi-

[103] For the investigations at the camp in Simitthus, see Khanoussi, "L'armée romaine": 65–68; Friedrich Rakob, "Das römische Steinbruchlager (praesidium)," in *Simitthus II. Der Tempelberg und das Römische Lager*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994): 51–139; and Mackensen, *Simitthus III*.

[104] The area was discovered during aerial surveys by the Service Topographique Tunis in 1962. In a joint project of the Institut National du Patrimoine, Tunis, and the German Archaeological Institute, the first excavations took place between 1968–1974 and 1978–1979. They focused on the central building with its six naves. Excavations in the eastern sector were carried out under the direction of Mustapha Khanoussi. The most recent excavations were carried out by Michael Mackensen in 1998; see Mackensen, *Simitthus III*. Geophysical investigations in 2010–2013 brought further information on the internal organization and extent of the complex; see von Rummel et al., "Geophysikalische Prospektionen in Simitthus (Chimtou, Tunesien). Vorbericht zu den Kampagnen 2010–2013," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica (KuBA)* 3 (2013): 203–16. The construction process of the central building has been dated to the 170s AD by means of an inscribed block from the year 154 AD with a terminus post quem (earliest possible date for the building process), ceramics, coins and construction techniques. In the first phase, the building complex was 95 m wide, 105 m long and covered an area of 0.96 ha. All buildings were oriented north to south. There were no excavations in the western district, but in light of the same *opus africanum* construction technique and wall thickness there, it may belong to the same phase. The building with six naves was 37 m wide and 80 m long. The foundations of the nave walls were two metres deep; the perimeter wall, 4.5 m high. In the second phase, starting in the 3rd century AD, the central building was converted into a *fabrica* (factory) with a new internal organisation and the construction of grinding machines, small workplaces and sawing devices. Huge layers of rubble were found inside the building during the excavations. It can only have been used as a *fabrica* from about the 230s until 253 because large parts were destroyed when the ceiling collapsed. At that time, the entire complex covered an area of 1.8 ha; buildings were added to it along the sides. After several modifications, marble was processed in the central building until the 280s, when a collapse brought production to a halt. For the chronology, see Mackensen, *Simitthus III*: 100.

ties in the respective workshop areas. These show a general separation. Larger workpieces were always processed in the quarries at workplaces or stations, while only smaller workpieces were processed in the workshops. In the so-called labour camp, the central building has six naves with narrow entrances and workplaces between the sleeping quarters.[105] Since the sleeping quarters are located between the workplaces and are generally cramped, scholars assume that a large number of slaves and convicts were housed here. The gates of the massive building could only be locked from the inside, which is why surveillance by military units is always assumed in research[106]. Due to the accommodation of slaves and prisoners as well as soldiers and possibly the imperial quarry administration in various buildings within the large complex, security measures were immense. The separation of the different groups was possible inside the buildings, but in the quarry area slaves and prisoners worked side by side with free citizens and workshop personnel, so that supervision by the military was necessary. The heavy work in particular required a large number of workers, who together might start a mutiny.[107] In addition, the inhabitants of the nearby civilian town of Simitthus also had to be protected from attacks or escaping prisoners. The presence of military units is a strong indicator of interdependence of provincial administration and imperial quarries, because the soldiers must have worked for the provincial governor and belonged to the legion stationed in the province.[108]

---

105 Röder, "Die Steinbrüche"; Rakob, "Das römische"; Mackensen, *Simitthus III*; Beck, *Simitthus*.

106 Khanoussi, "Les Officiales"; Mustapha Khanoussi, "L'armée romaine et les carrières impériales de marbre numidique," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 65–68; Hirt, *Imperial Mines*; Beck, *Simitthus*.

107 See Groen-Vallinga and Tacoma, "Hard Labour": 53; Fernández-Götz et al., "Dark Side": 1635–38.

108 See Hirt, *Imperial Mines*: 210, on this issue. "Army detachments deployed on guard duty, and possibly for the technical support of imperial quarrying establishments, usually came from the same provinces where the quarries were located, with the exception of the administrative or technical specialists brought in for specific tasks. *Procuratores metallorum* (and *marmorum*) could very probably rely on military commanders and officials to assume additional administrative functions if required to do so. As the legions and/or auxiliary units stood under the command of the provincial governor, he probably ordered their deployment to the imperial quarries or mines. Moreover, the

It was therefore probably mainly slaves and prisoners who carried out the grinding work on the marble objects inside the building. At this location, parallel to the workshops in the quarry, there was thus another space for interaction between actors of different statuses, especially since the administration of the quarries – the procurator and his staff – was housed in an adjacent building. In these workshop units, there were specialized workers who carried out the fine work, while others only carried out rough work and rubble clearance. The most dangerous work took place in the quarries themselves, namely the quarrying of blocks and columns as well as their removal and transport. These most dangerous tasks were probably carried out by the unskilled workers and convicts, especially those that involved mortal dangers, to which slaves from private workshops or imperial slaves would not have been readily exposed. By contrast, despite their confinement, the workers in the labour camp were likely to have been skilled craftsmen assisted by less skilled people. Different officials of the administration, possibly the procurator himself, were probably also present in the workshops during inspections of the material. Both areas, the quarries and the workshops, were dependent on the constant supply of workers, labour and also on the constant training of specialists. Although the imperial administration was in charge under the direction of an imperial freedman as *procurator marmorum*, the chaîne opératoire analysed above and the further considerations of place-space analyses and interdependencies show that probably the provincial administration, citizens of the city of Simitthus and various private entrepreneurs were also always involved in the operation of the quarries. Marble procurement was therefore strongly dependent on the different actors and status groups, while these were to some degree dependent on the system in order to rise socially, to extract resources or to earn money.

provincial governors also remained responsible for the pay and supply of the troops with basic provisions."

4. Summary and Further Questions

To sum up, the rich evidence at Simitthus allows for the reconstruction of process chains in the quarrying of marbles as well as the administrational networks, which were mostly based on individual and economical dependencies between the emperor, imperial freedmen, contractors, slaves, and convicts. I have thus been able to show different degrees of both asymmetrical and strong asymmetrical dependencies at the quarries. Both personal and structural dependencies were driving forces in the processing of marbles in several quarries in the Roman Empire, Simitthus included. For this system to work, the emperor relied on a whole network of people and institutions who were mainly, albeit in varying degrees, dependent on him. In fact, the interconnection of individual, personal and economical dependencies, some of them strong, guaranteed both continuous quarrying and the constant supply of some highly valuable marbles during the high empire in general. However, these individual and economic dependencies were in some perspectives necessarily reciprocal. Freedmen, slaves and entrepreneurs in the business could benefit from them, as could the emperor, too. These administrative networks in quarrying and marble trading have comparable equivalents in other economic sectors. Similar contract models are known from the operation of imperial *latifundia* in Roman North Africa, for which we have information from the *lex Hadriana de agris rudibus* and *lex Manciana*. In addition, the procurement of material by freedmen and slaves was a common practice in the economy in the Roman world, usually based on the system of support, patronage and obligations. The *procuratores marmorum* were economically heavily dependent on the emperor because of their personal connection to the emperor as their patron. The more skilfully they operated, the higher were the profits they made from producing and marketing surpluses.

These results and hypothesis show a need for further research, especially in the interlocking of networks and groups in economic sectors. It should be emphasized that an individual's legal status could be less important than their expertise and specialization, and that the various dependency systems, such as the patron-client system or the Roman con-

cept of *amicitia*, also played a major role in the economic development of the quarries. On the one hand, the knowledge and specialisation of the individual slaves and freedmen were used specifically in the individual economic sectors. On the other hand, slaves were also used en masse, just like prisoners, to perform heavy and dangerous works. Slaves and convicts usually worked under the supervision of experienced persons from workshops and often supervised by guards and soldiers. In these cases, it can be assumed that they were considered as a mere mass of people necessary to carry out menial tasks. If there were experienced workers among these slaves, they were probably specifically employed for certain activities and thus bore greater responsibility than others in their status group. It is essential to realize that in almost all the central steps of marble extraction and processing, slaves and sometimes convicts were involved. Without their work, extensive production could not have taken place in antiquity. However, these are often not accessible through self-testimonies, which is why specific models have to be developed to ensure a comparable investigation.

Appendix

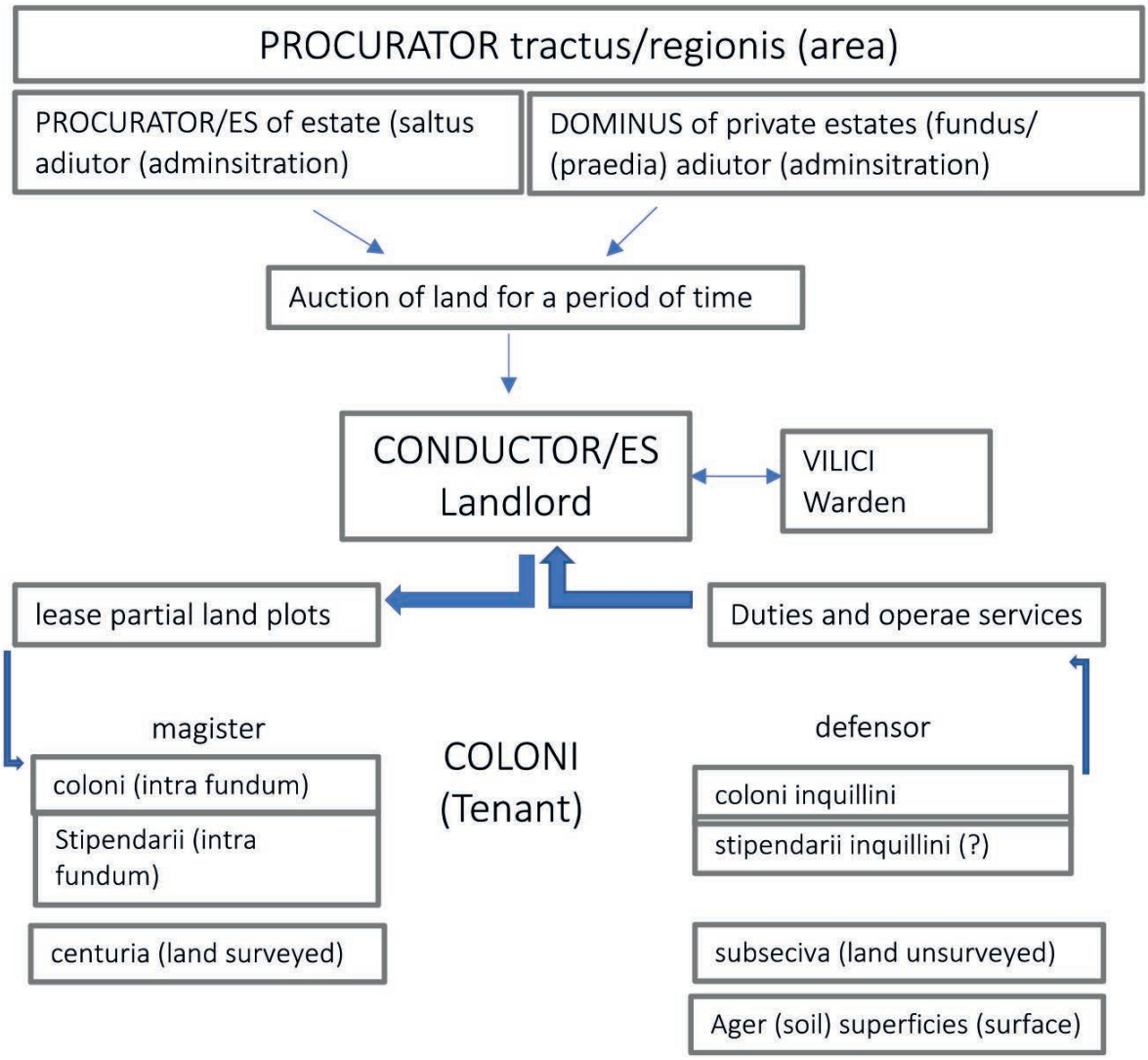


Fig. 1: Schematic of the administrative and organizational structure of imperial possessions based on the *lex Manciana.* Translated and modified according to the original by P. Scheding.

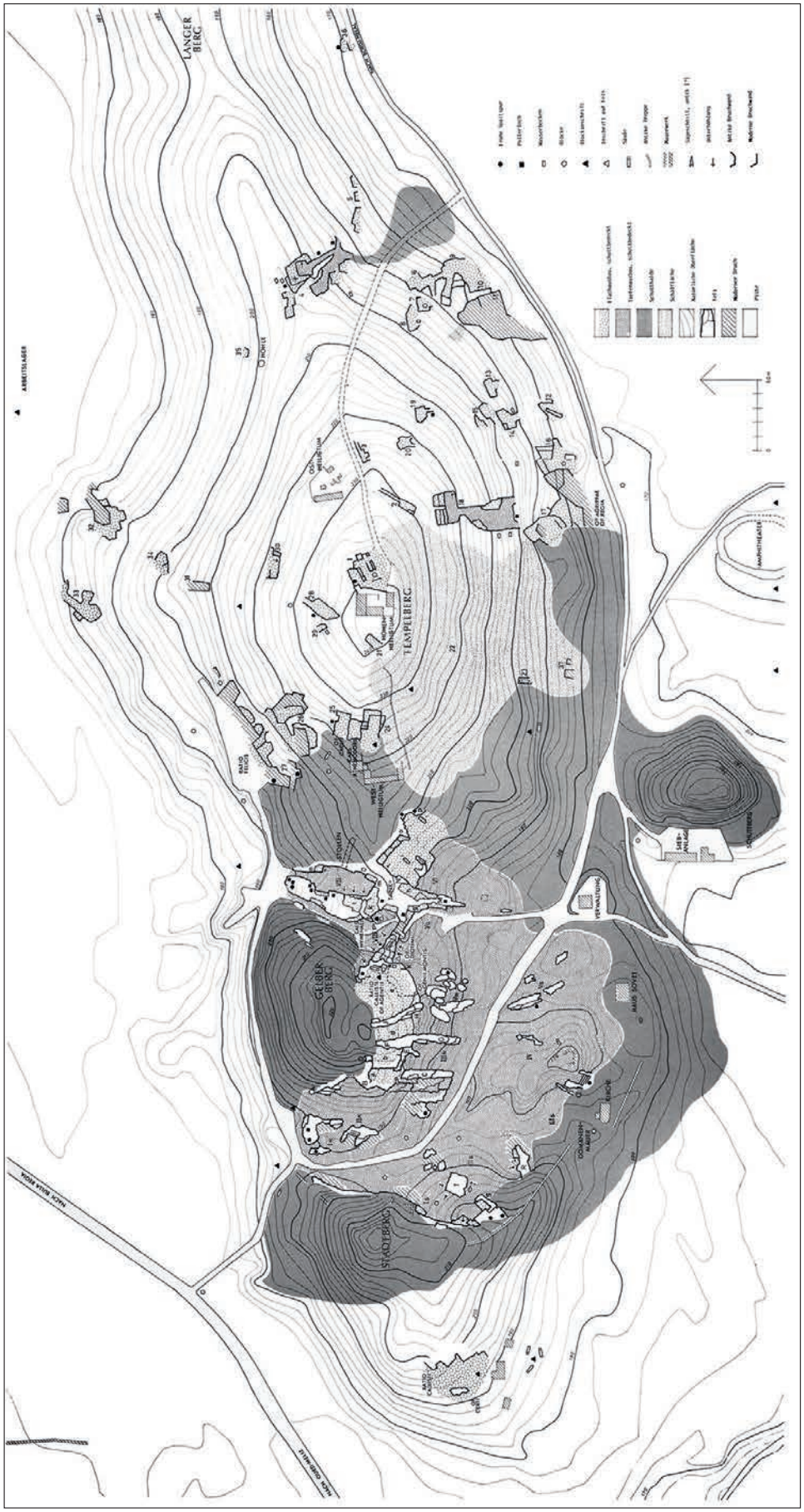


Fig. 2: Mapping of the quarrying traces by J. Röder in Simithus; Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": Suppl. 4. Remains of quarrying operations were found in the dotted areas.

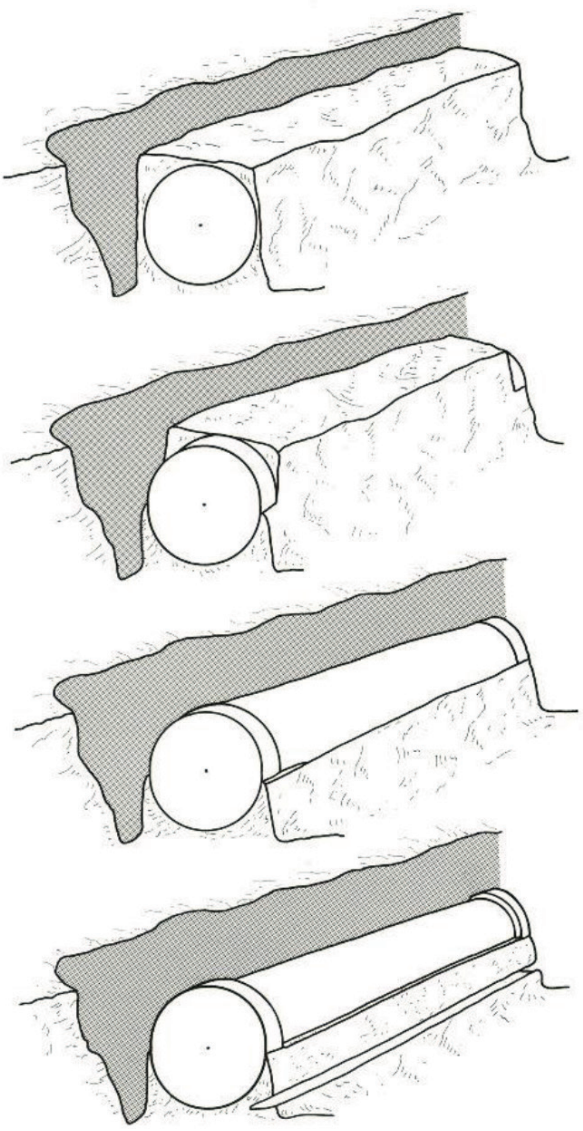


Fig. 3: Degradation process of a column.

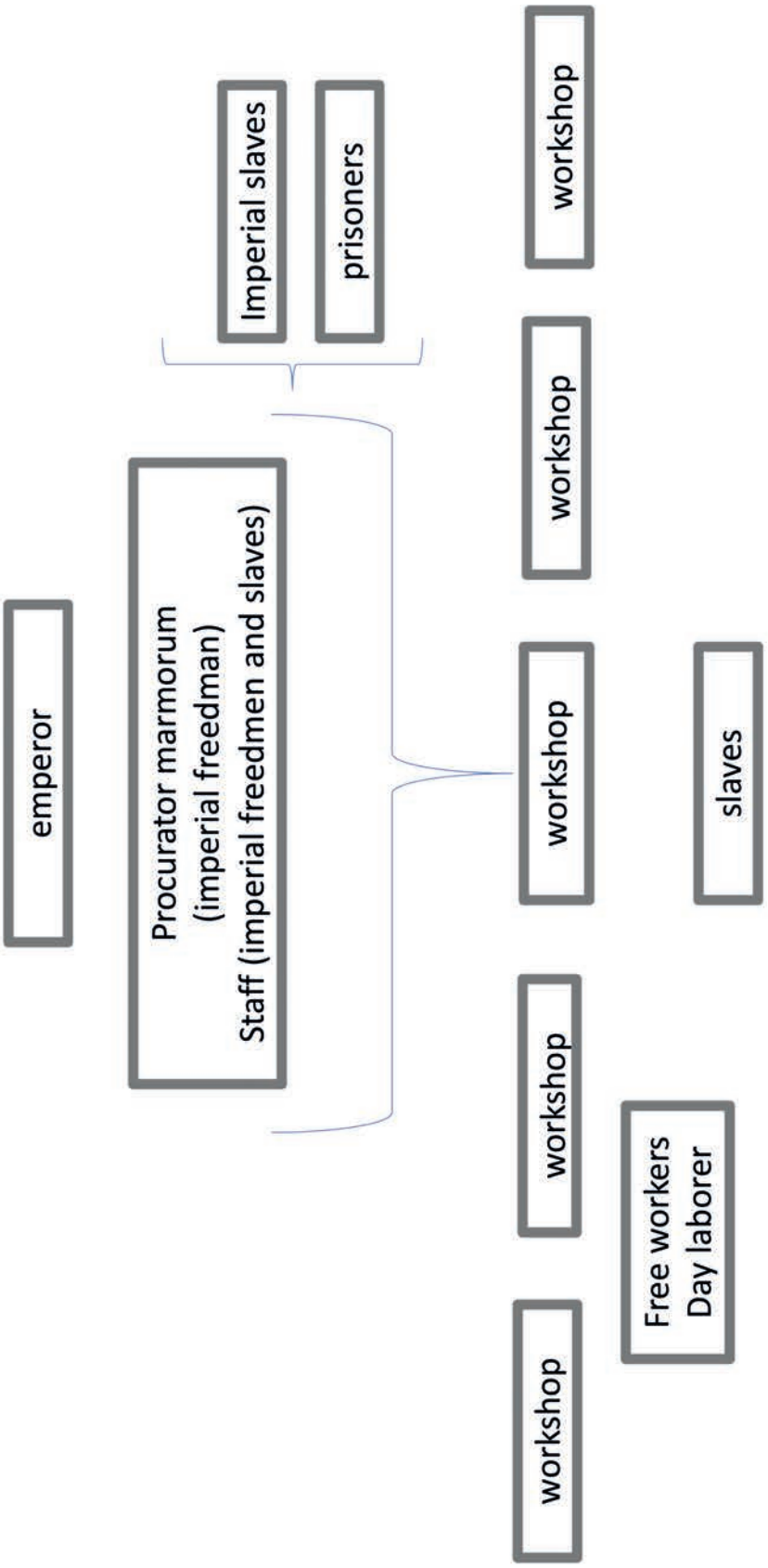


Fig. 4: Structure of administration in the quarries at Simitthus in the High Empire.

Bibliography

Adak, Mustafa, and Musa Kadıoğlu. “Die Steinbrüche von Teos und ‘Marmor Luculleum’,” *Philia* 3 (2017): 1–43.

Adams, Colin E. P. *Land Transport in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Albrow, Martin. *The Global Age – State and Society beyond Modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996).

Antweiler, Christoph. “On Dependence, Dependency, and a Dependency Turn,” *Discussion Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2022).

Appadurai, Arjun. “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” *Theory, Culture and Society* 7 (1990): 295–310.

Ardeleanu, Stefan. “Giallo Antico in Context. Distribution, Use and Commercial Actors According to New Stratigraphic Data from the Western Mediterranean (2nd c. BC–1st c. AD),” in *ASMOSIA 11. Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of ASMOSIA, Split, 18–22 May 2015*, ed. Daniela Matetić Poljak and Katja Marasović (Split: University of Split, 2018): 155–165.

Ardeleanu, Stefan. *Numidia Romana? Die Auswirkungen der römischen Präsenz in Numidien* (2. Jh. v. Chr.–1. Jh. n. Chr. (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 2021).

Beck, Dennis Mario. “Use, Aesthetics and Semantics of Coloured Marble Columns in the Western Mediterranean during the Late Republic and Early Roman Empire,” in *Materiality in Roman Art and Architecture. Aesthetics, Semantics and Function*, ed. Annette Haug, Adrian Hielscher and M. Taylor Lauritsen (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2021): 95–112.

Beck, Dennis. “The Quarries,” in *Studies on the Urban History of Meninx (Djerba): The Meninx Archaeological Project 2015–2019*, ed. Stefan Ritter and Sami Ben Tahar, Archäologische Forschungen 43 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert-Verlag, 2022): 197–202.

Beck, Dennis Mario. “Die *procuratores marmorum Numidicorum* als kaiserliche Funktionäre und städtische Euergeten,” *Römische Mitteilungen 129* (2023, in press).

Beck, Dennis Mario. *Simitthus 6. Marmor Numidicum. Gewinnung, Verarbeitung und Distribution eines antiken Buntmarmors* (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 2024, in press).

Bernard, Seth G. "Workers in the Roman Imperial Building Industry," in *Work, Labour, and Professions in the Roman World*, ed. Koenraad Verboven and Christian Laes, Impact of Empire 23 (Leiden: Brill, 2017): 62–86.

Bockius, Ronald. "Antike Prahme. Monumentale Zeugnisse keltisch-römischer Binnenschifffahrt aus dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. bis ins 3. Jh. n. Chr.," *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 47, no. 2 (2000): 439–93.

Bruno, Matthias. "Blocchi, marchi e sigle di cava di Leptis Magna," *Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stone* 5 (2009): 71–94.

Bruno, Matthias, and Fulvia Bianchi. *Marmi di Leptis Magna* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015).

Bruno, Matthias, and Fulvia Bianchi. "The Limestone Quarries of Wadi Gadatza in the Territory of Leptis Magna," in *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. ASMOSIA 10. Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference of ASMOSIA. Association for the Study of Marble & Other Stones in Antiquity. Rome, 12–26 May 2012*, ed. Patrizio Pensabene and Eleonora Gasparini (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2015): 35–42.

Broekaert, Wim. *Navicularii et Negotiantes. A prosopographical study of Roman merchants and shippers*, Pharos no. 28 (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2013).

Broekaert, Wim. "Freedmen and Agency in Roman Business," in *Urban Craftsmen and Traders in the Roman World: Oxford studies on the Roman economy*, ed. Andrew Wilson and Miko Flohr (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 222–53.

Bruzza, Luigi. "Iscrizioni dei marmi grezzi," *Annali dell'Instituto di corrispondenza archeologica* 42 (1870): 106–204.

Bruzza, Luigi. "Gli scavi dell'Emporio," in *Triplice Omaggio alla Santità di Papa Pio IX nel suo giubileo episcopio* (Rome: Tipografia della Pace, 1877): 39–46.

Bülow-Jacobsen, Adam. *Mons Claudianus: Ostraca Graeca et Latina IV – The Quarry Texts: O. Claud.* (Cairo: Boustany's Publishing House, 2009).

Cuvigny, Hélène. *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina III. O. Claudi. 417 à 613* (Cairo: Boustany's Publishing House, 2000).

Cuvigny, Hélène. "The Organization Chart of the Personell of an Imperial Quarry According to an Ostracon of Mons Claudianus," in *Rome in Egypt's Eastern Desert*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, ISAW Monographs (New York: New York University Press, 2021): 181–212.

Dubois, Charles. *Etude sur l'administration et l'exploitation des carrières (marbres, porphyre, granit etc.) dans le monde romain* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1908).

Erdkamp, Paul, Koenraad Verboven and Arjan Zuiderhoek, eds. *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

Fairlie, Joanna E., and Lawrence S. Barham. "From Chaîne Opératoire to Observational Analysis: A Pilot Study of a New Methodology for Analysing Changes in Cognitive Task-Structuring Strategies Across Different Hominin Tool-Making Events," *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 26, no. 4 (2016): 643–64.

Fant, John Clayton. "The Roman Emperors in the Marble Business: Capitalists, Middle-Men or Philanthropists?" in *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology and Trade*, ed. Nathan Herz and Marc Waelkens, NATO ASI series E: Applied Sciences 153 (Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 1988): 147–58.

Fant, John Clayton. *Cavum Antrum Phrygiae. The Organization and Operations of the Roman Imperial Marble Quarries in Phrygia* (Oxford: BAR Publishing, 1989).

Fant, John Clayton. "Ideology, Gift, and Trade: A Distribution Model for the Roman Imperial Marbles," in *The Inscribed Economy: Production and Distribution in the Roman Empire in the Light of Instrumentum Domesticum*, ed. Wiliam V. Harris (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1993): 145–70.

Fernández-Götz, Manuel , Dominik Maschek and Nico Roymans. “The Dark Side of the Empire. Roman Expansionism Between Object Agency and Predatory Regime,” *Antiquity 94* (2020): 1630–39.

Groen-Vallinga, Miriam J., and Laurens E. Tacoma. “Contextualising Condemnation to Hard Labour in the Roman Empire,” in *Global Convict Labor*, ed. Christian G. de Vito and Alex Lichtenstein, Studies in Global Social History 19 (Leiden: Brill 2015): 49–78.

Hawkins, Cameron. *Roman Artisans and the Urban Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

Hirschfeld, Otto. *Die kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1905).

Hirt, Alfred M. “Chresimus, procurator a marmoribus und der Strassenbau. Überlegungen zu Logistik und Transportwesen kaiserlicher Steinbrüche”, in *Siedlungen und Verkehr im Römischen Reich: Römerstrassen zwischen Herrschaftssicherung und Landschaftsprägung; Akten des Kolloquiums zu Ehren von Prof. H.E. Herzig vom 28. und 29. Juni 2001 in Bern*, ed. Regula Frei-Stolba (Bern: Fritz Lang, 2010): 115–34.

Hirt, Alfred M. *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Hirt, Alfred M. “Centurions, Quarries, and the Emperor,” in *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World*, ed. Paul Erdkamp, Koenraad Verboven and Arjan Zuiderhoek (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 289–314.

Keay, Simon. “The Port System of Imperial Rome,” in *Rome, Portus and the Mediterranean*, ed. Simon Keay, Archaeological Monographs of the British School at Rome 21 (London: The British School at Rome, 2012): 33–67.

Khanoussi, Mustapha. “L’armée romaine et les carrières impériales de marbre numidique,” in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 65–68.

Khanoussi, Mustapha. “Les officiales marmorum Numidicorum,” in *L’Africa Romana. Atti del XII convegno di studio. Olbia, 12–15 dicembre 1996*, vol. 2, ed. Mustapha Khanoussi, Paolo Ruggeri and Cinzia Vismara (Sassari: Editrice Democratica Sarda, 1998): 997–1016.

Korres, Manolis. *Vom Penteli zum Parthenon: Werdegang eines Kapitells zwischen Steinbruch und Tempel* (München: Glyptothek, 1992).

Kraus, Theodor. "Steinbruch- und Blockinschriften," in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 55–64.

Lazzarini, Lorenzo. "The Distribution and Reuse of the Most Important Coloured Marbles in the Provinces of the Roman Empire," in *ASMOSIA 7. Actes du VIIe colloque international de l'ASMOSIA. Thasos 15-20 septembre 2003,* ed. Yannis Maniatis, Bulletin de correspondence hellénique, Suppl. 51 (Athens: École française d'Athènes, De Boccard *Édition*, 2009): 459–81.

Lazzarini, Lorenzo. "Ancient Mediterranean Polychrome Stone," in *The Contribution of Mineralogy to Cultural Heritage. EMU Notes in Mineralogy*, ed. Gilberto. Artioli and Roberta Oberti, EMU Notes in Mineralogy 20 (London: European Mineralogical Union and the Mineralogical Society of Great Britain & Ireland, 2019): 367–92.

Leroi-Gourhan, André. *Le Geste et la Parole. I, Technique et langage* (Paris: Albin Michel edition, 1964).

Lo Cascio, Elio. *Die neue Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Römischen Reiches. Paradigmen und Ansätze*, Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsarchäologie 1 (Bonn: Habelt, 2017).

Mackensen, Michael. *Simitthus III. Militärlager oder Marmorwerkstätten. Neue Untersuchungen im Ostbereich des Arbeits- und Steinbruchlagers von Simitthus-Chemtou*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2005).

Maischberger, Martin. *Marmor in Rom: Anlieferung, Lager- und Werkplätze in der Kaiserzeit* (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 1997).

Mouritsen, Henrik. *The Freedman in the Roman World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

Müller, Ulrich. "Netzwerkanalysen in der Historischen Archäologie: Begriffe und Beispiele," in *Historia archaeologica. Festschrift für Heiko Steuer zum 70. Geburtstag*, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 70 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009): 735–54.

Maxfield, Valeria A. and David Peacock. “The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries: Gebel Dokhan, Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 82 (1996): 15–19.

Pensabene, Patrizio. “Cave di marmo bianco e pavonazzetto in Frigia. Sulla produzione e sui dati epigrafici,” *Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stone* 6 (2010): 71–134.

Pensabene, Patrizio. “The Quarries at Luni in the 1st Century AD: Final Considerations on Some Aspects of Production, Diffusion and Costs,” in *Interdisciplinary Studies on Ancient Stone. Proceedings of the IX ASMOSIA Conference (Tarragona 2009)*, ed. Anna Gutiérrez Garcia-Moreno, Pilar Lapuente Mercadal and Isabel Rodà de Llanza (Tarragona: Indústries Gràfiques Gabriel Gibert, 2012): 731–43.

Pensabene, Patrizio. *I Marmi nella Roma antica* (Rome: Carocci Ed., 2013).

Pensabene, Patrizio. “Marmi pubblici e marmi privati. Note in margine ad un recente volume di Ben Russell,” *Archeologica Classica* 66 (2015): 575–93.

Pensabene, Patrizio, and Matthias Bruno. “Aggiornamenti, nuove acquisizioni e riordino dei marmi di cava dal canale di Fiumicino,” in *Marmi Antichi II. Cave e tecnica di lavorazione provenienze e distribuzione*, ed. Patrizio Pensabene (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1998): 1–22.

Pfaffenberger, Bryan. “Mining communities, chaînes opératoires and sociotechnical systems,” in *Social Approaches to an Industrial Past: The Archaeology and Anthropology of Mining*, ed. Eugenia W. Herbert, A. Bernard Knapp and Vincent C. Pigott (London: Routledge, 2013): 291–300.

Quinn, Josephine Crawley. “Monumental Power: Numidian Royal Architecture in Context,” in *The Hellenistic West. Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Josephine Crawley Quinn and Jonathan Prag (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013): 179–215.

Rakob, Friedrich. “Numidische Königsarchitektur in Nordafrika,” in *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*, ed. Christoph B.

Rüger and Heinz Günther Horn (Bonn: Rheinland-Verlag; Habelt, 1979): 119–71.

Rakob, Friedrich. “Zur Siedlungstopographie von Chemtou/Simitthus,” in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 1–16.

Rakob, Friedrich. “Der Tempelberg und seine Heiligtümer,” in *Simitthus II. Der Tempelberg und das Römische Lager*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994): 1–50.

Rakob, Friedrich. “Das römische Steinbruchlager (praesidium),” in *Simitthus II. Der Tempelberg und das Römische Lager*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1994): 51–139.

Röder, Josef, and Gertrud Röder. “Die Steinbrüche des numidischen Marmors von Chemtou,” in *Simitthus I. Die Steinbrüche und die antike Stadt*, ed. Friedrich Rakob (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1993): 17–53.

Russell, Ben. *The Economics of the Roman Stone Trade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

Russell, Ben. “Gazetteer of Stone Quarries in the Roman World,” Version 1.0 (2013), https://oxrep.web.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/oxrep/documents/media/russell_2013_gazetteer_of_roman_stone_quarries.pdf [accessed 07.02.2023].

Russell, Ben. “Roman Stone Carvers and Their Chaîne Opératoire,” in *The Value of the Making: Theory and Practice in Ancient Craft Production*, ed. Helle Hochscheid and Ben Russell (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021): 71–88.

Schiel, Juliane, Isabelle Schürch and Aline Steinbrecher. “Von Sklaven, Pferden und Hunden. Trialog über den Nutzen aktueller Agency-Debatten für die Sozialgeschichte,” *Schweizerische Gesellschaft für Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 32 (2017): 17–48.

Schlanger, Nathan. “‘Suivre les gestes, éclat par éclat.’ La chaîne opératoire d’André Leroi-Gourhan,” in *Autour de l’ homme: Contexte et actualite d’André Leroi-Gourhan*, ed. Françoise Audouze and Nathan Schlanger (Antibes: Editions APDCA, 2004): 127–47.

Schmall, Sophie. “Patrimonium und Fiscus. Studien zur kaiserlichen Domänen- und Finanzverwaltung von Augustus bis Mitte des 3. Jahr-

hunderts n. Chr." (PhD diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn, 2011): 161–65.

Schneider, Rolf-Michael. *Bunte Barbaren. Orientalenstatuen aus farbigem Marmor in der römischen Repräsentationskunst von Augustus bis Trajan* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft Worms, 1986): 142–60.

Setälä, Päivi. "Women and Brick Production – Some New Aspects," in *Women, Wealth and Power in the Roman Empire*, ed. Päivi Setälä et al. (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2002): 181–201.

Verboven, Koenraad. *The Economy of Friends. Economic Aspects of Amicitia and Patronage in the Late Republic*. Collection Latomus 269 (Brüssel: Latomus, 2002).

von Rummel, Philipp, Manuela Broisch and Christian A. Schöne. "Geophysikalische Prospektionen in Simitthus (Chimtou, Tunesien). Vorbericht zu den Kampagnen 2010–2013," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica (KuBA)* 3 (2013): 203–16.

von Rummel, Philipp, Stefan Ardeleanu, Dennis Mario Beck, Heike Möller and Moheddine Chaouali. "Simitthus/Chimtou, Tunesien. Die Arbeiten der Jahre 2016 bis 2018," *e-Forschungsberichte des DAI* 2019, no. 1 (2019): 197–205.

Warnking, Pascal. *Der römische Seehandel in seiner Blütezeit. Rahmenbedingungen, Seerouten, Wirtschaftlichkeit* (Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf, 2015).

Weaver, Paul Richard Carey. *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972).

Wilson, Andrew. "Rivers, Wadis and Climate in North Africa: Torrents and Drought," in *Fluvial Landscapes in the Roman World*, ed. Tyler V. Franconi, Journal of Roman Archeology Supplementary Series 104 (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archeology L.L.C., 2017): 111–25.

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021): 10–11, https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/bcdss-concept-papers [accessed 13.04.2023].

Younès, Ameur, Mohamed Essghaier Gaied and Wissem Gallala, "Quarries in Tunisia," *Encyclopaedia of the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine in Non-Western Cultures*, ed. Helaine Selin (Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media, 2014): 1–9.

List of Figures

Fig. 1: after Paul Scheding, *Urbaner Ballungsraum im römischen Nordafrika. Zum Einfluss von mikroregionalen Wirtschafts- und Sozialstrukturen auf den Städtebau in der Africa Proconsularis* (Wiesbaden: Reichert-Verlag, 2019): 41, fig. 15.
Fig. 2: Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": "Beilage 4".
Fig. 3: Röder, "Die Steinbrüche": 48 fig. 20.
Fig. 4: Author.

For further titles see: www.ebverlag.de

EBVERLAG DR. BRANDT
WWW·EBVERLAG·DE

Rainer Kuhl
Jägerstraße 47
13595 Berlin

Tel.: 00 49 30 68 97 72 33
Fax: 00 49 30 91 60 77 74
E-Mail: post@ebverlag.de

Quarries are an interdisciplinary research topic for scholars who are interested in technical organization, economy, work processes and supply chains. In antiquity, the quarrying and trade of stone were highly dependent on persons from a variety of legal status groups and their cooperation in networks and institutions. Research shows that during the high Roman Empire, some quarries both belonged to the Roman emperor and were operated by an administrative structure that was highly dependent on him. Although the administrations were organized in a strict hierarchy, they depended much more on the emperor and the officials he employed than on the legal statuses of individuals. Slaves and freedmen gained importance due to their specialization in business. Characteristic is the cooperation of these actors within different fields of work in the economy, but in many cases it cannot be determined in detail merely from the sources, and requires research models. By using the chaîne opératoire and analyzing the quarry at Simitthus as an example, the paper shows to what extent this methodology is suitable for identifying dependency relationships between individuals. In addition, interagency and spatial relations can serve as indicators of dependencies among the actors, and network analysis offers insights into administrations in imperial quarries.

THE AUTHOR

Dennis Mario Beck is a classical archaeologist, employed at the Department for Classical Archaeology at the Institute for Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Bonn. He uses both archaeological data and literary sources to study different forms of dependency in the Punic, Greek and Roman worlds. His focus is on the ancient economy and network systems that were based on various forms of personal and institutional dependencies in the extraction and trading of resources, especially stone. He has researched the operation of ancient quarries such as the marble quarries at Simitthus, taking into account various hierarchically structured networks of different social groups and their collaboration and interaction. His current research focuses on different actors in economic processes working together in networks of exploitation, trade, and completion, as well as on the methodological framework for investigating these actors, for example by mapping production chains.

3. Research Lenses

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Mònica Ginés-Blasi. “The ‘Coolie Trade’ via Southeast Asia: Exporting Chinese Indentured Labourers to Cuba through the Spanish Philippines,” in *Slavery and Bondage in Asia, 1550–1850: Towards a Global History of Coerced Labour*, eds. Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 97-120.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-006

Mònica Ginés-Blasi

The 'Coolie Trade' via Southeast Asia: Exporting Chinese Indentured Labourers to Cuba through the Spanish Philippines

1 Introduction

This chapter explores various Spanish state-promoted and private commercial strategies regarding the use of the Philippines as an alternative route for the export of Chinese indentured labourers to Cuba in the midst and decline of the 'coolie trade'.[1] With this study, I aim at setting a starting point from which to develop future research on the interconnections between the transoceanic coolie trade and human trafficking to Southeast Asia. In a previous article, titled 'Exploiting Chinese Labour Emigration in Treaty Ports', I suggested that the exportation of Chinese indentured labourers to Cuba was one of the Spanish government's main objectives in China to satisfy Cuban demand for cheap labour, and also driven by the private and individual interests which Spanish consular officers in China had in this business. Following this previous postulate, in this chapter I argue that the strategy of exporting Chinese immigrants via Manila was a shared operation between private agents – mainly coolie traffickers – and the Spanish state. This further implies that the coolie trade to Cuba and Chinese emigration to the Philippines were interconnected, state-promoted enterprises, and a priority of Spain's international relations in China.

1 'Coolie' is a pejorative and sensitive term referring to servile Chinese labour immigrants, usually employed using indenture contracts. In this chapter I will use this term in reference to the trafficking of Chinese labourers, often known as the 'coolie trade', and when referring to sources which label certain Chinese immigrants as 'coolies'. For recent contributions to the problematization of the 'coolie question', see Diane Kirkby and Sophie Loy-Wilson, eds., *Labour History and the Coolie Question*, special issue, *Labour History* 113 (2017): iii–v; Mae M. Ngai and Sophie Loy-Wilson, "Thinking Labor Rights through the Coolie Question," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 91 (2017): 5–7. Key works in the field of indentured labour are Arnold J. Meagher, *The Coolie Trade: The Traffic in Chinese Laborers to Latin America 1847–1874* (Philadelphia: Xlibris Corporation, 2008); David Northrup, *Indentured Labor in the Age of Imperialism, 1834–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838–1918* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

Note: This research has been funded by the Gerda Henkel Stiftung Research Scholarships within the framework of the research group 'ALTER: Crisis, Otherness and Representation', at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, as part of the project '*Taphonomies of Cross-Cultural Knowledge: Interactions between Europe and East Asia in the 19th and 20th centuries (TACK)*', Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities (PID2019-108637GB-I00), 2020–2023.

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-006

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 887

At a local level, this research tackles a long-unanswered question regarding whether there was a prearranged attempt to organize a trade in Chinese immigrants to the Philippines or, conversely, whether the influx of immigrants from the 1850s onwards just responded to a natural process of Chinese international mobility.[2] In particular, instead of focusing on whether there was a trade in indentured labour to the Philippines, as Elliott C. Arensmeyer, Charles J. McCarthy and I have done in previous publications, in this chapter I explore exclusively the strategic use of this colony in the transoceanic coolie trade.[3] In addition, in the context of the global coolie trade, this chapter portrays the deliberate use of colonial possessions to divert maritime migratory flows and transform them into sources of forced labour, drawing attention to the significant role of go-betweens. Through their actions, Western consuls and coolie agents, as well as Chinese brokers, were crucial in the transformation of 'free' emigrants into indentured coolies, revealing the processes which took place through the relationship between private agents and the state. The Spanish government's disregard for human exploitation to satisfy the commercial interests of its colonies overseas is due to the late entry of this country into the slavery business, coinciding with the pressure from the abolitionist movement.[4] From a global-historical perspective, Spain's late incorporation in the international slavery business – at the moment of its decline – pushed the Spanish government and entrepreneurs to seek alternatives to African slaves who might supplement them in slave-like conditions.

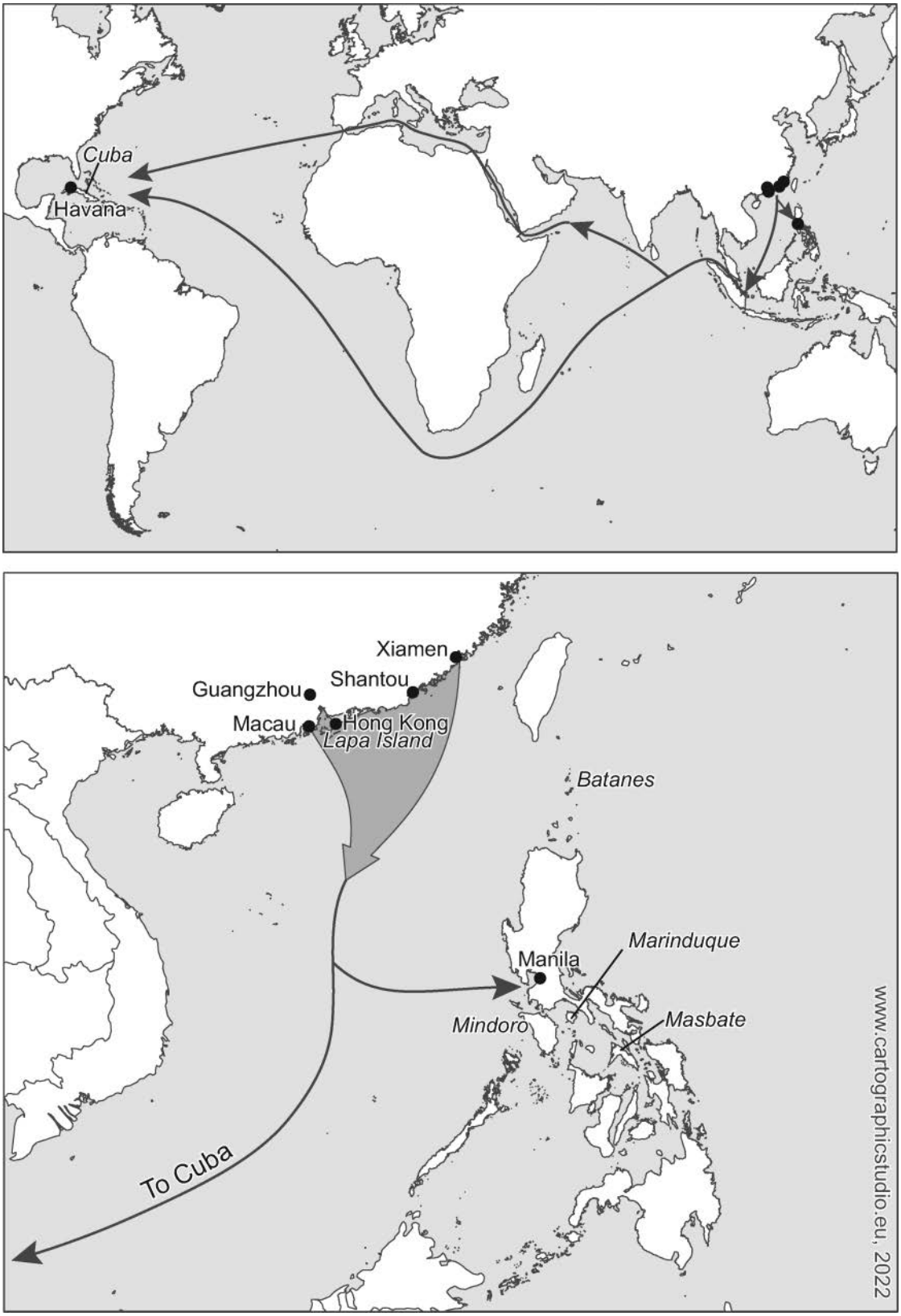
Certainly the fact that the silent and silenced agencies involved in the trade in humans – traders and migrants – were inconspicuous is a hindrance to researching the international and transoceanic migration of Chinese labourers. Moreover, the smuggling of emigrants to Southeast Asia, an unregistered trade, was common, and therefore the number, conditions, origin, and destination of these migrants are often difficult to assess. There is also a lack of reliable sources, since not only conflicts of interest often intervened in clearing up corruption around this trade, but official sources on this type of migration to the Philippines and Latin America are often erratic or incomplete. In particular, sources regarding the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines are either fragmentary or currently inaccessible. To elude these obstacles,

2 Elliott C. Arensmeyer, "British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade, 1850–1874" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1979): 274–75.

3 Elliott C. Arensmeyer, "The Chinese Coolie Labor Trade and the Philippines: An Inquiry," *Philippine Studies* 28, no. 2 (1980): 187–98; Charles J. McCarthy, "Chinese Coolie Labor Minimal in the Philippines," *The Annals of the Philippine Chinese Historical Association* 5 (1975): 8–29; Mònica Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade': Trade and Exploitation of Chinese Labour in Spanish Colonial Philippines, 1850–98," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 51, no. 3 (2020): 1–27.

4 Josep Maria Fradera and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, "Introduction: Colonial Pioneer and Plantation Latecomer," in *Slavery and Antislavery in Spain's Atlantic Empire*, ed. Josep Maria Fradera and Christopher Schmidt-Nowara (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013): 1–12.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 888



Map 4: Chinese indentured labour migration flows to the Philippines and Cuba.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 889

I have used a variety of multinational primary sources – some of which remain unpublished – scattered in archives in Spain, the Philippines, the UK, and Portugal.[5]

Beyond reaching for a wide range of archival material, I also challenge these research obstacles by looking into the various state-promoted policies and private commercial strategies that confronted the international condemnation of indentured trade to Cuba. I will first elaborate on how bondage and coercion manifested in the Chinese emigration systems to Cuba and the Philippines. Secondly, I will portray the earliest commercial endeavours to import Chinese indentured labour into the Philippines. I will afterwards focus on how the first Spanish representative in China and the Spanish metropolitan government planned on using Manila as a route for the export of Chinese labourers in the 1860s, and assess the success of their strategies. Finally, I will show how coolie traffickers still explored the Manila route in the 1870s to reinitiate the halted trade, and how they received the help and support of the Minister of Overseas Affairs through his extended network.

2 Chinese Emigration to Spanish Colonies

The migratory flow from the south China coast to Manila was long-standing and there were established maritime routes which British and Spanish naval commerce used for Chinese passenger conveyance.[6] The Spanish central government planned to use Manila for the supply of indentured labourers in order to avoid international condemnation of the trade when it became stagnant in the late 1860s. In the 1850s there were failed initiatives to introduce Chinese agricultural labourers to the Philippines. Spanish agents associated to Cuban planters, with the support of the Spanish Minister of Overseas Affairs (Ministro de Ultramar), also explored this possibility when planning to reinitiate the trade when it was officially restricted in 1874. This case highlights interconnections between the 'coolie trade' and the 'credit-ticket' or 'assisted migration' systems, stressing the permeability between these forms of labour mobility used for

5 These sources consist of correspondence between the Spanish legation and consulates in China with the Ministry of State and the Office, the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, ship captains and owners, and immigration agents, preserved at the Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN) in Madrid and at the Library Balaguer (LB) in Vilanova i la Geltrú, Barcelona; the British Foreign Office (FO) and Colonial Office (CO) preserved at the National Archives (BNA). To a lesser extent, I am also citing sources consulted at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), in Lisbon, and records of the Spanish colonial government in the Philippines kept at the National Archives of the Philippines (NAP). Access restrictions to the NAP's Spanish Section have compromised the availability of primary sources. Further research has been postponed in the hope of future accessibility to this Section.

6 I have recently researched the introduction of Chinese labourers to the Philippines in Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'".

Cuba and the Philippines respectively.[7] Both originated in the same recruiting settings in treaty-port China's gathering stations – such as Xiamen – and developed bondage mechanisms. This chapter considers the role of intermediaries – the Spanish state and human traffickers – in the creation of an interconnected system of forced labour migration between China, Cuba, and the Philippines (Map 4). This transoceanic connection through the Spanish Empire serves as a case study of the transformation of bondage, from African slavery in Cuba, through Chinese indentured labour, and to 'free' emigration to the Philippines.[8]

Indentured labourers from China were the main workforce sought by Cuban planters to supplement African slaves in the second half of the nineteenth century. The abolitionist movement and the subsequent increase in the cost of slaves drove Cuban planters to look for an addition to African slave labour, which they found in the form of Chinese indentured contract labourers, who became indispensable to the Cuban economy.[9] Between 1847 and 1874 about 125,000 Chinese men were transported to Havana through a transnational mass-migration business venture, to work mostly on sugar cane plantations, providing reinforcements to African labour while slavery was being 'gradually abolished'.[10] Between 1850 and 1898, there was also an unparalleled inflow of Chinese immigrant labourers to the Philippines, which raised the number of Chinese residents to 100,000. As in the trade to Cuba, Chinese brokers and foremen, Spanish institutions and authorities in Manila, consuls in China, and Spanish and British ship captains obtained abundant profits from this migratory movement by overcharging extra fees and taxes to the labourers for their own personal economic benefit. The import to and abuse of Chinese immigrant labourers in the Philippines was constant throughout the second half of the

7 Philip A. Kuhn, *Chinese among Others: Emigration in Modern Times* (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008); Ei Murakami, "Two Bonded Labour Emigration Patterns in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Southern China: The Coolie Trade and Emigration to Southeast Asia," in *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World*, ed. Alessandro Stanziani and Gwyn Campbell (London: Routledge, 2015): 153–64.

8 Oliver Tappe and Ulrike Lindner, "Introduction: Global Variants of Bonded Labour," in *Bonded Labour: Global and Comparative Perspectives*, ed. Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf, Ulrike Lindner, Gesine Müller, Oliver Tappe, and Michael Zeuske (Bielefeld: transcript, 2016): 9–34; Richard B. Allen, "Asian Indentured Labor in the 19th and Early 20th Century Colonial Plantation World," *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History*, ed. David Ludden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Ulbe Bosma, Elise van Nederveen Meerkerk, and Aditya Sarkar, "Mediating Labour: An Introduction," *International Review of Social History* 57, no. S20 (2012): 1–15.

9 Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Coolie Labor in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labor of Neoslavery," *Contributions in Black Studies: A Journal of African and Afro-American Studies* 12 (1994): 38–54; Juan Pérez de la Riva, *El barracón: Esclavitud y capitalismo en Cuba* (Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1978); Juan Pérez de la riva, *La república neocolonial* (Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1975); Juan Jiménez Pastrana, *Los Chinos en la historia de Cuba: 1847–1930* (Havana: Ciencias Sociales, 1983).

10 The official abolition of slavery in Cuba took place in 1886. See Arthur F. Corwin, *Spain and the Abolition of Slavery in Cuba, 1817–1886* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 891

nineteenth century.[11] The export of labourers to Cuba via Manila was somewhat successful, as some Chinese labourers in Cuba declared coming from the Philippines.[12] The interconnection between these two migratory flows has remained unexplored despite its potential to contribute to current discussions on the global coolie trade, as well as transitions between various forms of bondage. Yet while this chapter focuses on the interconnections between these two systems of mobility, further research needs to be done to ascertain the extent of emigration to Cuba via the Philippines, as well as where and how the workers were engaged – either before their departure from China or in the Philippines.

The recruitment and departure sites of Chinese indentured labourers on the south China coast underwent transformations throughout the period of the 'coolie trade' to Latin America to evade restrictions. For instance, Xiamen (also known as Amoy) changed from a port of departure to a gathering station in the 1860s, and Macau authorities suggested using the nearby island of Lapa to continue dispatching emigrants after the official halt of the traffic in 1876.[13] Authors Lisa Yun and Ricardo René Laremont have pointed to the use of the Philippines to smuggle coolies when their procurement became increasingly difficult due to British opposition in Xiamen.[14]

The Spanish government and immigration agents in China explored the use of the Philippines as a secondary route to avoid the international condemnation of the trade to Cuba and to ensure its continuity. This took place in two particular moments: after the trade's decline in 1868, and before its official halt in 1874, when agents and *hacendados* in Cuba foresaw the incoming restrictions to the trade.[15] Previously, Spanish entrepreneurs, with the support of authorities in the Philippines and representatives in China, considered the recruitment of Chinese indentured labourers to develop Philippine agricultural production. The Spanish government and human traffickers took advantage of the strategical maritime dominion of the Philippines to provide a substitute for the increasingly declining supply of slave labour in a subversive manner. This strategy had been used before, for instance to move the bulk of the trade from Xiamen to Macau, yet introduced unprecedented colonial connections in the coolie trade.

---

11 Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'."

12 *Chinese Emigration: Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba* (Shanghai: Imperial Maritime Customs Press, 1876): 8.

13 Mònica Ginés-Blasi, "Exploiting Chinese Labour Emigration in Treaty Ports: The Role of Spanish Consulates in the 'Coolie Trade'," *International Review of Social History* 66, no. 1 (2021):1–24. Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar, Direcção geral do Ultramar, Correspondencia de Macau e Timor, 1876, AHU-ACL-SEMU-DGU-005, Cx. 45.

14 Lisa Yun and Ricardo René Laremont, "Chinese Coolies and African Slaves in Cuba, 1847–74," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 4, no. 2 (2017): 112–13; Lisa Yun, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008): 21.

15 José Luis Luzón, "Chineros, diplomáticos y hacendados en La Habana colonial. Don Francisco Abellá y Raldiris y su proyecto de inmigración libre a Cuba (1874)," *Boletín Americanista* 39 (1989): 147.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 892

3 Bondage, Coercion and Chinese Emigration

The mechanism operating the emigration of Chinese labourers to Cuba and the Philippines was similarly abusive in many respects, particularly regarding their recruitment, transport, and in the entrance into conditions of involuntary debt bondage.[16] Bondage in Chinese indentured labour in Cuba has been portrayed in the historiography for more than five decades, from the work of established Cuban historians Juan Pérez de la Riva and Jiménez Pastrana in the 1970s and 1980s,[17] to more recent authors such as Evelyn Hu-DeHart, Lisa Yun, Kathleen López, Michael Zeuske, and Benjamin Nicolas Narváez.[18] Parallelisms with the previous and ongoing system of African slavery which indentured labourers experienced in Cuba have also been widely discussed by these authors. In contrast, the exploitation of Chinese emigrant labourers to and in the Philippines has only been recovered recently in Jely Agameo Galang's dissertation and in my article 'A Philippine "Coolie Trade": Trade and Exploitation of Chinese Labour in Spanish Colonial Philippines, 1850–1898', and also previously tackled by McCarthy and Arensmeyer in two articles published in 1975 and 1980 respectively.[19]

Coercion and bondage in the Cuban case are clear as they were inflicted in the three 'moments' which Marcel van der Linden has identified as characteristic of coerced labour: recruitment, the period of work, and the end of the labour relationship.[20] Chinese prospective immigrants were victims of many abuses inflicted in the

16 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): 300–301.

17 Jiménez Pastrana, *Los Chinos en la historia de Cuba: 1847–1930*; Juan Pérez de la Riva, "La situación legal del culí en Cuba: 1849–1868," *Cahiers Du Monde Hispanique et Luso-Brésilien* 16 (1971): 7–32.

18 Lisa Yun, "Chinese Freedom Fighters in Cuba: From Bondage to Liberation, 1847–1898," in *Afro Asia: Revolutionary Political and Cultural Connections Between African Americans and Asian Americans*, ed. Fred Ho and Bill V. Mullen (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008): 33; Kathleen López, *Chinese Cubans: A Transnational History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); 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; Benjamin Nicolas Narváez, "Chinese Coolies in Cuba and Peru: Race, Labor, and Immigration, 1839–1886" (PhD diss., University of Texas, 2010); Benjamin Nicolas Narváez, "Abolition, Chinese Indentured Labor, and the State: Cuba, Peru, and the United States during the Mid Nineteenth Century," *The Americas* 76, no. 1 (2019): 5–40.

19 Jely Agamao Galang, "Vagrants and Outcasts: Chinese Labouring Classes, Criminality, and the State in the Philippines, 1831–1898" (PhD diss., Murdoch University, 2019); Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'"; McCarthy, "Chinese Coolie Labor Minimal in the Philippines"; Arensmeyer, "The Chinese Coolie Labor Trade and the Philippines".

20 Van der Linden, "Dissecting Coerced Labor": 298.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 893

process of recruitment and embarkation: mostly coming from the provinces of Guangdong and Fujian, they were frequently enticed deceitfully with false promises of good wages and forced to sign up for emigration – and even tortured until they agreed to do so.[21] Sometimes, they were plainly kidnapped. Once taken to the port of departure – mainly Xiamen, Shantou (also known as Swatow), Macau, and Guangzhou – they were held in guarded receiving stations, known as 'barracoons' (a term derived from the barracks used to keep slaves in the African slave trade), where they were locked and banned from withdrawing their 'consent'.[22] The signing of contracts and embarkation had to be certified by Western authorities and consuls. In this process, when contracts had to be read to prospective emigrants, they were often misinformed as to the translation, or the Chinese translation was just not read to them. Sometimes, emigrants were misled into thinking that they were migrating to other sites in Southeast Asia, such as Annam or Singapore, and were not aware that they were being taken as far away as Latin America.[23] The abuses committed during recruitment and embarkation stirred up mutinies on board of ships as well as riots and conflicts against Westerners in treaty ports, such as the Amoy riot in 1852.[24]

Transoceanic voyages of Chinese migrant vessels stand out for the high average death rates on board – sixteen per cent in the Cuban case. They later suffered abuse in their working and living conditions, where they lived with a constant threat of physical harm or imprisonment if they decided to flee. They were confined in the same way as slaves – even shackled together –, with the same methods of physical control, such as shackles, traps, whippings, and lockups – tools of repression also employed on the vessels in these transoceanic voyages. The costs of transport, food, taxes, clothes, agency, passport, and legalizations had been advanced to the emigrant in China, so at the end of the eight-year contracts they had accumulated a debt with the *patrón* or *patrono* (the employer in Cuba) – who had bought their contracts from the contracting agency – which they could seldom pay back, and thus were obliged to enter a new contract.[25]

---

21 Oriol Regué-Sendrós is currently conducting in-depth research about the origin of Chinese immigrants in Cuba. He presented some of his preliminary findings in the talk 'Spanish Colonial Rule and the forced Chinese migration to Cuba (1850s–1860s)' at the 11th International Convention of Asian Scholars (ICAS11) in Leiden, 15 July 2019.

22 *Chinese Emigration: Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba*, 6–8; Meagher, *The Coolie Trade*, 66–82.

23 *Chinese Emigration: Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba*, 11.

24 Elliott Young, *Alien Nation: Chinese Migration in the Americas from the Coolie Era through World War II* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2014): 34–46.

25 Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Coolie Labor in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century"; *Chinese Emigration: Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba*. Regarding the racialization of the Chinese in Cuba and the deprivation of their rights as 'free white settlers', see Oriol Regué-Sendrós, "Chinese Migration to Cuba: Racial Legislation and Colonial

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 894

As in the Cuban case, Chinese immigrants in the Philippines became tied to their creditors through debt, and this abuse persisted because it was financially fruitful for many actors. Despite the parallelisms between the Cuban and Philippine migratory movements, few authors have explored whether there was trade in indentured labourers to the Philippines. McCarthy and Arensmeyer looked into this possibility more than three decades ago, and focused on the lack of a contract labour system to disprove that there was coolie trade.[26] In contrast, I highlight the similarities in the arrangement of the two migratory fluxes in treaty ports and the use of debt bondage in the Philippines to argue that they were interconnected. The abusive emigration mechanism to Manila was also prearranged and tied these emigrants to bondage by debt from which it was difficult to break free.[27] Chinese brokers and foremen, Spanish institutions and authorities in Manila, consuls in China, companies operating in the Philippines, as well as Spanish and British ship captains and owners, all took advantage of these immigrants in China and in the colony, leading to an unprecedented inflow of immigrants. Thus, the flow of Chinese immigrants to both colonies was steady because a wide range of actors obtained pecuniary profits from it. These agents' actions, however, often remained in the shadows to protect their obscure business interests.[28]

Chinese immigrant labourers in the Philippines were also victims of bondage and coercion under a system of 'assisted migration'. Migrants entered debt bondage with their *cabecillas* ('gang leaders'), and would remain 'unfree' until they paid back all these advances from their wages – which the *cabecillas* retained.[29] The abusive taxes which they had to pay during the issuing of passports and legalizations in China significantly increased the debt with their creditors. Transportation to Manila was also a source of abuse. Chinese emigrants travelled in such overcrowded vessels – particularly the Spanish ones – that acting British consul Herbert A. Giles felt obliged to intervene. In 1881, Giles denounced how Spanish consuls in Xiamen obtained significant revenue from every Chinese citizen shipped to Manila through the issuing of passports. It was therefore in their personal interest to em-

Rule in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Spanish Empire," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies* 24, no. 2 (2018): 279–92.

26 McCarthy, "Chinese Coolie Labor Minimal in the Philippines"; Arensmeyer, "The Chinese Coolie Labor Trade and the Philippines."

27 Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'."

28 McCarthy, "Chinese Coolie Labor Minimal in the Philippines"; Arensmeyer, *British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade, 1850–1874*; Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'."

29 For the use of monetary taxes to enter bondage see van der Linden, "Dissecting Coerced Labor": 303.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 895

bark as many immigrants as possible, which led to overcrowding these steamers, a situation which led to 'much dissatisfaction' among the general public.[30]

The issue which remains the most unclear is the process by which a prospective emigrant went from a journey to the Philippines to ending up in Cuba. Those Chinese emigrants in Cuba who declared coming from the Philippines could have either been recruited in China and travelled via the Philippines; or they could have been recruited in the Philippines after emigrating there, or they could have been misled into believing that they were travelling to the Philippines, but were taken to Cuba instead.

The most significant difference between emigration to Cuba and to the Philippines is the use of contracts of indenture in Cuba, and the lack thereof – with some exceptions – in the Philippines. McCarthy and Arensmeyer thought that the assisted migration and credit-ticket systems that applied in the Philippines – which some contemporary witnesses confused with indenture contract labour – were less open to abuse. As in Cuba, in other situations where indenture was also practiced, such as Assam for instance, contracts gave planters the sought-after protection and rights over the workers, whom they perceived as an investment, as they had paid for their recruitment and journey to the plantations.[31] However, migrating to the Philippines without signing a contract of labour in China did not assure these emigrants' freedom in their place of destination. Chinese labour migration to the Philippines consisted in a kinship-based Chinese broker and foreman system. Richard T. Chu has indicated how the reliance on hometown networks, while sometimes helping newly arrived immigrants to settle quickly, was also a frequent source of exploitation, as the debt generated through the credit-ticket system left immigrants at their recruiters' mercy.[32] The lack of regulations was, therefore, the source of exploitation. In 1883, the British consul in Xiamen still complained how, although many Chinese departed from there without indentures, they would later become 'involved in the meshes of some kind of contract of which they have no information here'; thus, becoming recruited elsewhere for Latin America was possible.[33] At least some of the labourers migrating to the Philippines with contracts of indenture – such as for mining jobs – are reported to have been recruited in Macau through the

30 Herbert A. Giles to Thomas F. Wade, Xiamen, 12 Mar. 1881, in *To and from Amoy*, 1883, BNA, FO 228/721. Regarding the economic profits extracted from emigration and the overcrowding of vessels, see Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'": 15–26.

31 Nitin Varma, *Coolies of Capitalism* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017): 1.

32 Richard T. Chu, *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s–1930s* (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 110–11. Marcel van der Linden has identified kinship and community pressure as a form of entry into bondage, see van der Linden, "Dissecting Coerced Labor": 302.

33 *To and from Amoy*, 1883, BNA, FO 228/721. I am grateful to Douglas Fix for providing this reference to me.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 896

same system as migrants engaged for Cuba and Peru. They shared the same vessels as their Cuban counterparts, and stopped over in the Philippines.[34]

4 Early Projects to Introduce Indentured Labourers into the Philippines

In the mid-nineteenth century, just when the coolie trade to Cuba and Peru began gaining momentum, some entrepreneurs in the Philippines also started to consider the mass introduction of Chinese indentured labourers for plantation development and mining. Primary sources indicate that leading human traffickers in the Latin American trade also provided the emigrating arrangements to the Philippines from Xiamen. This highlights the interconnection between the two systems, although in comparison with Cuba, efforts were made to provide fairer working conditions. Nevertheless, climate and geographical conditions – with the frequent threat of typhoons and shipwrecks – seemed an inexorable impediment to these plantations, and so these projects seemed to be generally unsuccessful in the long term.[35]

One particular merchant, Juan Bautista Marcaida – an energetic entrepreneur of Basque origin who held several official public positions in the Philippine administration – stands out for trying to develop the importation of Chinese labour as a means for speculation in the 1850s. During those same years, the Philippine Governor Urbiztondo had precisely facilitated the import of groups of Chinese agricultural workers.[36] In his book *Empresas agricolas, con chinos, en Filipinas, tomando por tipo lo que podrian producir en la isla de Mindoro*, Marcaida devised a plan for the introduction of more than 65,000 Chinese within ten years in Mindoro. The company would advance half of the emigration costs to the emigrant, who would work as a tenant farmer for 300 days a year and be paid 1.5 reales, the same as the locals' salary, as well as obtaining half the profits from their crops.[37] Marcaida was finally able to found and manage four farms based on Chinese labour on the islands of Batanes, Mindoro, Masbate, and Marinduque, although the first two had to be abandoned due to bankruptcy.[38] McCarthy

34 Galang, "Vagrants and Outcasts": 105–6.

35 See, for instance, the delays in the introduction of Chinese migrants to Batanes and Babuyanes due to severe weather conditions and a shipwreck. *Introducción de colonos chinos en Batanes y Babuyanes*, AHN, ULTRAMAR, 5162, Exp.48.

36 John Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands* (London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1859): 315.

37 Juan Bautista Marcaida, *Empresas agricolas, con chinos, en Filipinas, tomando por tipo lo que podrian producir en la isla de Mindoro* (Manila: Amigos del Pais, 1850): 3–15.

38 *Ensayo de la aplicación de filamentos del plátano por Juan Bautista Marcaida*, AHN, ULTRAMAR, 435, Exp. 3*; Erección de pueblo de Bohol, 1837. Exp. 4, S13–24. Oficio de Don Juan Bautista Marcaida, director de la Hacienda de Naro, de la Isla de Masbate al Excelentísimo Sr. Gobernador y Capitán General de Filipinas suplicándole vuestra Excelencia se ordene al Gob. Político Militar de*

suggests that the wealthy entrepreneur Mariano Rojas also imported unskilled Chinese labourers to work his estates in 1848.[39]

James 'Santiago' Tait, a British merchant who moved from Manila to Xiamen in 1846, provided the workers for Marcaida's project from Xiamen. Tait & Company was the main firm dedicated to the trafficking of Chinese emigrants to Latin America. Tait created this business in Xiamen after working for the Spanish company Eugenio de Otadui y C[a] in Manila. When Tait moved to Xiamen in 1846, he also became acting vice-consul for Spain in Xiamen, a position which he used to obtain the monopoly of the trade in labourers and to commit abuses. Being the main supplier of workers to Latin America, Tait's business and the involvement in Marcaida's project strengthens the idea of Manila as a point of departure of Chinese emigrants to Cuba. Aside from being Marcaida's agent on that occasion, Tait also appears in some documents which connect him and Philippine companies to Chinese emigration to the Philippines and to Cuba. For instance, Tait hired a number of Chinese recruited for Cuba together with the Manila company Matia Menchacatorre, and he also appears in a document regarding the emigration of a hundred Chinese men on board of the ship *Juno* to Batanes, contracted for five years by a Manila company.[40]

In 1855 Tait was at the centre of a scandal involving the Spanish Consul General, Nicasio Cañete y Moral, who – like Tait – used his position to obtain personal profit from ship duties, legalizations and certifications in the embarkation and departure of coolie ships to Cuba. This episode shows how ferociously Spanish authorities in China fought to defend their private business profits while holding official responsibilities, and even using their position of authority to obtain the most benefit out of international human trafficking.[41] After a long quarrel between the consul and vice-consul, Tait was finally dismissed, and another Spanish merchant with business in Chinese emigration took over his position.[42] There is still one last piece of news that connects Tait and Chinese immigration to Manila, as it places him on the shipwrecked British steamship *Luzon* in December 1864. This vessel was sailing from Xiamen to Manila, and on board there were only Tait, a Spaniard named Rentería, and seventy Chinese

Bohol no se ponga obstáculo y se facilite la traslacion de los naturales de aquella provincia a la Hacienda de Naru de su propiedad, NAP, SDS 13936, Exp. 4, S13–24. Edgar Wickberg, *The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850–1898* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1965): 57.

39 McCarthy, "Chinese Coolie Labor Minimal in the Philippines": 15–16.

40 Ginés-Blasi, "A Philippine 'Coolie Trade'." See Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia: El tráfico de culíes chinos* (Havana: Biblioteca Nacional, 1965): 82. *Embajadas y legaciones, China, 1836–1865*, AHN, M°_EXTERIORES_H,1445. Ander Permanyer-Ugartemendia, "La Participación española en la economía del opio en Asia Oriental tras el fin del Galeón" (PhD diss., Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2013): 394.

41 Ginés-Blasi, "Exploiting Chinese Labour Emigration in Treaty Ports."

42 *Tait, Santiago*, AHN, M°_Exteriores_PP1013.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 898

people. The conditions in which these Chinese were travelling, and their relationship with Tait, however, is still unknown.[43] All passengers survived the shipwreck.

Aside from these projects, female and male infant smuggling into the Philippines was systematic from every Chinese port and particularly common from Ningbo and via Macau – the main centre of the coolie trade – in the 1850s. The export of Chinese male infants to Cuba was also common, an aspect of the history of China's human trafficking which has not yet been researched in connection to the coolie trade.[44] One representative case of the connection of female infant smuggling with both the Philippines and Cuba is the case of the British vessel *Inglewood*, discovered in Xiamen to be harbouring forty-four little Chinese girls thought to be under eight years of age. The girls' final destination was an unsolved mystery, and it was never clear if they were bound for Manila or for Cuba, to join male coolies in Cuban plantations.[45]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Chinese women were in high demand in both Spanish colonies, as these were significant destinations for the export of male Chinese labourers. This is because the objective of some Spanish authorities was providing these colonies with labourers who would settle and work on plantations long term. Spanish authorities in Asia and the Spanish metropolitan government were interested in the emigration of women and, better yet, of whole families. The intense demand for women from a country which presented sociocultural obstacles to their emigration stimulated the international smuggling of female infants.[46]

The export of females to Cuba, and the conveyance of female children to the Philippines were also state-supported initiatives. To promote the emigration of women to Cuba, the Spanish Royal Decree of 22 March 1854 established that one fifth of emigrants embarking for that destination had to be women; however, this had little success.[47] Furthermore, the demand for women in the Philippines sparked plans for using an orphanage, the Santa Infancia sisterhood in Fujian, to provide the Philippines with female Christian children, an idea which the Spanish Minister

43 *La Correspondencia de España. Diario Universal de Noticias*, Madrid, 19 March 1865. I am grateful to John Shufelt for providing me with this reference.

44 The recruitment into indenture of male children under the age of ten could have been a common practice also for the Atlantic coolie trade, see BNA, CO 885/1/19.

45 Meagher, *The Coolie Trade*: 82–91; Arensmeyer, "The Chinese Coolie Labor Trade and the Philippines": 192.

46 *Expediente general sobre colonización asiática en Cuba*, AHN, ULTRAMAR, 85, Exp. 3; Nicasio Cañete y Moral to the First Secretary of State and the Office, Macau, 9 April 1855, *Consulado de Macao*, AHN, M°_EXTERIORES_H1949. Júlia Martínez has already shown how the reliance of European colonialism upon Asian male migrant labour encouraged the trafficking of Asian women to Southeast Asia for prostitution, see Julia Martínez, "Mapping the Trafficking of Women across Colonial Southeast Asia, 1600s–1930s," *Journal of Global Slavery* 1, no. 2–3 (2016): 224–47.

47 *Expediente general sobre colonización asiática en Cuba*, AHN, ULTRAMAR, 85, Exp. 3.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 899

Plenipotentiary in China, Sinibald de Mas, supported.[48] Mas believed that by 1858 2,500 children would arrive annually. He was in favour of developing a system of Chinese labour emigration to the Philippines, and supported Marcaida's project. According to John Bowring, however, this orphanage system was unsuccessful, and by 1859 not a single child had been supplied through the sisterhood's institution.[49] Nevertheless, the purchase of Chinese female children by *criollo* families in the Philippines – that is, Philippine-born families of Spanish origin – where they would be educated and work as servants, was common, as it was also common for girls to be bought by other women who would introduce them into prostitution.[50]

5 A Spanish State-Sponsored Strategy

The export of Chinese indentured labourers to Cuba via Manila became official by Spanish Royal Order on 12 December 1867, which approved the regulations for hiring Chinese immigrants in the Philippines to work on Cuban plantations.[51] This policy was a reaction to the latest British, French, and Chinese governments' agreement of 1866, which introduced new items regarding the payment of the return voyage and the number of years stipulated in the contracts – the latter were to run for five years instead of eight, as they had until then. These were important hindrances to Spanish business on the south China coast, as coolie traffickers would have to provide return tickets back to China and engage workers for shorter periods. Spanish representatives in China were concerned that if the business stopped being profitable to emigration agents and companies on the south China coast, the entire emigration enterprise would collapse and no more workers from China would be exported, thus endangering the Cuban economy.[52] Furthermore, the Sino-Western agreement was very untimely for Cuban planters: the African slave trade was diminishing, with the last shipment arriving in 1866. It was precisely in 1866 and 1867 that the coolie trade saw one of the most spectacular intensifications since its beginnings in 1847: 12,391 in 1866 and 14,263 in 1867.[53] Cutting

48 On Sinibald de Mas see David Martínez-Robles, *Entre dos imperios: Sinibaldo de Mas y la empresa colonial en China (1844–1868)* (Madrid: Marcial Pons Historia, 2018).

49 Bowring, *A Visit to the Philippine Islands*: 311.

50 Sinibald de Mas, *La Chine et les puissances chrétiennes* (Paris: Hachette, 1861): 135. I am grateful to David Martínez-Robles for pointing this reference to me.

51 Miguel Rodríguez Bérriz, *Diccionario de la administración de Filipinas* (Manila: Establecimiento tipo-litográfico de M. Perez (hijo), 1887): 186; Joaquín Rodríguez San Pedro, *Legislación Ultramarina, concordada y anotada por J. Rodríguez San Pedro*, vol. 10 (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Minuesa, 1868). Sinibald de Mas to the Minister of State (confidential copy), Paris, 20 June 1868, in *Expediente general sobre la colonización asiática en Cuba*, AHN, ULTRAMAR, 86, Exp. 3.

52 Sinibald de Mas, Macau, 13 September 1866, BNA, FO 697/2.

53 Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Coolie Labor in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century": 40–41.

down the supply of Chinese labourers was an important business obstruction to Cuban planters just when there was no other supply of labour. From 1867, the trade from the south China coast to Cuba began a critical decline.[54]

The use of Manila as a port of departure to Cuba was not new, and it had served this purpose before 1867. However, the number of indentured labourers sailing from the Philippines, and the question whether the flow increased from there after the application of this policy is, as of yet, difficult to assess. For instance, some of the Chinese labourers interviewed for the Chen Lanbin Cuban Commission in 1874 reported having sailed from Manila, and this city is also on the list of ports of departure for labourers who arrived in Cuba between 1847 and 1874.[55] However, the Cuban Commission Report does not provide comprehensive information on the dates of departure or the number of emigrants arriving from the Philippines.

At least one ship, the French vessel *Orixa*, is recorded to have conveyed 96 coolies from Manuelita, at Manila, to Cuba in 1851.[56] Also, according to Gely Galang, Chinese indentured labourers recruited for mine work were engaged in Macau using the same system as the ones for Cuba. He even alludes to one particular case in which the latter were transported together in the same vessel as indentured labourers recruited for Cuba, stopping in Manila on their way to Havana.[57] Arensmeyer also makes reference to some tentative efforts to connect Chinese ports, Manila, and Cuba.[58] Other historians have also pointed to the smuggling of Chinese immigrants into Cuba from tertiary sites, such as the US. For instance, Juan Pérez de la Riva claims that, between 1865 and 1875, thousands of Chinese from California entered Cuba via Mexico and New Orleans.[59]

One of the authorities supporting the 1867 Royal Order was Sinibald de Mas, whose main goal in China had been the signing of the Sino-Spanish Treaty, a mission which he achieved after long negotiations in 1864. While Spanish consuls in south China were fully involved in the coolie trade to the Caribbean, in 1865 Mas still knew nothing about this issue, and informed the Secretary of State in Madrid that he was going to study the question of Chinese immigration to Cuba for the first time.[60] By 1868, however, he had become rapidly implicated, as he declared that he had done much to bring about emigration to Cuba via the Philippines. He had pushed through

54 Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Coolie Labor in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century": 41.

55 *Chinese Emigration: Report of the Commission Sent by China to Ascertain the Condition of Chinese Coolies in Cuba*, 8.

56 Meagher, *The Coolie Trade*: 372.

57 Galang, "Vagrants and Outcasts": 105–6.

58 Arensmeyer, *British Merchant Enterprise and the Chinese Coolie Labour Trade, 1850–1874*: 274–75.

59 Meagher, *The Coolie Trade*: 206; Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Demografía de los culíes chinos en Cuba* (Havana: Biblioteca Nacional "José Martí," 1967).

60 Mas to Primer Secretario de Estado y del Despacho, Tianjin, October 1865, in *Embajadas y legaciones, China, 1836*–1865, AHN, Mº_Exteriores_H1445.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 901

the emigration of more than 15,000 Chinese workers to Cuba between 1866 and 1867. This trade, however, had to be undertaken very carefully to avoid compromising the lucrative commerce between the Philippines and China. According to Mas, previously only Chinese persons engaged without contracts, by other Chinese, and transported in small numbers, had been going to the Philippines.[61]

Mas had a special interest in the development of commercial relations between the archipelago and China, which he had expressed in his book *Informe sobre el estado de las islas Filipinas en 1842*, and also in his correspondence with Marcaida. In the 1850s, he had agreed to promote Chinese emigration to the Philippines to foster the islands' agricultural development. He believed that '[a] Chinese peasant was as valuable as four Indian ones' (referring to indigenous Philippine inhabitants), that plantation owners in the Philippines would obtain as many thousands of them as they wished for a monthly salary of two pesos, and that 'a man who had 200 or 300 black men, or Chinese', at his disposal – paying them the arranged salary – could surely make a fortune.[62]

6 Francisco Abellá's Project to Reinitiate the Coolie Trade via the Philippines

Sinibald de Mas had given his support to these plans from China: a decade later, the Spanish Minister of Overseas Affairs, Víctor Balaguer i Cirera, still supported this scheme to solve the lack of labour in Cuba, and encouraged a coolie trafficker's project to reinitiate the trade via Manila. Spanish immigration agent Francisco Abellá y Raldiris, representative of the Cuban society of *hacendados*, or plantation owners, in China, also explored the use of the Xiamen-Manila route to reinitiate the traffic of Chinese immigrants to Cuba after 1874. However, his project was not successful, as Spanish consular officials in Xiamen – who had pecuniary interests from the fees charged to Chinese emigrants to the Philippines – never allowed this plan to take place.[63] They were cautious that their business might be uncovered and –

61 Sinibald de Mas to the Minister of State (confidential copy), Paris, 20 June 1868, in *Expediente general sobre la colonización asiática en Cuba*, AHN, ULTRAMAR, 86, Exp. 3. I am grateful to David Martínez-Robles for providing this reference to me.

62 Marcaida, *Empresas agricolas, con chinos, en Filipinas, tomando por tipo lo que podrian producir en la isla de Mindoro*, 14–15; Sinibald de Mas, *Informe sobre el estado de las Islas Filipinas en 1842* (Madrid: Imprenta de I. Sancha, 1843).

63 I have recently explored the role of consul-merchants in "Exploiting Chinese Labour Emigration in Treaty Ports."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 902

like the coolie trade to Cuba – condemned by the international community and terminated by Chinese authorities.

Abellá had been experiencing difficulties in carrying out his business in China since 1872, when together with another agent of the planter Francisco F. Ibáñez, he had requested a permit to open an immigration house in Xiamen. However, they were unsuccessful and had to delay until the year after.[64] Moreover, in 1873, his coolie ship *Fatchoy* was directly targeted by British authorities and retained in Hong Kong using the new shipping ordinance, which prohibited ships equipped with restraining and imprisonment material, such as shackles, poles, iron nets, and prisons, from stopping in Hong Kong. British authorities were aware of the extreme abuses committed on this ship in the transport of Chinese indentured labourers to Havana, where the latter experienced 'the most unimaginable sufferings' and were treated 'with the greatest brutality'.[65] Upon its arrival in Hong Kong, as it was equipped with such items, it was retained and obliged to dispose of them, with the consequent great complaints by Abellá to the Spanish authorities about the immense economic losses he had suffered.[66]

That same year, when the multinational commission led by Chen Lanbin travelled to Cuba to assess the treatment given there to Chinese immigrants, *hacendados* in Cuba, expecting a negative review, looked for strategies to reach a new immigration agreement with the Chinese government. With this interest in mind, they created a society for the import of 'free workers', named *Sociedad de Importación de Trabajadores Libres*, which named Abellá their agent in China. Abellá designed a new system of emigration to Cuba, with suggestions on how to increase the benefits of the *hacendados*, and how to establish a new agreement between Spain and the Chinese government.[67]

Abellá's project consisted of a new system by which immigrants would be considered 'free workers', but continue to be indebted to the Society of *Importación*. Abellá investigated the possibility of emigration to Cuba from Hong Kong, Macau, or Manila, in order to avoid the control of the Chinese government. Abellá was given attention and encouragement by the powerful politician Víctor Balaguer, who held the position of Minister of Overseas Territories in Madrid discontinuously during the 1870s and 1880s. Abellá approached him in 1874 to present his free emigration project. In 1878,

64 Letter from Juan Ortiz to the Minister of State, Xiamen, 18 February 1872, in *Consulado de Emuy*, AHN, Mº_EXTERIORES_H1885.

65 *Correspondence Respecting the Macao Coolie Trade, and the Steamer* '*Fatchoy*' (London: Harrison and Sons, 1873): 4.

66 *Consulado de Hong Kong*, AHN, Mº_EXTERIORES_H1925.

67 Francisco Abellá, *Proyecto de inmigracion y colonizacion libre para fomentar la Isla de Cuba presentado al Excmo. Sr. Ministro de Ultramar* (Barcelona: Imprenta y Litografía C. Verdaguer y Cª, 1875). *Colección de documentos sobre emigración china ofrecidos por Francisco Abellá á la Biblioteca Museo Balaguer*, 1888, LB, Manuscript. 9.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 903

he also presented a plan to the Governor of the Philippines which suggested a connection between the archipelago and the coolie trade to Havana. The Governor, however, turned a blind eye, probably protective of the human trade already going on between Xiamen and Manila.[68] Precisely for this reason, Abellá encountered formidable obstacles which blocked this project: the Spanish consulate in Xiamen – the main port of departure for Chinese emigrants to the Philippines – generated significant revenue from issuing Chinese passports for travel there.[69] Consular duties produced between 30,000 and 40,000 pesos for the public treasury annually from emigration to Manila. Not only the consulate, but also – and particularly – the consulate's staff obtained abundant emoluments from every Chinese citizen shipped to Manila. Furthermore, concerned that these abuses could be disclosed by the international community and discovered by the Chinese government if it was ever connected to the infamous coolie trade, the Spanish consul in Xiamen, Emilio de Pereda, refused to grant permission for Abellá's last emigrant shipments to Cuba via Manila.

By the 1880s, the Spanish consulate was still obtaining significant revenues, which led to overcrowded Spanish steamers, as Giles denounced to Wade. When Giles confronted the Spanish Consul Lozano in Xiamen about a case of overcrowding on board the *Emuy* carrying emigrants to Manila, the Spanish consul answered that 'if he chose to clear vessels 'with forty or fifty over the authorised number', the responsibility was his', and not that of the British consul. In his letter to Wade, Giles acknowledged what lay at the root of the matter:

> For every Chinese emigrant shipped to Manila, the Spanish Government charges a fee of three dollars which goes into the Consulate chest. In addition to that, there is an unauthorised fee of, formerly sixty cents but now, one dollar per passenger, which is divided between the Consul-General, the Vice-Consul (when there is one), and the Chinese Linguist. Consequently, it is to the advantage of the members of the Spanish Consulate that all vessels for Manila should have as many on board as possible.[70]

Still, Abellá carried on with his project, and between 1879 and 1880 tried to embark more than 800 Chinese passengers in the German steamer *Hesperia* from Xiamen. However, his project was unsuccessful, even after counting with the help of Spanish Vice-Consul, Eduard Toda i Güell, of offering Chinese emigrants free passage to Cuba, and of paying a $25,000 commission to Xiamen's maritime customs to guarantee the vessel's return to China.[71] The end of the coolie trade to Cuba, and especially

68 Luzón, "Chineros, diplomáticos y hacendados en La Habana colonial": 155. LB, Ms. 9.

69 Chal Alabaster to Hugh Fraser, Quarterly intelligence report, Beijing, 26 Feb. 1878, in *To and from Amoy*, 1878, BNA, FO 228/606; Emilio de Pereda to the Spanish Ministry of State, Xiamen, 29 May 1879, *Consulado de Emuy*, AHN, Mº_EXTERIORES_H,1885.

70 Herbert A. Giles to Thomas F. Wade, Xiamen, 12 Mar. 1881, in *To and from Amoy*, 1883, BNA, FO 228/721.

71 Mònica Ginés-Blasi, "Eduard Toda i Güell: From Vice-Consul of Spain in China to the Renaixença in Barcelona (1871–84)," *Entremóns: UPF Journal of World History* 5 (2013): 8.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 904

the last failed investment in the *Hesperia*, represented an enormous economic toll on Abellá, who ended up losing his business and going into bankruptcy.[72]

7 Conclusion

Chinese emigration to the Philippines and the global coolie trade were undeniably interconnected. The Philippines, a colony not usually connected with Chinese emigration to Cuba by historians of indentured labour migration, was the alternative sought by Spanish authorities and merchants to adjust the trade's route and shield it from international condemnation. The strategic location of the Philippines, close to China, with a long-standing and continuous flow of human transportation from Xiamen – marked also by the smuggling of Chinese migrants – was the ideal solution to avoid international regulations and maintain the flow of cheap labour to the Cuban archipelago.

The Spanish government and Spanish representatives in China clearly supported the coolie trade and encouraged its reestablishment in the two periods of decline of the trade, after 1867 and 1874, when international regulations and policies hindered the trafficking of labourers to Cuba. The use of the Philippines as an alternative route was, thus, a joint business strategy between human traffickers, Spanish representatives, consuls, and politicians in Spain, China, and the colonies. These, in vain, strived to keep Cuba's sugar economy afloat in the last throes of Spanish capitalist imperialism. This chapter highlighted the significance of intermediaries in the development of different forms of bondage, to the point of shaping institutional regulations and even defying them when these opposed their personal interest.

The powerful role of Xiamen's consular staff in keeping the smuggling of Chinese into the Philippines undetected to avoid international admonishment, as well as the obstruction of Chinese and international regulations, represented important deterrents to rerouting the trade to Latin America via the Philippines. While the latter attempt led by Francisco Abellá in the 1870s was unsuccessful, some sources indicate that some shipments via Manila to Latin America had been successful in previous decades. Further research is needed to ascertain the extent of these voyages and whether they were the result of Spanish policies, or conversely, if Spanish policies tried to normalize or intensify an existing maritime route.

The system used by these intermediaries to organize bonded labour to the Philippines and to Cuba always operated by means of debt and transport abroad. Coercion was applied interchangeably using indenture in the Cuban case or through the ties of

72 Abellá to Joan Oliva, Yokohama, 8 June 1896, LB, Ms. Oliva/1857; Oliva to Víctor Balaguer, Vilanova i la Geltrú, 13 August 1896, LB, Ms. Oliva/1921; Abellá to Oliva, Yokohama, 4 December 1896, LB, Ms. Oliva/2483.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 905

Chinese kinship-assisted migration in the Philippines.[73] The difference between the two was the social context and the level of alienability in the two colonies. In Cuba, the workers were tied to a plantation through a contract from which it was difficult to break free by the imposition of unavoidable accumulative debts. In the Philippines, the kinship mechanism allowed them to eventually break free from the debts accumulated through assisted migration, but at the same time left them vulnerable to their creditors' mercy.

8 Reflection

This case study adds to the new theoretical tendencies which highlight the porosity between coexisting local and global systems of bondage – recently delineated by Matthias van Rossum – and in so doing joins other studies featured in this volume, such as those by Samantha Sint Nicolaas, Kate Ekama, and Hans Hägerdal.[74] To be sure, this chapter differs from the rest in this book in its chronological and geographical frameworks, as well as in the forms of coerced labour discussed. Most of the contributions have at least one of these aspects in common: they either focus on slavery; they are set in the Indian Ocean world, or in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Yet there are significant points of encounter which suggest the need to consider the global and local interdependence found in these coercive labour regimes in a broader frame of reference in space and time. The relationship between Chinese immigration to the Philippines and Chinese indentured labour to Latin America shows how East Asian post-abolition coerced labour circulated not only within the western Pacific, but also to the Atlantic, and across the Indian Ocean. Lisa Hellman's chapter reminds us that interregional forced mobility also took place across overland routes.

With the exception of Hellman's contribution, other regimes portrayed in this volume are set in colonial contexts where Western powers coordinated coercive labour structures. The British Empire in India and the Dutch colonial regime present parallelisms in the coordination of coerced labour, both in its local and imported forms, as both were heavily institutionalized. Thus, their capitalist objective was – generally – aligned throughout the entire structure. For instance, in Amal Shahid's contribution, the East India Company investments and British policies were managed to achieve the

73 Christian G. de Vito, Juliane Schiel, and Matthias van Rossum, "From Bondage to Precariousness? New Perspectives on Labor and Social History," *Journal of Social History* 54, no. 2 (2019): 1–19.

74 Matthias van Rossum, "Global Slavery, Local Bondage? Rethinking Slaveries as (Im)Mobilizing Regimes from the Case of the Dutch Indian Ocean and Indonesian Archipelago Worlds," *Journal of World History* 31, no. 4 (2020): 693–727.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 906

common goal of colonial control and justification of power. Similarly, in the case studies portrayed by Sint Nicolaas and Ekama's chapters in Batavia and Ceylon, the coordination of enslaving practices was subject to a common agenda. As Ekama shows, this was enclosed within a distinct and complex legal framework which also affected the circulation of enslaved people within the Dutch East India Company (VOC) Empire. For instance, regulating against the enslaving of locals spurred the importation of enslaved people.

In comparison with the British and Dutch regimes, the organization of coerced labour mobility to Spanish colonies was more fragmentary. The Spanish state, instead of functioning as an institutionalized coercive regime, supported a network of private businesses – from the agents in China to the *hacendados* in Cuba – providing the necessary legal frameworks to achieve a common capitalist enterprise.[75] Institutional support was expressed in multiple ways, from the work of representatives in China facilitating this emigration, through the political support of Spanish politicians, and, officially, with the 1867 Royal Order. The trafficking of indentured labourers acted more as a transnational network linked by intermediaries with disperse geographical interconnections, who were decisive in determining the circulation of labour.[76] In the long term, this led to a lack of control of the colonial territory.

This horizontal fragmentation is also visible in other contexts with multiple legalities, such as in the Euro-Japanese slave trade covered in Rômulo da Silva Ehalt's chapter. The Western colonial presence in Asia generated a complex setting for the development of territorialities which fomented the juxtaposition of various legal settings, for instance, in the extraterritorial legal order in treaty-port China. Together with Ehalt and Ekama's works, this research points to the importance of juridical frames – or the lack thereof – to create conditions of bondage and human trafficking. Human trafficking presents parallelisms with the trade of illicit commodities across the borders of colonial states, such as the importation and smuggling of opium on the south China coast and in Southeast Asia.[77]

---

75 Zeuske, "Coolies – Asiáticos and Chinos: Global Dimensions of Second Slavery."

76 Although from a sociological point of view, Mark Granovetter's mapping of network structures can be useful to define these commercial interactions, see "The Impact of Social Structure on Economic Outcomes," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 19, no. 1 (2005): 33–50.

77 On extraterritoriality in China and its juridical consequences see Pär Cassel, "Extraterritoriality in China: What We Know and What We Don't Know," in *Treaty Ports in Modern China: Law, Land and Power*, ed. Robert Bickers and Isabella Jackson (London: Routledge, 2016): 23–42. Regarding the smuggling of goods and people in Southeast Asia, see Eric Tagliacozzo and Wen-Chin Chang, *Chinese Circulations: Capital, Commodities and Networks in Southeast Asia* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011).

3. Research Lenses

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Lisa Hellman. “The Eastward Routes: Swedish Prisoners and Overlapping Regimes of Coercion in the Russian, Chinese and Dzungar Empires,” in *Slavery and Bondage in Asia, 1550–1850: Towards a Global History of Coerced Labour*, eds. Kate Ekama, Lisa Hellman and Matthias van Rossum (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 161-178.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-009

Lisa Hellman

The Eastward Routes: Swedish Prisoners and Overlapping Regimes of Coercion in the Russian, Chinese and Dzungar Empires

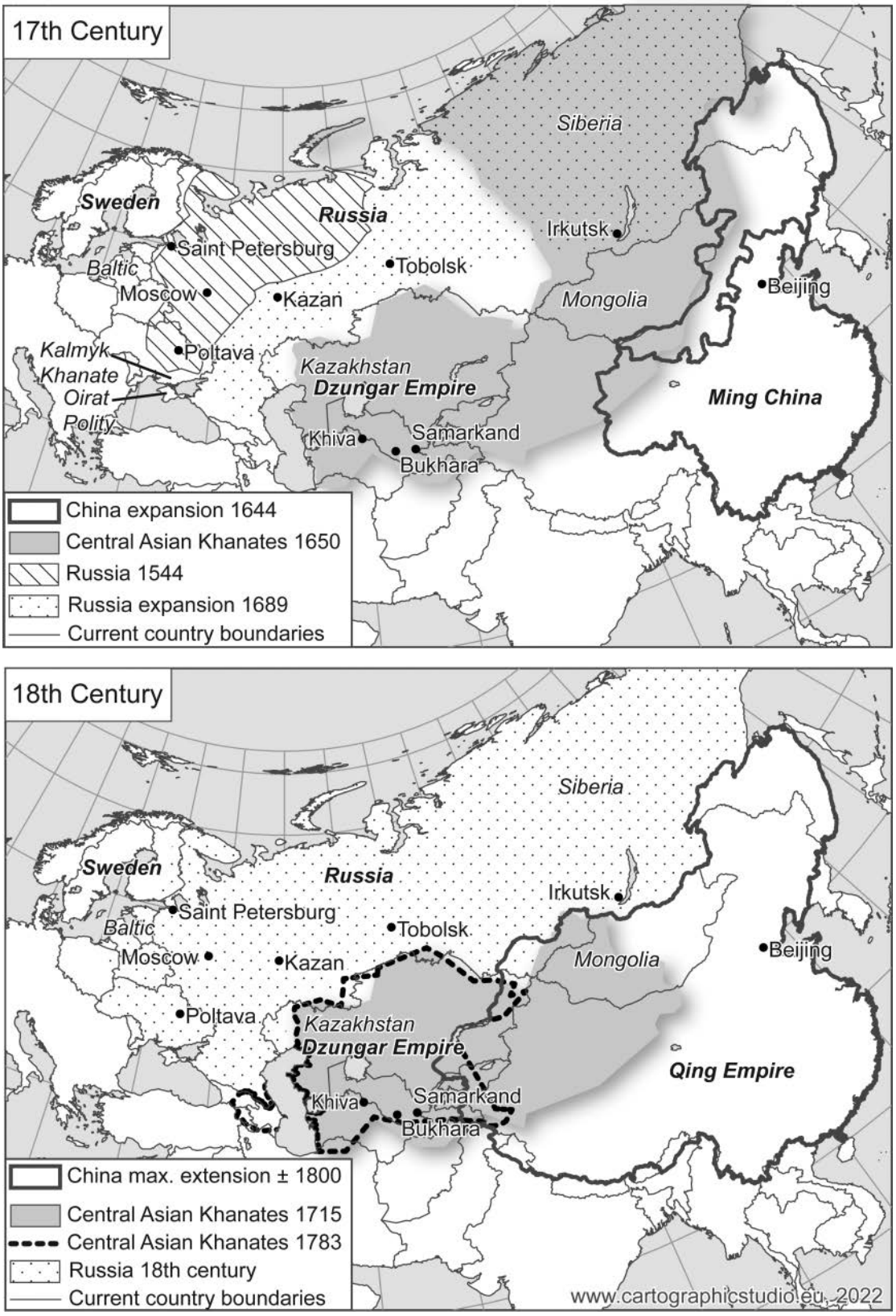
When it comes to forced migration and long-distance slave trade, the bulk of the attention has been paid to the Atlantic world, and to maritime routes. In contrast, this chapter uses prisoners in early modern Central Asia to re-centre the story of past coercion to Asia, and might serve as a reminder to include overland slave trade routes and inland regimes in discussions of coerced labour in the past.

In the eighteenth century, Russia, the Qing Empire, a number of large and small nomadic and seminomadic polities as well as the nomad Dzungar Empire all had claims on the Central Asian borderlands – and all had separate and overlapping regimes of coercion. As a second contribution, this chapter presents an attempt to approach the history of coerced labour both from within and without: that is, simultaneously as a comparative history based on emic categories, and as an effect of inter-regional entanglements. The groups active in Central Asia offer a great variety of both notions and strategic uses of coercion, including technical and manual labour and large-scale migration, a use that stretched from the steppe and all the way to the imperial courts. These notions and systems can be considered *regimes* of coerced labour, regimes that at times worked in parallel, at times overlapped – and at other times affected each other.

To illuminate how diverse the experiences of coercion could be in this region, this chapter will be centred around a specific group: Swedish prisoners of war, moving in and out of several regimes of coercion, and producing sources as they went. In the early eighteenth century, Russia was involved in the Great Northern War (1700–1721). As a result of this war, which Sweden lost along with its Baltic empire, over 25,000 Swedes were captured by the Russian army. This group was diverse in terms of age, class and gender, origin and native language: it included officers, common soldiers, their wives and children, as well as servants and prostitutes. These male and female prisoners of war were gradually moved further and further eastwards, away from the western front, and some ended up in Dzungaria, the Qing Empire, Mongolia and the Kazak state. The Swedish prisoners' regional spread, their diverse status and the wildly differing paths they took make them ideal to capture the multiplicity of coerced regimes of this region.

To capture both the regimes and the entanglements between them, this chapter will use the prisoners' mobility – forced mobility, mobility as an imperial strategy, restricted mobility, and mobility as an opportunity – as a lens through which to

Open Access. © 2022 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110777246-009



Map 5: Central Asia in the eighteenth century.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 911

study the Central Asia borderlands.[1] The experiences of the prisoners will relate and nuance Marcel van der Linden's three 'moments of coercion', i.e. entry, work, and exit. In the sources, parallel to the word 'prisoner', the terms 'serf', 'slave' and 'captive' are used, and I attempt to mirror how they are used by the coerced actors themselves. Unavoidably, this means that the meaning and use of terms shift, depending on the actor, and over time. During the early modern period, the prisoner-of-war system included enslavement and captivity, in parallel with camps and formal exchanges.[2] While the Swedish prisoners of war constitute a small part of the flows of coerced labour moving across the Eurasian land mass, their mobility and immobility illuminate the diversity of such coerced groups, and their conditions.

Thematically and analytically, this relatively small group of prisoners offers an entry point into larger debates: a focus on prisoners' mobility and entanglements of regimes of coercion might allow for the reconsideration of the notion of separate regimes of coercion altogether, and might show the importance of integrating the eighteenth-century Central Asian borderlands into histories of coercion on a global scale.[3]

1 Mobility and Immobility within Regimes of Coercion

The entry into bondage, the entry-point into coercion as it were, is relatively straightforward: most of the men and women at the centre of this story were captured at the catastrophic (for the Swedes) battle of Poltava in 1709. In order to accommodate the influx of tens of thousands of prisoners, the Russian administration organised an increasing number of camps in which to intern the prisoners; the largest camp was in Tobolsk, which housed about 800 officers, not counting their families. The formation of the Russian camp system relied on older Russian models for dealing with prisoners. What differed in this case was the diverse skill sets of the prisoners, their sheer number, and the way camps were set up further and further east.[4]

---

1 A key work for mobility studies is Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York: Routledge, 2006).

2 For views on the Russian and Swedish side, see Joachim Östlund, *Saltets pris: svenska slavar i Nordafrika och handeln i Medelhavet 1650–1770* (Lund: Nordic Academic Press, 2014): 26–28; Sergei Aleksandrovich Kozlov, *Russkie Plennye Velikoi Severnoi Voiny. 1700–1721*, ed. Zoja V. Dmitrieva. (St. Petersburg: Istoricheskaja illjustracija, 2011).

3 Marcel van der Linden, "Dissecting Coerced Labour," in *On Coerced Labor: Work and Compulsion after Chattel Slavery*, ed. Marcel van der Linden and Magaly Rodríguez García (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

4 Galina Shebaldina, *Shvedskie Voennoplennye v Sibiri: Pervaia Chetvert' XVIII Veka* (Moscow: RGGU, 2005).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 912

During their imprisonment, the Swedish prisoners were subject to ongoing and forced mobility; mobility and bondage were two sides of the same coin. If we turn to the diary of the captured officer Leonard Kagg, the number and variety of their movements are striking. Kagg's capture at the battle of Poltava led to a long forced march first to Moscow, and then to Tobolsk.[5] In Tobolsk, hundreds of officers gradually arrived at the camp. The decade that followed was far from static. From the very beginning, prisoners came and went every week: sometimes arriving from other camps, and sometimes passing through Tobolsk, having been ordered even further away. At times, officers and their wives could receive permission to stay at Russian settlements, a *sloboda*, outside of the camps – at times, they were ordered to such settlements.[6] Within months of first arriving in Tobolsk, two prisoners were dispatched all the way back to Moscow, a journey that took them a month on horseback. Their task was to arrange alimonies for the prisoners from the Swedish war fund.[7] Every so often prisoners were offered service in the Russian army.[8] Even those who refused Russian service altogether could be assigned to missions. Kagg's diary tells the story of ensign Petter Damitz and quartermaster Lundgren who were sent out to inspect Russian mines, and captain Johan Müller, who took part in a three-month-long mission to Christianise the so-called Ostiaks.[9] However, such tasks were reserved for officers and those with special skills. Kagg does not take down the names of 'commoners', he simply notes their arrival in large numbers, and records how they were sent to work sites around the camp, and to other camps.[10] Punishment could also lead to mobility between camps: when a prisoner committed an offence, they were moved elsewhere.[11] This kind of exile was even more common for the Russian population: many of the settlers in Tobolsk had been sent eastwards as a punishment.[12] Several forms of coerced mobility, for prisoners and common citizens, coexisted in these camp sites.

There were recurring attempts to organise exchanges of prisoners between Sweden and Russia.[13] A spectacular example of the mobility of the prisoners is that of Johan Adolph Clodt von Jürgensburg. He was captured as Riga capitulated in 1710, but through negotiations with prince A.D. Menshikov secured a promise to work towards a prisoner exchange – an exchange that would include himself. To travel, he had to give his 'word of honour' and pay bail. Most importantly, he had to give over

5 Leonhard Kagg, *Leonhard Kaggs dagbok 1698–1722*, ed. Adam Lewenhaupt (Stockholm: Nord. bokh., 1912): 130–33, 145, 186.
6 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 189, 191, 194, 196, 203, 218–19.
7 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 186.
8 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 135.
9 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 206, 213–16.
10 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 189, 197.
11 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 202, 222, 226.
12 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 158, 187, 260.
13 Shebaldina, *Shvedskie Voennoplennye v Sibiri*: 115–16.

his sons 'to serfdom', should he abscond – demonstrating another possible route into coercion. Clodt worked hard for his own release but, as he would experience first-hand, few prisoner exchanges were carried out in this war. While King Charles XII created Clodt a baron, he refused an exchange, wherefore Clodt had to return to Russia in 1714 and spend the rest of the war, until 1720, with the other prisoners of war.[14]

Throughout the war, there were reports of how Swedish prisoners were treated in Russia, and of how Russian prisoners were treated in Sweden. Both sides attempted to use reprisals against prisoners in their own land to alter the treatment of their countrymen abroad: the systems of coercion affected each other.[15] There were not two, but at least three systems involved here: one of Sweden's allies in the war against Russia was the Ottoman Empire, and Swedes went into Russia (and were subsequently captured) across the Ottoman-Russian borders.[16] Over the course of the eighteenth century, Will Smiley argues, the Ottoman-Russian conflicts, and the ensuing problem of how to organise, treat and exchange these prisoners, led to the development of the modern prisoner-of-war system.[17] Following the Swedish prisoners of war can show the diversity of systems of bondage, and also reveal the formation of the modern system for prisoners of war.[18]

This prison system existed side by side with other systems, for example raids in the Baltic provinces of the Swedish empire, during which thousands of civilians were captured and deported. Also in this case, social standing was key. Those of a higher standing, such as aristocrats, but also civil servants and priests were quite well received by the local societies to which they were brought. Captured Baltic peasants, however, were sold into serfdom or into the slaving systems of the Ottoman and Central Asian empires.[19] The Swedish prisoners are a marginal group in the history of Russia compared to the various forms serfdom in the Russian empire.[20] However, as the examples from the Baltic make clear, these regimes might not be as separate as they first appear. The Swedes were well aware of the status of

14 Bertil Boéthius, "J. Adolph Clodt von Jürgensburg," in *Svenskt Biografiskt Lexikon*, vol. 8, ed. Bertil Boéthius (Stockholm: A. Bonnier, 1929): 653.

15 See for example *Sannfärdig berättelse, angående ryssarnes ochristelige och hårda förfahrande emot kongl. may:tz af Swerige högre och ringare fångne officerare, betiente och undersåtare, samt deras qwinnor och barn* (Stockholm, 1705).

16 See Hans Henrik Sylvius in Kagg, *Dagbok*.

17 Will Smiley, *From Slaves to Prisoners of War: The Ottoman Empire, Russia, and International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

18 Arnold Krammer, *Prisoners of War: A Reference Handbook* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 2008); Juliette Pattinson, Lucy Noakes, and Wendy Ugolini, "Introduction: Incarcerated Masculinities: Male POWs and the Second World War," *Journal of War and Culture Studies* 7 (2014): 179–90.

19 Alf Åberg, *Karolinska kvinnoöden* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1999): 15.

20 For an overview, see Christoph Witzenrath, ed., *Eurasian Slavery, Ransom and Abolition in World History, 1200–1860* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015).

and conditions for Russian serfs, but still used the terms serf and serfdom as a simile to describe their own situation.[21]

In Tobolsk, as in many other camps, the prisoners could walk around and move relatively freely – just not leave town without permission. Those who did try to escape, which a fair number of prisoners did, could be freely killed by farmers in the countryside, or captured anew after a few days.[22] The strategy of binding the prisoners to the camp was thereby twofold: isolation and poverty. In the prison camps, a labour regime awaited that kept the prisoners tied to the camps, and made use of their skills. This was not unique to Russia: in Sweden, Russian prisoners were an important source of labour, in a land drained from the long war.[23] There was some tension between their employment for public building works, such as mines and shipyards, constituting a nearly free work force for hard and dangerous labour, and times when they took part in market-oriented production, such as beer-brewing and international trade. There were ongoing attempts by the authorities to clamp down on this trade: if we return to the diary of Kagg, prisoners are over and over being 'sent away in disgrace' to other camps, away from Tobolsk, having been caught carrying on 'forbidden trade', most commonly brewing and selling alcohol.[24] However, the alternative sources of income for the prisoners were few, and the trade kept going.

It is crucial to consider the different social standing of the prisoners. Officers were afforded a fairly high degree of freedom of movement and trade within and around the camps, which could lead them to compete commercially with Russians, causing conflicts. For the common soldiers, hard manual labour awaited. In the mines particularly, the survival rates were low. Different classes had different survival rates. Only 5,000 of the 25,000 prisoners made it back to Sweden, and of the survivors, a great proportion were either officers or skilled craftsmen.[25]

To place the prisoners in Siberia killed two birds with one stone: it made the prisoners part of Russia's eastwards push, and it removed them from the western frontier. If we consider Map 5, we see how dramatically Russia expanded eastwards, and the multiple polities it clashed with in that expansion. The prison camps, researchers now argue, helped the Russian expansion militarily, economically and intellectually.[26] They underpinned the local economy, and made the camps high-functioning small

21 A typical example is the poetry collection of Georg Henrik von Borneman, "Sånger af en svensk fånge i Simbirsk" (1711), Lund University Library.

22 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 142, 183, 179, 186, 193.

23 Alf Åberg, *Fångars elände: karolinerna i Ryssland 1700–1723* (Stockholm: Natur och kultur, 1991): 18–21, 51–53; Gustaf Jonasson, "Krigsfångar som resurs," in *Historiska etyder*, ed. Janne Backlund (Uppsala: Historiska institutionen, Uppsala University, 1997).

24 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 207, 208, 233.

25 Carl Piper and Carl Gustaf Rehnschiöld, *Carl Pipers och Carl Gustaf Rehnschiölds mottagna brev 1709–1713*, ed. Lars Otto Berg (Stockholm: Kungl. Samf. för utgivande av handskrifter rörande Skandinaviens historia, 1997); Åberg, *Fångars elände*: 41–48.

26 Shebaldina, *Shvedskie Voennoplennye v Sibiri*.

towns. One tenth of the population in Tobolsk were Swedish prisoners. Furthermore, the camps functioned as rest stops between trade hubs, and helped connect the Russian market to that of Persia and the Central Asian city states. Finally, the camps were information hubs for Russian diplomats, traders and explorers going east, northeast, and southeast into China and the Central Asian border states.[27]

In the early eighteenth century, a large proportion of the Russian colonisers had arrived in Siberia either as punishment or as a form of exile. As argued by Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, who has traced the experiences of Polish, Lithuanian and Crimean prisoners of war, Siberia and Central Asia were to a significant degree colonised by exiles and prisoners from the west who were moved east.[28] Thus, the prison camps constituted hubs for mobility, points of connection with other regions, and part of the Russian colonisation of Siberia.[29]

2 Mobility between Systems of Coercion

Prisoners of war were subject to mobility due to coercion, but could also see mobility as an opportunity. The Swedish prisoners in Russia could be captured anew, lent to foreign powers, or be sent to the borders of the Russian empire – and beyond. A few prisoners' experiences can illuminate how interactions between regimes of coercion took place across the Eurasian steppe.

In a Swedish history of war, written by the Finnish scholar Arvid Moller, the battle of Sangaste in modern-day Estonia in 1702 is described. Following the defeat of the Swedish army, 'Kalmyks and Tatars swarmed the land' and 'took many hundreds of children to Tartary, to sell'.[30] This is part of the general trend to underline Asian minority groups or Asian allies to the Russian empire when attempting to stress the opponents' cruelty.[31] That said, there were cases when those in the Swedish army

27 Vladimir Stepanovich Miasnikov, ed., *Russko-kitaiskie otnosheniia v XVIII veke. Dokumenty i materialy. 1729–1733*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Pamjatniki istoricheskoe mysli, 2016).

28 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, "Captive Colonizers: The Role of the Prisoners of War from Poland Lithuania and the Crimean Khanate in the Russian Subjugation of Eastern Siberia," *Journal of World History* (forthcoming 2022).

29 Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West: The Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005): 88.

30 Arvid Moller, *Kort beskrifning öfwer Est- och Lifland, jemte undersökning om dessa Länders Inbyggares, i synnerhet det estniska och finska folckslagets ursprung* (Johan Laur. Horrn, 1755): 86; see Michael Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met: The Russian State and the Kalmyk Nomads, 1600–1771* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006): 217.

31 A typical example is *Ett uttag af några ifrån Steinau uthi Schlesien den 20 Julij 1707 daterade bref, om dhe muskowitiske callmuckers och cossakers grufweliga förfarande, med mördande, skiöflande och brännande, kring Lissa i Stor-Pohlen och de där wid gräntzande orter* (Stockholm: Johan Henr. Werner, 1707).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 916

were captured by Kalmyks. One example is in 1709, when the captains Eric Reutenstierna and Gabriel Gyllenanckar were both 'captured by the Kalmyks'.[32] These two men were sent to Siberia, and made it back to Sweden after the war.[33] But not all captives found their way into the structure of prisoner-of-war camps and prisoner exchanges. There was a stream of prisoners of war going east, either as ransom slaves or labourers. Traditionally, war captives made up the greater part of the slave populations of Central and Inner Asia, including Poles, Ukrainians, Russians, and other Slavs, who had been seized by Tatars and others on the southern frontier and dispatched to Central Asian markets at Bukhara, Samarkand, Khiva or in the Crimea. These markets were primarily aimed towards the Mediterranean and the Ottoman Empire, but also provided Central Asia with slaves.[34] These prisoners, regardless of ethnicity, fed into one and the same regime.[35] In the context of coerced labour at large, the Swedish prisoners were but drops in a much larger stream.

The streams to Central Asia could take many forms. On one occasion, a foreign observer at the court of the tsar noted how a Bukharan emissary asked to receive – or buy – Swedish women. The tsar denied this request, but did 'gift' him two Swedish 'whores'.[36] As this example shows, both voluntary and forced mobility depended on gender and class. For some, notably male and educated officers with the necessary language skills, mobility could equal greater freedom to for example make money or to carry out scholarly investigations. For others, notably unmarried women, such movement or slippage was a marker of the vulnerable position they occupied within their system – from their precarious position they could slip into other regimes of coercion.

The mobility forced upon Swedish prisoners can provide an outside view of these other regimes. An example is Johan Christian Schnitser, who was imprisoned in Tobolsk as a Chinese mission to the Kalmyks passed through. He was then dispatched by the Russian governor to accompany and safeguard this Chinese mission. As is clear from the Qing reports, this mission illustrates both the growing diplomatic connections between the Qing Empire and Russia at this time, and the importance for both to establish and retain their relationships with Central Asian polities, such as the Oirat polity of the Kalmyk Khanate.[37] In his own travelogue, Schnitser remarks on the local slavery regimes. Initially, he mentions how they take people,

32 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 125.

33 Reutenstierna Diplomatica Muscovitiva 143, Beskickningshandlingar 1721–1723, Riksarkivet; Gyllenanckar Svenskt Biografiskt lexikon, vol. 17 (1967–1969): 523.

34 Richard Hellie, "Migration in Early Modern Russia, 1480s–1780s," in *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives*, ed. David Eltis (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002): 307–10.

35 See Kołodziejczyk, "Captive Colonizers."

36 Friedrich Christian Weber, *Das veränderte Russland* (Frankfurt, 1721).

37 Tulišen, *Lakcaha jecen de takūraha babe ejehe bithei/Man Han Yi yu lu jiao zhu*, ed. Zhuang Jifa (Taipei: Wen Shizhe Publishing House, 1983).

cattle and horses from their neighbours, but that 'the people, who they do not themselves need, they sell to other Kalmyks'.[38] Indeed, while the Kalmyks theoretically were allied with Russians at this time, and together with the Russians caused the Swedish defeat at Poltava in 1709, still in 1714 Schnitser noted the Kalmyk practices to secure bail from captive Russians ('against 50 to 60 good horses'). If someone was deemed guilty of an offence in this context, Schnitser claims he is 'given to the other as an eternal serf'.[39] Schnitser says the Kalmyk serfs were Bashkirs, Karalpakians, Kubans, and captured Russians.[40] These snippets demonstrate how ubiquitous these practices were, even for an outside observer. In several of the Central Asian polities, prisoners of war were sold into slavery if they could not be bailed out. This practice was well known in Russia, and for a long time complicated the border relations.[41]

In several places, Schnitser's travel writing has comments correcting the translation of local words, and titles.[42] The man who could confidently correct such terms was Johan Renat, who spent almost two decades in an ever-larger Oirat polity: the Dzungar khanate. In 1716, Renat, together with several other Swedish mining engineers, Swedish officers in Russian service, and Russian troops, was sent to the borders of Dzungaria. They were captured by Dzungar troops, and enslaved in this khanate. One of the women of the group, Birgitta Scherzenfeldt, describes the state of the Swedish prisoners as 'pitiful'.[43] The experiences of the Swedish prisoners were far from unusual: Dzungar society was built on the capture of slaves and military conquest – Michael Khodarovsky sees it as a key to understanding this entire region.[44]

In addition to the foreign captives, there was an in-group system of coercion, akin to serfdom. Peter Perdue argues that serfdom in the Dzungar Empire was set to solve similar structural problems as within the Russian empire, and that the differences between the two should not be exaggerated.[45] In both cases, the majority of the coerced labourers were agricultural workers, some of them Dzungar, others Kazak, Kirghiz and Chinese captives. The largest group were Muslim men and women forcibly transported

38 Johan Christian Schnitscher, *Berättelse, om ajuckiniska Calmuckiet* (Stockholm, 1744): 18.

39 Schnitscher, *Berättelse, om ajuckiniska Calmuckiet*: 19.

40 Schnitscher, *Berättelse, om ajuckiniska Calmuckiet*: 26.

41 Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met*: 206.

42 Schnitscher, *Berättelse om ajuckiniska Calmuckiet*: 5–11, 20, 27–29, 31, 34, 42–44.

43 Brigita Scherzenfeldt, "Personalier öfwer lieutnantens herr Johan Gustaf Renats maka, fru Brigitta Schersenfeldt" (1736), 6–7, C.R. Berch's Collection, The Library of the Swedish Royal Academy of Letters; Kagg, *Dagbok*: 236.

44 Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2002); these practices are also found in the Kazak state, see Jin Noda, *Ro-Shin teikoku to Kazafu hankoku* (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 2011); see also James Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads: A History of Xinjiang* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007): 83.

45 Perdue, *China Marches West*.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 918

to the Yili valley, a group known as the *tariyachin*.[46] When justifying the Qing conquest of this region, arguing that he saved the Muslim minority, the Qianlong emperor said that this group 'were made to work like slaves'.[47] The group of Swedes and Russians seems not to have primarily been put into agricultural labour. A Russian report, together with Swedish letters, suggest that they were employed in the weapons industry.[48] Dzungar military strength was a question of the khanate's survival: there were ongoing struggles with the Khalka Mongols, and the Russian and the Qing empires, and the latter intensified in the 1740s. In 1757, the khanate was wiped out. Many Dzungars were killed, but more were forced into slavery – constituting another type of entry into forced mobility and coercion. The Qing administration moved the enslaved Dzungars into other regions, and embarked on an ambitious settling campaign for the land, where exiles, convicts, rebels, entrepreneurs and merchants moved in.[49] No Swedish prisoners remained to see this shift. The last group of Swedish prisoners, together with a large group of Russians, around 150 people, left the Dzungars in 1734.[50]

The experience of the prisoners in Dzungaria does bring us to a final example of the mobility of the prisoners, namely the prisoners who went to the Qing Empire. For some of them, we know very little. For example, in December in 1712, the cornet Gustaf Neibau is only noted to have 'travelled with voivode Lubauski to the city of Nalim on the Chinese border'.[51] For others, we know significantly more. The prisoner Lorenz Lange, who took part in several Russian diplomatic missions to Beijing during the war, gathering as much information as he could for his Russian masters, wrote several books about his experiences. During the first of his journeys to China, in 1715–1716, he was questioned by the Chinese officials he met about Moscow, Sweden, and the Swedish-Russian war.[52] On this first journey, Lange wrote down observations of the nomadic and semi-nomadic people he encountered. After entering the Qing Empire, his notes become more sparse, and mention nothing of the coercive regimes in the places he passed. This is despite the fact that there was much to be observed. The regions he travelled through were in the middle of a great shift: not only were the north-eastern regions of the Qing empire used for exile, just like

46 James Millward, *Eurasian Crossroads*: 92–93.

47 Ma Dazheng, "The Tarim Basin," in *History of Civilizations of Central Asia: Development in Contrast: From the Sixteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, ed. Chahryar Adle and Irfan Habib, vol. 5 (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2003): 200.

48 Miasnikov, *Russko-kitaiskie otnosheniia. 1729–1733*, vol. 5: 509, 838; 'Letter from Johan Renat' (23 August 1739), the Archive of Gunnar Jarring, Lund University Library; 'Letter from Johan Renat' (25 April 1743), Brev till o från Andr. Norrenius g. 190, Uppsala University Library.

49 Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*.

50 Scherzenfeldt, "Personalier": 17–18.

51 Kagg, *Dagbok*: 197.

52 Lorenz Lange, "Journal du voyage de Laurent Lang a la Chine," in *Recueil de voyages au Nord, contenant divers memoires très-utiles au commerce & la navigation*, vol. 5 (3rd ed., Amsterdam, 1735): 395.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 919

Siberia in the Russian empire, they were increasingly settled – a process that was partly voluntary, partly coerced.[53]

The Swedish prisoners do not give the full picture of the multiple and complex regimes they encountered – not the least because they saw and understood such limited parts of the regimes. What they saw depended on their class, gender, and to some degree their own luck, and what they wrote about it depended on their own aims for the diary, report or letter. Nevertheless, despite normally being written into a completely different history, that of (a failed) European empire building, the Swedish prisoners of war give an ant's-eye view of the forced migration across the Eurasian steppe, as part of the Qing, Dzungar and Russian expansion. That forced migration was key to early modern empire building has been demonstrated for European and maritime cases, but is more rarely connected to its Asian counterparts.[54]

3 Social Mobility

The Swedish prisoners can also illustrate a different kind of mobility altogether: that of moving between social circumstances, or out of the state of coercion altogether. Slavery and coercion took many forms during this time and in this region, from the Oirat law on penal enslavement, to Chinese debt slavery and Russian serfdom. All of these forms allowed for very different opportunities for social mobility.[55] Social, perhaps even more than physical, mobility and immobility therefore illustrate not an overview of the many regimes of coercion that overlapped and interacted in Central Asia, but rather a view from one specific group.

In 1711, the Ottoman offensive against the Russian empire ended. At this point, the Russian administration initiated a conscious effort to make use of the tens of thousands of Swedish prisoners of war, and to encourage in particular the officers to enter Russian service.[56] Their perceived usefulness to the Russian administration was an effect of the training in mapping, engineering and modern languages that Swedish officers were required to undergo. An equally helpful fact was that this highly trained personnel was also highly expendable, and eager to escape life in

53 Perdue, *China Marches West*: 328.

54 See for example Kerry Ward, *Networks of Empire: Forced Migration in the Dutch East India Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

55 See for example Angela Schottenhammer, "Slaves and Forms of Slavery in Late Imperial China (Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries)," *Slavery & Abolition* 24, no. 2 (2003): 143–54; Khodarkovsky, *Where Two Worlds Met*; Alessandro Stanziani, "Esclaves et captifs en Russie et en Asie Centrale (xvie-xixe siècles)," in *Les esclavages en Méditerranée: Espaces et dynamiques économiques*, ed. Fabienne P. Guillén and Salah Trabelsi (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2017): 195–211.

56 Polnoye sobraniye zakonov Rossiyskoy Imperii [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire], vol. 5, no. 3208, 11.06.1718.

the camps. Many Swedish officers chose to join Russian ranks.[57] Most often we know little of their justifications. An exception is Birgitta Scherzenfeldt, who argued that while her husband Michael Ziems had been captured while in service of the Swedish army, the fact that he was a German national meant that he did not owe any loyalty to the Swedes.[58] Once in Russian service, prisoners could attain high-ranking positions. An example is the aforementioned Lange, who accompanied several Russian expeditions to Beijing. Little is known about Lange, other than that he was born in Stockholm, and at some point before 1714 entered Russian service.[59] After the war with Sweden was over, Lange was lent out from Russia to the Qing, to join a Chinese diplomatic mission to the Mongols.[60] Eventually, he became vice governor of Irkutsk, a position he held for ten years.[61] To enter Russian service could be a start of a successful new career.

Russian service as an 'exit' from captivity was not an alternative available to all prisoners, however. Most in the rank and file were used for hard, manual labour and were not sought after for their training or skill, nor were all of the officers of use to the Russian administration or army. Their skills notwithstanding, some prisoners attempted to use this opportunity to escape Siberia. In March 1717, two Swedes who reported for service were soon found to be useless at Russian, and were incarcerated anew.[62]

For some prisoners, the time in Siberia meant the start of a new life: they married and stayed in Russia. The prisoners' diaries commonly mention marriages between Swedish prisoners and prisoners' widows and daughters in the camps, but also intermarriages between Swedish men and Russian women. The prisoners were free to practice their own faith in Russia, but were supposed to convert to the Orthodox faith if they married. That choice, however, meant that they would no longer be welcome in Sweden, as only the protestant faith was allowed there. To prove their loyalty to their king and faith, some prisoners even produced accounts of how repulsive they found Russian women.[63] Some imprisoned couples returned to Sweden after the war, yet others stayed. The prisoners' accounts mirror the disparity of their experiences. On the one hand, there is the Swedish couple Ebba Catarina Sabelhierta and lieutenant Anders Hästesko, who were both prisoners in Siberia. At the time of the armistice, however, he returned to Sweden, while she chose to stay in

57 For examples see Kagg, *Dagbok*: 135, 197, 202, 204.

58 Scherzenfeldt, "Personalier": 6.

59 Lorenz Lange, *Tagebuch zwoer Reisen, welche in den Jahren 1727, 1728 und 1736 von Kjachta und Zuruchaitu durch die Mongoley nach Peking gethan worden* (Leipzig, 1781): 3.

60 Lange, *Tagebuch zwoer Reisen von Kjachta nach Peking*.

61 Mark Mancall, *Russia and China: Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971): 202–3, 218.

62 Shebaldina, *Shvedskie Voennoplennye v Sibiri*: 124.

63 Von Borneman, "Sånger af en svensk fånge i Simbirsk."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 921

Russia, and to keep her two children with her. On the other hand, both daughters of John Berner, an officer in Russian service close to Kazan, married Swedish officers, and then shared the destinies of their husbands in camp.[64] To marry a free woman was not a certain way out of imprisonment.

Some Swedish women were subjected to forced marriage and conversion, and the civilians of the Baltic provinces were particularly vulnerable. The Swede Thomas Funck, trying to underline any and all signs of Russian cruelty, claimed to have walked around the slave markets of Constantinople, and found young Swedish women and whole families captured and sold by Cossacks and Kalmyks. Similarly, captain Carl von Roland claims to have 'taken over' his Finnish wife from his friend, the Livonian captain Jacob Johan Tiesenhausen, who 'bought her in the market like a piece of cattle'.[65] One example that has had much attention is that of Lovisa von Burghausen, who was kidnapped at the age of seven, was forced to convert, and to marry into first a Turkish and then an Armenian household, before being married to a Russian. Many years later, she was identified by a group of imprisoned Swedes, who 'bought her freedom'.[66] Such abductions of children, especially girls, were a common fear and a recurring theme in stories of captivity. However, despite the dramatic eighteenth-century presentation of von Burghausen's tale, where the Swedish girl represents purity and the foreign men are consistently blackguards, this was neither an unusual nor a solely Swedish experience. The forced removal of young girls for marriage and household labour can be found in multiple contexts in the Russian realm. In Siberia, young Central Asian girls were married off to Russian colonisers – something that the Russian administration long turned a blind eye to.[67] There is even evidence that women were disproportionately exiled to Siberia. Andrew Gentes interprets this as a conscious administrative strategy on the Russian part, forcing fertile women to help settle the borderlands, and thus help 'domesticate' the border.[68]

These practices of marriage, exile, and abduction show the gendered layer of the experience of captivity. For Swedish men, marriage to Russian women is presented in the literature as a way to integrate into Russian society. In contrast, for the Swedish, Russian, and Central Asian women supposedly forced into marriage, the union is presented as an entry point into another type of coercion, not as a road to a different society. That difference could reflect the actual gendered difference of the experience of intercultural marriage. One can also consider how this presentation

64 Åberg, *Karolinska kvinnoöden*: 115, 120.

65 Åberg, *Karolinska kvinnoöden*: 15–16.

66 Lovisa von Burghausen, "Rättelig Berättelse" (1733), Biografica, Riksarkivet; Åberg, *Karolinska kvinnoöden*: 20–29.

67 Andrew Gentes, "'Licentious Girls' and Frontier Domesticators: Women and Siberian Exile from the Late 16th to the Early 19th Centuries," *Sibirica: Journal of Siberian Studies* 3, no. 1 (2003): 3–20.

68 Perdue, *China Marches West*; Gentes, "'Licentious Girls' and Frontier Domesticators."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 922

ascribes an agency to men that is denied the women.[69] This is one of many reasons why it is necessary to bring together an understanding of the early modern labels, such as when von Burghausen talks of herself as being 'abducted' and 'forced', with an analysis of how the social relations at the time worked – and for that, analytical terms, such as coercion, are useful.

Swedish prisoners who ended up in Mongol polities like the Dzungar Empire, were, just like in the Russian empire, used both for manual labour, and for their skills, such as engineering. The prisoners were employed to produce military machinery, for example, side by side with captives from Russia and from other parts of Turkish and Mongol polities of Central Asia.[70] The rights and duties of the captives were regulated in the Oirat law regarding 'foreign specialists', as they were called.[71] It seems possible that the Swedes might have had more opportunities than captured Russians, on the basis of their perceived exoticism. Having been captured at the Dzungar border, Scherzenfeldt claims to then have been gifted to the khan 'as she was from a strange and in this land unknown nation'.[72] Similarly, the reason why the Bukharan emissary was interested in buying Swedish women specifically, was the things he had heard about this nation.[73] At the same time, there are few signs of Swedes settling and integrating in any of the Mongol polities.

Coercion was not limited to captives of war, nor was it limited to manual labourers: the Dzungar rulers kept family members of their high-rankings retainers with them in the capital.[74] This guarantee for their loyalty is somewhat akin to the Tokugawa *sankin kōtai*-system in Japan. Central Asian traditions did not always conflate slave status with a loss of social identity – enslaved artisans produced advanced craftsmanship and pursued trades.[75] Several of the Swedish prisoners achieved a relatively good position with the empire, and stayed after the end of the war with Russia. Having secured their release, one group managed to return to Sweden. Among these, prisoners such as Mathias Brandt brought home a Dzungar wife and settled

69 For a longer discussion, see Claire Robertson and Marsha Robinson, "Re-Modeling Slavery as If Women Mattered," in *Women and Slavery: The Modern Atlantic*, ed. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2007): 253–83.

70 Peter C. Perdue, "Crossing Borders in Imperial China," in *Asia Inside Out: Connected Places*, ed. Eric Tagliacozzo, Helen F. Siu, and Peter C. Perdue (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015): 205–7.

71 Roman J. Pochekaev, "Rossiiskie Puteshestvenniki o Pravovykh Otnosheniyakh v Dzhungarskom Khanstve XVIII v.," *Oriental Studies* 12, no. 1 (2019): 28–40.

72 Scherzenfeldt, "Personalier": 9.

73 Weber, *Das veränderte Russland*.

74 Jin Noda, *Ro-Shin teikoku to Kazafu hankoku*: 63; Dazheng, "The Tarim Basin": 193.

75 Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Slavery in Early Modern China," in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, vol. 3, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011): 199–200.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 923

with her in Sweden, and Scherzenfeldt brought home slaves of her own.[76] Interestingly, Russian slaves who were captured and sold on to Central Asia, became freedmen if they returned to Russia – 'because of their suffering in captivity'.[77] A circuitous way out of one regime of coercion could be enslavement in another. In short, the prisoners' social mobility depended on their class, their gender, and where they had the fortune or misfortune to be moved.

4 Beyond Isolated Regimes of Coercion

The Swedish prisoners of war in the eighteenth century moved from northern Europe to eastern Asia. The prisoners were part of, left, entered, or observed systems of serfdom, prisoners of war, exile, enslavement, captives, hostages, as well as forced migration. While labels changed, some practices they experienced would remain long after they were gone, including punitive labour, forced migrations to north-eastern China – and using Siberia for exile. Placing mobility at the centre of the analysis shows the danger of equating mobility with freedom or, for that matter, equating a state of coercion with a state of immobility. Forced mobility was a hardship the prisoners endured, but mobility also provided them with opportunities. In this way, mobility highlights that coercion could be a whole spectrum.

Some, perhaps most, regimes of coerced labour were not located in one place only: regimes can span several regions, or depend on connections between regions. Prisoners of war are a natural example of a system that requires such connections, but so is the Central Asia trade enslaving prisoners. As Alessandro Stanziani has argued, coercion was rarely a strictly imperial or national phenomenon: there were multilateral imperial corridors between systems of coercion in both Europe and Asia.[78] Prisoners taken from the eastern or southern frontier of Russia could end up in the coerced settlement of the Fergana valley. The focus on coerced mobility and the transformation and entanglements of regimes of coercion allow for the reconsideration of the notion of separate regimes of coercion altogether.

The prisoners are somewhat complicated examples of all of Linden's three 'moments of coercion', i.e. entry, work, and exit: once captured, they could be captured again by other powers, which could lead either to a state of weaker, or of even stronger dependency. Their work could be a road to exit, even a successful career, or it could mean gradually being worn down, and not surviving to the end of the

76 Scherzenfeldt, "Personalier"; "Consistorii Ecclesiastici Protokoll, §. 2" (30 September 1736), vol. AI:13, Domkapitlets i Lund arkiv.

77 Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier*: 23.

78 Alessandro Stanziani, *Sailors, Slaves, and Immigrants – Bondage in the Indian Ocean World, 1750–1914* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 924

war. The social standing of the prisoners is key to understanding their work circumstances. Similarly, while many officers and skilled craftsmen were offered the chance to join Russian service, this not only meant giving up on their homeland, but also entering into a strict military contract. Rather than finding a clear exit or entry point for those who moved within and between systems of coercion, it might be more useful to – as proposed by Noel Lenski and Catherine Cameron – consider an actor's degree of freedom or coercion over his or her lifetime. To do so offers a notion of higher and lesser degrees of intensity of coercion, and does not presume a distinct line when an actor enters or leaves a state of dependency.[79]

The difficulty of balancing bondage and opportunity is apparent in the ambivalence in previous studies on the Swedish prisoners. On the one hand, there is a focus on their lack of freedom and the ill-treatment they suffered at the hand of the Russians. On the other hand, there is a focus on their skills as translators and scholars, and their influence – in particular those who went beyond the Russian borders are presented as adventurers and scholars, not prisoners or captives.[80] These trends of seeing them as either completely unfree or as civilising adventurers, live on in parallel, sometimes even in the same works. However, the mortality rate of the prisoners is significant: part of what made them useful as colonial agents and go-betweens might have been their combination of education and expendability. The understanding of this spectrum of coercion, and a nuanced view of coercion, requires attention to the actors' social standing (class) as well as their gender.

The intercultural usage of terms is indeed a hard nut to crack for a historian. Using a word such as prisoners, instead of slave, can mask asymmetric dependencies and regimes of coercion, but also underline the severity of coercion; terms can both mask and exaggerate. The use of the word serf, the labelling of others as slaves, and calling rulers tyrants or despots, were all ways to orientalise and evaluate other polities and systems, a practice that went far beyond the early modern period.[81] The use of slavery and freedom, for the others and the self, is especially stark in discourses of the status of women: coercion of women is something that exists elsewhere, while the women at home are presented as free.[82] As such,

79 Noel Emmanuel Lenski and Catherine M. Cameron, *What Is a Slave Society?: The Practice of Slavery in Global Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

80 Typical examples include Alf Åberg, "Karolinska Forskningsfärder," *Svensk Tidskrift*, December 1970, 257–61; Lena Jonson and Tamara Alekseevna Torstendahl Salytjeva, *Poltava: krigsfångar och kulturutbyte* (Stockholm: Atlantis, 2009); Christer Kuvaja, *Karolinska Krigare 1660–1721* (Helsingfors: Schildt, 2008); Gunnar Jarring, "Svenska folket genom tiderna : vårt lands kulturhistoria i skildringar och bilder," in *Svenskt kulturarbete i Österled* (Malmö: Allhem, 1939): 377–88.

81 Alessandro Stanziani, *After Oriental Despotism: Eurasian Growth in a Global Perspective* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014).

82 Carmen Nocentelli, *Empires of Love: Europe, Asia, and the Making of Early Modern Identity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013): 12, 84; Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the 'Effeminate Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 925

prisoners – in particular female prisoners or those writing about them – were simultaneously contributors to this epistemology of coercion, and assigned a particular symbolic place in it. Even if endemic categories for coerced labourers are used, these categories still depended on international connections and global intellectual currents of exchange.

The web of regimes presented in this chapter raises two analytical challenges. The first is the question of how to understand endemic terms. If a label such as prisoner, or serf, can only be understood as endemic categories, i.e., as a concept used within a society or system, what is the best way to approach intercultural forced mobility? Are historical actors moved between regimes, or does the whole coerced flow constitute a regime in and of itself? This leads to a different issue, that of when a regime stops or ends. The second challenge, based on the assumption that intercultural connections are key to a thick description of how regimes of coercion worked, is to overcome the fragmentation of our historiographies. There is perhaps a risk that the word regime brings to mind a notion of separate systems overlapping and interacting akin to world systems theory. Rather, regimes should be seen as webs, webs with thick threads of connections, nodes of exchange, and gaps with no exchanges at all. There is a wealth of excellent studies within Asian studies, and as part of the history of labour, and in the history of the Swedish, Russian, Kazak and the Qing empires. The intervention needed for the field to advance might be to combine hitherto separate historiographies, and lay supposedly separate regimes of dependency side by side.

5 Reflection

This volume offers multiple examples of the complex connections and intertwining routes of coercion in Asia during the last centuries. While many of the routes studied here are primarily maritime, not all were. The Swedish prisoners of war became part both of systems of coercion close to home, and in distant lands. As shown by James Fujitani, Rômulo Ehalt and Hans Hägerdal, Asian systems of coercion – whether those before, after or parallel to the European ventures – were not only local phenomena, but included far-reaching chains of human trade. The cases where the coerced groups were not from far away were not necessarily less complex: the chapters by Sanjog Rupakheti and Vinil Paul highlight the different ways population groups within a region could be constructed as enslavable – and indeed, as Rupakheti stresses, such a

University Press, 1995): 44; Leonard Blussé, *Strange Company: Chinese Settlers, Mestizo Women and the Dutch in VOC Batavia* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1986): 159; Felicity A. Nussbaum, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality, and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995): 11–57.

construction could be ascribed long historical roots and religious properties it did not have. Similarly, Hägerdal paints a picture of early modern Banda where the coercion involved dozens of ethnic groups, indigenous, from Southeast Asia, and from further abroad. He shows that who could be forced into a dependent situation was not necessarily a simple matter. This awareness helps us to understand the in-between positions of the prisoners of war: some prisoners were forced into hard manual labour with little chance of survival, some were sold into slavery, while others – such as those in Central Asia – could benefit from the relative exoticism of their origin, or even integrate into the society in which they were taken prisoner.

The rules regulating the prisoners, whether the Swedish, Russian or Dzungar law, only tell part of the story. As both Kate Ekama and Rupakheti show, once regulations are put in a societal and historical context, they reveal power relations. However, the regulations say little about their implementation – or adherence to them – and more about who chose a certain phrasing and term. Therefore, attention to the practices might help us overcome the difficulties that legal sources present. In doing so, finally, the diverse labour opportunities and demands of the Swedish prisoners of war connect to the general, and difficult, question put forward by Amal Shahid: when should work be seen as coercion, and when is it relief? For the prisoners in the Siberian camps, finding paid work was the only way to survive more than a decade of imprisonment. At the same time, it is not necessarily easy to place that work on a clear-cut scale of opportunity or coercion – the labour in the camps might well have to be understood as both.

3. Research Lenses

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Winfried Schmitz. “Day Labourers and Servants. Poverty in Archaic Greece,” in Poverty and Inequality in Early Civilisations. Proceedings of the International Conference November 17–18, 2017, University of Cologne, eds. Richard Bussmann and Tobias Helms, vol. 4, Studien zur Wirtschaftsarchäologie (Bonn: Dr. Rudolf Habelt, 2020): 27-37.

Reproduced with kind permission of Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt.

Day Labourers and Servants: Poverty in Archaic Greece

Winfried Schmitz, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn

For ancient philosophers, 'the poor' were those who did not own sufficient property to provide them with an income, so that they were forced to work to earn their living. Around 600 B.C., subsistence farmers in Attica fell into economic hardship and had to take on debts. Those who failed to repay their loans were forced into debt bondage or sold as debt slaves. This crisis was resolved by Solon, who cancelled all debt and banned pledging one's own body as surety for a loan. Scholarship has failed to take into account peasant servitude as a form of dependent labour. Members of the peasant class hired themselves out for a year for agricultural work. There were contracts, which were concluded orally, but which failed in a variety of ways to provide sufficient protection to workers. When other opportunities for labour became available in ports and cities, rural labourers would often migrate there instead.

Definition

'What kind of men do you call poor and rich respectively? The poor, I imagine, are those who have not enough to pay for what they want; the rich those who have more than enough'.[1] This definition of poverty and richness is part of a fictitious dialogue between Socrates and a young, rich Athenian named Euthydemos, provided by Xenophon, a scholar of Socrates, in his *Memorabilia* at the beginning of the Fourth century BC. This could be a modern definition of poverty as well, if Xenophon would not have added that, therefore, the poor are forced to work in order to earn their living. With this supplement the ancient and the modern concepts of poverty differ fundamentally.[2]

Xenophon wrote his fictitious dialogue from the point of view of a land owning rich upper class who had their land cultivated by slaves and their livestock herded

1 My thanks for this translation go to Ramona Lifland and Anja Haas. Translations of ancient sources are taken from the Loeb edition. I also have to thank the unknown reviewer for important hints. Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 4.2.37.

2 About this basic difference see Cecchet 2015, 30. Regarding both description and analysis of poverty in the ancient world, Claire Taylor advises against perceiving poverty only as an absence of the means of subsistence: "Poverty, therefore, should be defined not solely in terms of lacking wealth, but rather in terms of capabilities and functionings, that is, what a person is able to do or be based on the resources available to them and what they can actually achieve with those resources. … Thinking in terms of capabilities and functionings therefore enables us to consider poverty from a wider perspective than that based on economic factors alone" (Taylor 2016, 265-6; see also Taylor 2017, 19-24; comp. Galbois and Rougier-Blanc 2014, 17, 19). Concerning modern definitions of poverty, especially the differentiation of absolute and relative poverty, see Taylor 2017, 16-9; Dittmann and Goebel 2018, 22-3; Fritsch and Verwiebe 2018, 80-1: "Absolute Armut liegt vor, wenn Menschen nicht über die zur physischen Existenzsicherung notwendigen Güter wie Nahrung, Kleidung und Wohnraum verfügen. Relative Armut bemisst sich am allgemeinen Lebensstandard einer konkreten Referenzgesellschaft." Concerning different concepts of poverty in modern sociology Dittmann and Goebel 2018. Cf. also Barlösius 2018, 35: "Was mit Armut benannt wird – Not und Elend, unzureichende Mittel, Deprivation, soziale Exklusion –, scheint sich je nach Gesellschaft zu unterscheiden und zu wandeln. Tatsächlich bezeichnen diese Konkretisierungen von Armut im Wesentlichen dasselbe: eine gesellschaftliche Beziehung, bei der die gesellschaftliche Zugehörigkeit als gefährdet gilt." In the last few years many studies on poverty in the ancient world,

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 929

by dependent herdsmen; they engaged in politics and indulged in leisure. The point of view that only the rich are considered virtuous and capable of political activity as they have the leisure time necessary for it, whereas the poor have to work to earn their living, is described in detail and theoretically founded by the philosopher Aristotle. In his *Politics* he says that every community is consisting of households, some of which are rich, others poor and the third in between. Aristotle sometimes seems to rank the well situated farmers among the 'middle', but every 'member of the community', who has to work in order to earn his or her living, is to be counted generally among the poor (*pénētes*); not only the farmers but also the so-called *bánausoi*, the skilled workers, as well as the day labourers and the retailers.[3] According to Aristotle, an oligarchy exists when a minority of the rich is in power, whereas in a democracy the free citizens (*eleútheroi*) and 'those without means' (*áporoi*) are in the majority and rule.[4]

Athens was proud of giving, in its democratic constitution, the poor man the same rights of political participation as the rich; thus expressed by Euripides in the late Fifth century BC, who (in his *Suppliants* performed approx. in 425 BC) lets the mythical king Theseus answer the question of a Theban herald for the despot, the *týrannos*, in Athens as follows:

> 'To begin with, stranger, you started your speech on a false note by asking for the master here. The city is not ruled by a single man but is free. The people rule, and offices are held by yearly turns: they do not assign the highest honors to the rich, but the poor also have an equal share.
> …
> There is nothing more hostile to a city than a tyrant. In the first place, there are no common laws in such a city, and one man, keeping the law in his own hands, holds sway. This is unjust. When the laws are written, both the powerless and the rich have equal access to justice.'[5]

Therefore, the people described in ancient sources as *pénētes*, as 'the poor', represent a totally different population group than the people said to be poor nowadays. While today a person is poor if he or she does not own and may not acquire the means necessary for a basic subsistence and would be lost without the help of others, and while today both hunger and suffering from specific diseases caused by undernourishment are regarded as by-products of poverty,[6] in the ancient world – at least in the perception of the upper classes – the poor are those who have to work to earn their living. The *pénētes* are not fortuneless, they have average or little property and moderate but sufficient wealth, are farmers and may even own one or several slaves.[7] In my paper I would like to focus on two groups of 'poor people' complying with the modern definition of poverty: the farmers, who were in debt bondage in Athens in the late Seventh century BC and the *thē̂tes*. However, for a better understanding, I will first discuss the Greek society at that time.

Greek society in the Seventh and Sixth century

In the Seventh and Sixth century BC the Greek society was mainly an agrarian society that, depending on the geographic conditions, either preferred agriculture or stock breeding, but generally engaged in both at the same time: mainly agriculture on the alluvial soil in the valleys with stock breeding in the mountains. The most important products were grain (barley and wheat), olives and wine (the so-called 'mediterranean triad'). Other important food were different kinds of vegetables, especially the nutritious beans.[8] Like in

particularly concerning beggars have been published: Jacquemin 2013; Galbois and Rougier-Blanc 2014; Cecchet 2015; Hradil 2015; Helmer 2015, 2016; Taylor 2017. For a research history see Galbois and Rougier-Blanc 2014, 13-5.

3 Aristotle, *Politics* 4.3, 1289b 27-4.4; 1290b 20; 1291b 6-29. For Aristotle's and Plato's concept of poverty and wealth see Gehrke 1985; Winterling 1993; Pébarthe 2014; Helmer 2016.

4 Aristotle, *Politics* 4.4, 1290b 17-20.

5 Euripides, *Supplices* 403-8, 429-34. Compare Lenfant 2013; on poverty in democratic Athens see Taylor 2017. Regarding the image of poverty in the tragedies of Euripides: Cecchet 2015, 67-113.

6 von Hippel 2013, 7-8: "Armut schließt in ihrer elementarsten Form stets den Hunger ein. Hunger als Langzeit-Zustand ist die spürbarste Form von Armut. Bei extremen Formen des Hungers ist über die physischen und psychischen Schäden hinaus, die bereits ‚gewöhnlicher' Hunger auf Dauer bewirkt, mit gehäuftem Auftreten sogenannter Hungerkrankheiten zu rechnen, die in Kombination mit Infektionskrankheiten zahlreiche Opfer fordern."

7 Bolkestein 1939, 182. On ancient terminology and definition of poverty Coin-Longeray 2014; Cecchet 2015, 13-48.

8 Sarpaki 1992; see also Isager and Skydsgaard 1992.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 930

many other agrarian societies, people were always in a precarious situation, as it may be assumed that bad harvests occurred approximately every seven years or even more frequently. The farmers tried to prepare for that by avoiding monocultures and growing various products instead. They usually applied an agricultural method of intercropping, in which, for example, grain and olive trees are planted on the same field. Those who could, tried to acquire fields in different locations or adjacent regions in order to reduce the risk from severe weather. In addition, they went hunting and fishing and gathered wild fruit and plants.[9]

Ancient historical research assumes that rich land owners who had their fields cultivated by free or dependent servants made up five up to ten percent of the population at the most.[10] Many people were subsistence farmers, who did not produce for the market but almost only for themselves. Thus, they only produced the grain they needed as well as oil, wine and olives and also owned some sheep and goats. They were independently working farmers, free and not bound to pay any dues to the rich land owners; they owned a house, fields and a plough team on a land of – estimated by research – approximately 5-10 hectare.[11] As in many other agrarian societies too, the plough team of one's own is a symbol of the independently working subsistence farmer. In his *Works and Days*, a rural didactic poem, the early Greek poet Hesiod provides a virtual definition of such a subsistence farmer:

> 'a house (*oíkos*) first of all, a woman, and an ox for plowing …
> and arrange everything well in the house.'[12]

Since farming always includes processing a farm's harvest in the house, a woman is required as well, due to the strict differentiation between male and female labour common in agrarian civilizations, in which the man worked in the fields and the woman in and around the house.[13] Yet, if not for the processing of grain, sheep's wool or milk, the field work would be of no avail. The farmers ensured their social status through neighbourly relations and a neighbourly solidarity in order to get help in case of emergency, in case of fire, when members of their flock had been killed by wild animals etc. In sayings the farmers assured each other of their common values and committed each other to being diligent, to the authority of the father in the house and to neighbourly solidarity.[14]

Presumably more than half of the population belonged to the class of thetes, the servants, who had to work for the farmers or the rich land owners.[15] Their life situation is to be described in more detail later on. In early archaic times the number of slaves was still low. At that time only the rich land owners owned slaves, which they had brought from raids or bought in slave trade.[16] We meet them in the houses of an Odysseus, a Menelaus or Nestor in the Homeric epics. Craftsmen were only of marginal importance: blacksmiths, potters and carpenters are mentioned, some of which went from village to village in search of work.

Debt bondage and debt slavery at the time of Solon

In late Seventh century Attica the independent farmers got into particular difficulty. They were threatened by debt bondage and debt slavery, because they had had to take up loans they could not pay off. We do not know the reason, but presumably this situation had been caused by repeated bad harvests, an increasingly leached soil, the division of real estate among sons or a more aggressive behaviour of creditors towards the

9 Osborne 1987, 34-40; Gallant 1991, 34-59.

10 For a discussion of the term 'noblemen' in archaic Greece see Stein-Hölkeskamp 1989; Ulf 1990, 2009; Duplouy 2006.

11 On the living and working conditions of subsistence farmers, see the field study by P. Halstead and G. Jones on the Greek islands of Karpathos and Amorgos (1989; cf. Halstead 1987). On the size of the rural estates Ameling 1998, 298; Van Wees 2011, 98.

12 Hesiod, *erga* 405/407. Refer to Schmitz 2004, 29-30.

13 Segalen 1989; Zoepffel 1989; Schmitz 2004, 83-7.

14 On neighbourhood in archaic rural society and proverbs as farmer's special language refer to Schmitz 2004, 42-101.

15 Their occupation is called *thēteúein*, occasionally *douleúein*, while they are named *thḗ tes*. According to von Hippel 2013, 15 the percentage of the lower classed is estimated around 50 % for the Fifteenth, 50-60 % in the Sixteenth, 30-40 % in the Seventeenth and 50-70 % in the Eighteenth centuries. On the composition of rural lower classes, diverse terminology, their vulnerable part in the community, their share of grazing rights and the different forms of work and dependence: ibid. 15-7; on farm hands in particular ibid. 23-5 and 80-2.

16 On the dispute about the number of slaves in the Homeric epics Lencman 1966 and Wickert-Micknat 1983. Comp. Schmidt 2017.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 931

debtors.[17] In contrast, we know the consequences relatively well on account of the elegies of Solon who describes the agrarian crisis from his point of view and as a person politically responsible. In his elegies, recited in public, he accuses the rich of being greedy, but also warns the people of falling for demagogues:

> "But it is the citizens themselves who by their acts of foolishness and subservience to money are willing to destroy a great city, and the mind of the people's leaders is unjust."[18]
> However, the rich are even worse:
> "For they do not know how to restrain excess or to conduct in an orderly and peaceful manner the festivities of the banquet that are at hand.
> …
> they grow wealthy, yielding to unjust deeds.
> …
> sparing neither sacred nor private property, they steal with rapaciousness, one from one source, one from another, and they have no regard for the august foundations of Justice, who …"[19]

Solon warns of an impending uproar or even an internal war, which would destroy the precious adolescence of many. In order to avoid the impending civil war he enforced his reforms with 'strength and justice', as Solon expresses.[20] All existing debts were cancelled so that all farmers could start anew.[21] The boundary markers were removed, those in debt bondage being obliged to pay dues were released from compulsory labour and those having been enslaved abroad could return to Attica without risking to be caught again.[22] In retrospect Solon explains himself in an iambic poem:

> "In the verdict of time I will have as my best witness the mighty mother of the Olympian gods, dark Earth, whose boundary markers fixed in many places I once removed; enslaved before, now she is free. And I brought back to Athens, to their homeland founded by the gods, many who had been sold, one legally another not, and those who had fled under necessity's constraint, no longer speaking the Attic tongue, as wanderers far and wide are inclined to do. And those who suffered shameful slavery right here, trembling before the whims of their masters, I set free."[23]

According to archaic customs of obligations, if a debtor could not pay off a debt, the creditor was not only allowed to take possession of his land and house but also of the debtor himself – including his wife and children – and sell them as slaves. In this respect Solon admits that several debtors had been sold abroad in accordance with the law – a sad fate:

> "These are the evils that are rife among the people, and many of the poor are going to a foreign land, sold and bound in shameful fetters …"[24]

In his justification Solon distinguishes between the fates of different people: one group of debtors had been enslaved abroad. In ancient Greece 'exodoulie' existed, which means that slaves were always foreigners and not members of their own community, presumably as they would not have submitted themselves to slavery in their native place. Another group had been sold unjustly – presumably in these cases the creditors had taken rigorous action against their debtors and

17 Rhodes 1981, 89-97, 125-7; Almeida 2003, 26-57; Schmitz 2004, 249f.; Welwei 2005; Forsdyke 2006, 334-50. On Finley's view that the creditors wanted to keep the debtors dependent in the long term, see Zurbach 2013, 970 (cf. 960-3). Archaeological surveys suggest that a marked increase of the population and a lack of land may be excluded as causes (Welwei 2005, 41-3; Bintliff 2006; Zurbach 2013, 969f.). For farmers' strategies to avoid crop failure, see Gallant 1991, 34-59 and Osborne 1987, 34-40.

18 Solon fr. 4 West l. 5-7. On beggars and the poor in archaic literature see Coin-Longeray 2014, 2015; Werlings 2014, 68, 74.

19 Solon fr. 4 West l. 9-14.

20 Solon fr. 36 West (24 Diehl, 30 Gentili-Prato) l. 16: βίην τε καὶ δίκην ξυναρμόσας. Plutarch, *Solon* 14.3.

21 The clearing of debts was called *seisáchtheia:* Aristoteles, *Athenaion politeia* 6.1; 12.4 (including a quote by Solon fr. 36 West); Androtion FgrH 324 F34 (= Plutarch, *Solon* 15.2-3); Diodor 1.79.4; Plutarch, *Solon* 16.5; Plutarch, *Moralia* 343c, 807d; Diogenes Laertios 1.45. Faraguna 2012; on the term *seisáchtheia*: Mülke 2002, 375-6.

22 If by removing the *hóroi* Solon retracted the occupation of public land or holy ground (*hóroi* in the sense of "boundary stones") or if he thereby cleared existing debts, cannot safely be decided. Mülke 2002, 376-9 presents a research overview on this controversy. Harris 1997 postulated a metaphorical use of the term; Ober 2006 and Welwei 2005, 35-6 argue against this: The *hóroi* could have been "marking stones" labelling land burdened by levies; by removing these stones, Solon would have suspended the *hektḗmoroi*'s duty.

23 Solon fr. 36 West l. 3-15.

24 Solon fr. 4 West l. 23-5.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 932

had taken their house and land before the repayment period had expired. And a third group had gotten into debt bondage in Attica itself. Instead of enslaving the debtors abroad, the creditors had obviously taken their land. The debtors cultivated the land and had to give a certain amount of its produce, presumably one-sixth, to their creditor.[25] Thus, they were in a position similar to that of tenants, although they were not allowed to leave the land as they had little chance of repaying the debt completely.[26]

The Solonian reforms initiated a decisive development in the Athenian history. They enabled pauperized and enslaved, heavily indebted farmers to become free citizens again, who could participate in the political system. Every free Athenian, no matter how much he owned, could take part in the assembly and was eligible for jury service according to Solon's classification of income classes.[27] Without free citizens and the development of the Athenian political system towards a direct democracy, Theseus's statement in Euripides' tragedy that the same law applied to the rich and the poor and that all citizens would rule alternately would not have been possible .

Solon's reforms assured the social and economic situation in the long term. The risk of getting into debt bondage or even debt slavery was banned by a law of Solon that was part of his comprehensive law code. This law strictly prohibited creditors from taking possession of the debtors.[28]They could take the debtor's property and cause his pauperization, but not enslave him. It is significant that, originally, in the law of ancient Israel, in early Greece and early Rome it was allowed to enslave the insolvent debtor or force him into debt bondage while later on a development starts, in which it seems to be no longer accepted that a fellow citizen would become a slave. In the Sixth, Fifth and Fourth century in Greece, only foreign people, in many cases non-Greek 'Barbarians', were enslaved by kidnapping, human trafficking or as a result of war captivity. After the debt reforms, Athens did not experience further serious debt or agrarian crises.

The thetes

The debt crisis of Solonian time (about 600 BC) hit the subsistence farmers and the peasants, because they could only pledge their land or themselves as security for a loan and could end up in permanent dependency as a result of bad harvests. Those who had nothing to pledge did not obtain any loan. Members of the class of thetes were in a different life situation. They had no or only little real property and thus were forced to work as a servant or maidservant for farmers or rich land owners.[29] Like it has been documented for peasant societies in the nineteenth and the beginning of the Twentieth century, in the Greek Archaic free citizens hired themselves out in a verbal contract for one

25 On the *hektḗmoroi* Aristotle, *Athenaion politeia* 2.2 and Plutarch, *Solon* 13.4-6. They were also called *pelátai* (Ath. pol.) or *thḗtes* (Plutarch). Compare also Eustathios, *ad Homeri Odysseam* 19,28; Hesychius, s.v. ἑκτήμοροι. For a discussion concerning the *hektḗmoroi* Rihll 1991; Gallo 1999; Welwei 2005, 35-9; Faraguna 2012. Zurbach 2013, 970-2 assumes that the *hektḗmoroi* were leaseholders who could keep one sixth of the yield for themselves. The owners of the land provided the land, the tools, the draught animals and the seeds, the *hektḗmoroi* their labour. Werlings 2014, 77-81 has compiled all references to 'poverty' and 'poor' in the works of Homer, Hesiod, Solon and Theognis. However, she limits herself to the terms *penía*, *pénēs* and *penichrós* and excludes other terms, such as *hektḗmoroi*, *pelátai* or *thḗtēs*.

26 On debt slavery and debt bondage as different forms of dependence in pre-Solonial times see Zurbach 2013, 969-73: 'H. Swoboda et Detlef Lotze concluaient à l'existence d'une forme temporaire de servitude pour dettes, qu'il faut clairement distinguer de l'esclavage pour dettes. Il y a certainement à Athènes des asservis pour dettes et des esclaves pour dettes, les uns travaillant pour rembourser (forme solutoire), les autres réduits en esclavage à la suite d'un défaut (forme exécutoire)' (970). Zurbach assumes that in Solon's time one form passed into the other: 'Ces deux facteurs conjoints – transformation agricole, vente à l'étranger – expliquent l'évolution des statuts : de l'hectémorat, condition déjà difficile, vers l'esclavage pour dettes et, sans doute, de la servitude pour dettes vers l'esclavage pour dettes' (972).

27 On the Solonic income classes: Aristotle, *Athenaion politeia* 7.3-8.1; *Politics* 2.12, 1274a 15-21; Plutarch, *Solon* 18.1-2. Schmitz 1995; Raaflaub 2006; Van Wees 2006. The 'exclusionary approach' of modern sociology can reasonably be applied to ancient societies; instead of pointing to sufficient material effects, it specifies a lack of social integration and a lack of achieved social rights (working conditions, political participation) as the benchmarks of poverty. Refer to Dittmann and Goebel 2018, 29-31. This approach traces back to the sociologist Georg Simmel in principle, as he describes people in need to be "gewissermaßen außerhalb der Gesellschaft gestellt" because they lack the means held necessary in order to partake in society (Simmel 1992; dazu Barlösius 2018, 36-41; cf. Taylor 2017, 19-24). On the importance of Simmel regarding the sociological investigation of poverty see also Fritsch and Verwiebe 2018, 79-80.

28 Aristotle, *Athenaion politeia* 6.1; 9.1; Diodor 1.79.3-5; Plutarch, *Solon* 15,2; Diogenes Laertius 1.45 (Solon F 69a-c Leão/Rhodes).

29 On the situation of members of the sub-peasant social layer refer to Burford 1993, 186-7; Schmitz 2004, 34-7.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 933

year, placed their labour at a farm's disposal and in return got a place to live and were fed on the farm's produce.[30] After one year had expired, they received their wages, usually in the form of clothes and shoes, and went to another farm or stayed for one more year at the same farm, if the farmer had treated them well and was satisfied with the servant's or maidservant's work. In his *Works and Days* the early Greek poet Hesiod provides evidence for such an 'alternating service':

> "When you have laid
> up all the means of life well prepared inside your house,
> then I bid you hire a man (*thḗs*) without a house and look for a serving-girl (*érithos*) without her own child; for a serving-
> girl with a baby under her flank is a difficult thing. And get
> a jagged-toothed dog – do not be sparing with its food, lest
> some day-sleeping man steal your things from you. Bring
> in fodder and sweepings, so that there is plenty for the
> oxen and mules. Then let the servants (*dmṓes*) relax their knees, and
> unyoke the pair of oxen."[31]

These lines clearly show that in the course of the agricultural calendar we are at its end, on completion of the agricultural year, when the harvesting has been completed and all goods are safely stored in house and barn. Then a rest may be granted to animals and people. In ancient Greece this is in autumn, as generally winter grain was grown that was reaped in spring. The harvest of olives and grapes followed in autumn. The new agricultural year started in late autumn with the first ploughing of the fields and the sowing of grain seeds. Hesiod's advice to hire a new servant and a new maidservant at the end of the agricultural year reveals that the *thḗs* mentioned in line 602 and the *érithos* mentioned in line 603 are not day labourers for a short period of time but servants who should stay at the farm all the year round. Thus, in his rural didactic poem Hesiod describes how servants, the *dmṓes*, are doing farm labour necessary throughout the year, ploughing and sowing in autumn, building protective huts on the fields for the cold winter, mowing the grain in spring and finally threshing the grain.[32]

Although the Homeric Epics were written from the point of view of the land owning upper class, sometimes they take a look at the class of *thḗtes* as well:

> "We twain [sc. Poseidon and Apollon] alone of all the gods endured at Ilios, what
> time we came at the bidding of Zeus and served (*thēteúein*) the
> lordly Laomedon for a year's space at a fixed wage (*misthós*),
> and he was our taskmaster and laid on us his commands. I verily built for the Trojans round about their city a wall, wide and exceeding fair, that the city might never be broken; and thou, Phoebus, didst herd the sleek kine of shambling gait amid the spurs of wooded Ida, the many-ridged. But when at length the glad seasons were bringing to its end the term of our hire, then did dread Laomedon defraud us twain of all hire, and send us away with a threatening word. He threatened that he would bind together our feet and our hands above, and would
> sell us into isles that lie afar. Aye, and he made as if he would lop off with the bronze the ears of us both.
> So we twain fared aback with angry hearts, wroth for the hire he promised but gave us not."[33]

30 On the working conditions of servants in the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries see Weber 1991; Ortmayr 1995.

31 Hesiod, *erga kai hemerai* 600-8. In the more recent translation of the Loeb edition Glenn W. Most translates θῆτά τ' ἄοικον ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἄτεκνον ἔριθον δίζησθαι κέλομαι in line 602-3 as follows 'then I bid you turn your hired man out of your house and look for a serving-girl without her own child'. This interpretation of the text does not include the custom of 'alternating service', during which servants switch farms on a specific date. Therefore it is not unusual for a new farmhand or maidservant to enter service at the beginning of the agricultural cycle, although immediately afterwards a quieter working phase starts (v. 607-8).

32 Hesiod, *erga* 441-7; 502-3; 573; 597. On the debate of the *dmṓes* being free workers or slaves, see Hanson 1995, 96; Nelson 1998, 36; Schmidt 2017, s.v. Hesiodos; Schmitz 2017, s.v. Gesinde, freies.

33 Homer, *Ilias* 21.443-57. Servants are counted among the social class of the poor, despite this remark by Werlings 2014, 68f.: "L'*Odyssée* évoque quantité de personnages humbles, travailleurs libres ou dépendants des puissants, comme les thètes ou les *dmôes*. Mais

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 934

The servants' work appears in the form of a simile. The gods Poseidon and Phoibos Apollo had to work as servants for king Laomedon as a punishment that Zeus had imposed on them. However, despite the divine and mythic setting the actual working conditions of the rural servants can be distinguished: service for one year for wages (*misthós*) agreed on in advance and paid out at the end of the year, herding livestock as a work task. It was also bitter reality that, if the master was not satisfied with the work of the servants, he dismissed them ahead of time and refused to pay their wages. Also for the Nineteenth century, evidence for many such incidents is provided by court records as servants, who had been dismissed without wages, had returned to the farm and, in a rage, had set the barn on fire.[34]

Akin to the menial work of Poseidon and Apollo described in the Iliad, Herodotus gives a vivid description of this issue with the story about the origin of the Macedonians' kingship. The descendants of Temenos, three brothers, had fled from Argos to the country of the Illyrians and further to upper Macedonia to the town of Lebaia, where they worked for wages (*thēteúein epí misthṓ*) for the king. One brother herded the horses, the second the cattle and the third the small livestock. The king's wife used to bake bread for all members of the house, also for the servants. However, as often as she baked, the bread of the youngest brother always became double the size of the dough. The king interpreted this to be an omen from the gods, an evil omen for him. He called for the three servants and told them to leave his country. However, they said that they would only leave after having received their well-earned wages. When, in that moment, the sun was shining through the chimney the king furiously cried out that they should take this for their well-earned wages and pointed to the sun. The youngest brother encircled the sunshine on the floor with his knife, ladled the sunlight into his garment three times and went away together with his brothers.[35] The youngest brother was Perdiccas, who founded the Macedonian kingdom, the sun kingdom, which in the successive generations stretched out all over Northern Greece.

With regard to the sources it is significant that the life situation of the servants is never described directly, but only indirectly in intentional stories, similes or sayings of an agrarian society. By taking a look at the historic memoirs of members of lower social classes in the nineteenth and early Twentieth century, for comparison,[36] we may perceive the hardship of being a servant that appears in ancient sources as well.[37] For example, the bitter homesickness of children, who had to leave their home at the age of eight or ten in order to work on an unknown farm as their parents could no longer feed them. In early Greece, in order to keep the number of eaters low, the subsistence farmers used to hire only unmarried servants as advised by Hesiod as well:

> "then I bid you hire a man without a house and
> look for a serving-girl without her own child; for a serving-
> girl with a baby under her flank is a difficult thing."

Consequently, members of the class of *thḗtes* could not marry at the usual age. Due to the transfer of property during lifetime, common in ancient Greece, men usually married at around the age of thirty that is, when the approximate sixty-year-old father left the farm to his son and retired. In contrast to this, women mostly married before they reached twenty since with an average birth rate of six to nine children only two to three children reached adulthood. Therefore, Hesiod advises the subsistence farmers as follows:

> "Lead a wife to your house when you are in good season,
> neither falling very many years short of thirty
> nor having added very many: this is a marriage in good season for you.

pour aucun d'eux, le poète ne semble soucieux de préciser qu'il est 'pauvre', comme si la certitude d'un revenu, aussi humble soit-il, ou la garantie d'un toit, permettaient d'échapper à cette appellation."

34 Cf. Schulte 1989, 42-5.

35 Herodot 8,137.

36 See note 29.

37 Marie-Josephine Werlings, omitting the thetes as a sub-peasant social layer in her study, concludes the 'poor' in the Homeric epics and in the writings of Hesiod do not form a socially homogenous group, no 'class' (2014, 69, 71-2). Because of their dependence on nobles and farmers who employ them for a year, their risk of not receiving their wages by the end of that year, and lacking the option of marriage and getting children, in my opinion servants can indeed be identified as both 'poor' (at least according to the modern sociological definition) and as a socially homogenous group. In comparison, Werlings assumes the 'poor' do not appear as "une catégorie sociale clairement identifiée comme 'les pauvres'" (ibid. 73, 75-6) before Solon's elegies.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 935

> The woman should have reached puberty four years earlier, and in the fifth she should marry. Marry a virgin, so that you can teach her cherished usages: and above all marry one who lives near to you."[38]

However, these rules only apply for the farmers. If servants or maidservants got married and had children, they risked not being hired for farm work any longer, which made their life situation very precarious. Thus, Hesiod mentions not only the young servant, but also the (unmarried) forty-year-old man, who "puts care into his work and will drive a straight furrow".[39]

Consequently, the advice to hire a 'servant without a house' and a 'maidservant without a child' means that the maidservant had to leave the farm shortly before she would give birth to a child. Memoirs of maidservants from the Nineteenth and early Twentieth century show that pregnant women had to work hard until shortly before their child was born. When the childbirth was imminent the maidservant had to leave the farm. It was her own responsibility for how to take care of the newborn afterwards. Returning to the farm was only possible without the child. In the ancient sources – except for a short indication in Aristotle's *Politics* – this hardship is omitted. According to an oracle addressed to the residents of the town of Troezen, the alleged reason for the frequently occurring death of pregnant young women was their getting married too early and not the 'crop harvest', which means the stresses and strains of harvesting during their pregnancy.[40] The different marriage practices of farmers and servants make it clear how poverty in ancient societies affects the scope of agency, that poverty entails social exclusion.

In view of such life circumstances, it is no wonder that the servants turned away from the farms when other possibilities to earn a living arose in the emerging towns and seaports in the course of the Sixth century and then in secluded regions during the Fifth and Fourth century. A high number of craftsmen, retailers and grocers had their origin in the class of *thḗtes*. Former servants used the opportunity to earn their living as a carrier of amphorae, a blacksmith or a shoemaker, a tanner or a donkey driver, a fish or sesame seller, so that they were no longer dependent on a master, could get married and start a family. In the Sixth century tyrants, town lords and lawgivers tried to stop this development.[41] In this context it cannot be determined whether the servants went away and hence forced the farmers to replace independent servants with slaves or whether the farmers preferred slaves and dismissed the servants, who were now forced to find another way to earn a living. However, the sources provide sufficient evidence for the movement of labour as such, also because the sources of the Fifth and Fourth century do not include free citizens hiring themselves out as servants. Only seasonal help in harvesting is mentioned there, especially for women who, according to the sources, reaped the grain or gathered spikes or grapes.[42] For example, the attempts of the Corinthian tyrant Periandros to deny immigrants access to the town of Corinth and to stop, at the same time, the acquisition of new slaves,[43] obviously indicate that such a movement of people into the towns and a replacement of servants with slaves took place.

Conclusion and prospect

In ancient Greece poverty, even bitter poverty and hunger, were known. Unknown, however, was a poor relief, a welfare and social policy, that aimed at improving the life situation of poor citizens. However, it has to be considered that a labour market policy cannot be expected under the ancient conditions. In the Fifth and Fourth century no free citizen of a Greek town was willing to work for another citizen – not even on the basis of a voluntarily concluded contract. All craftsmen, retailers and other tradesmen worked independently; under no circumstances would a shoemaker, potter, carpenter or blacksmith have hired a free citizen to work for him for a longer period of time. Whenever in the Fifth and Fourth century craftsmen and tradesmen needed additional workers, they employed slaves.[44] Under these working conditions there could not exist any 'unemployed' or 'work-seekers' and, therefore, not any

38 Hesiod, *erga* 695-700.
39 Hesiod, *erga* 441-7.
40 Aristot. pol. 7.16, 1335a 18-22.
41 Schmitz 2013.
42 Scheidel 1990, 1992.
43 Nicolaus of Damascus FgrH 90 F58; Herakleides Lembos 20 Dilts; cf. Athenaios 6, 264 c-d.
44 Similar to ancient Rome: Bruhns 1981, 27-49.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 936

claims of the 'workers' for effective employment-creation programmes.[45] Everybody had to make a living on his or her own by offering goods or labour in the 'market' hoping to find a customer or an employer. Today's wageworkers and dependent employees did not exist in ancient Greece, but only 'self-employed workers' who tried to receive work orders. From the ancient philosophers' point of view all these people were 'wageworkers', since for their goods or executed work they received wages, which they were reliant on – in contrast to the subsistence farmers who did not rely on orders, but directly lived on the produce of their land and livestock. In such a working environment people had to stand on their own feet. No one could hope for benefits from the community. Some of those who lived on the edge of the society had no other choice than begging.[46] Thus, poverty could never become an important topic in literature.

Bibliography

Ameling, Walter. 1998. "Landwirtschaft und Sklaverei im klassischen Attika." *Historische Zeitschrift* 266: 281-315.

Almeida, Joseph A. 2003. *Justice as an Aspect of the Polis Idea in Solon's Political Poems*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Barlösius, Eva. 2018. "Gesellschaftstheoretische Grundlagen und Potenziale soziologischer Armutsforschung." In *Handbuch Armut: Ursachen, Trends, Maßnahmen*, eds. P. Böhnke, J. Dittmann, and J. Goebel, 35-44. Stuttgart: utb.

Bintliff, John. 2006. "Solon's Reforms: An Archaeological Perspective." In *Solon of Athens: New historical and philological approaches*, eds. J. H. Blok, and A. P. M. H. Lardinois, 321-33. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Böhnke, Petra, Jörg Dittmann, and Jan Goebel. (eds) 2018. *Handbuch Armut: Ursachen, Trends, Maßnahmen*. Stuttgart: utb.

Bolkestein, Hendrik. 1939. *Wohltätigkeit und Armenpflege im vorchristlichen Altertum*. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek Verlag.

Bruhns, Hinnerk. 1981. "Armut und Gesellschaft in Rom." In *Vom Elend der Handarbeit: Probleme historischer Unterschichtenforschung*, eds. H. Mommsen, and W. Schulze, 27-49. Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta.

Burford, Alison. 1993. *Land and Labour in the Greek World*. Baltimore-London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cecchet, Lucia. 2015. *Poverty in Athenian Public Discourse: From the Eve of the Peloponnesian War to the Rise of Macedonia*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Coin-Longeray, Sandrine. 2014. "*Pénès* et *Ptôchos*: le pauvre et le mendiant. Deux figures de la pauvreté dans la poésie grecque ancienne." In *La pauvreté en Grèce ancienne: formes, représentations, enjeux*, eds. E. Galbois, and S. Rougier-Blanc, 45-66. Bordeaux-Paris: Ausonius.

---. 2015. *Poésie de la richesse et de la pauvreté : Étude du vocabulaire de la richesse et de la pauvreté dans la poésie grecque antique, d'Homère à Aristophane.* Saint-Etienne: Presses universitaires de Saint-Etienne.

Dittmann, Jörg, and Jan Goebel. 2018. "Armutskonzepte." In *Handbuch Armut: Ursachen, Trends, Maßnahmen*, eds. P. Böhnke, J. Dittmann, and J. Goebel, 21-34. Stuttgart: utb.

Duplouy, Alain. 2006. *Le Prestige des Élites: Recherches sur les modes de reconnaissance sociale en Grèce entre les X^e et V^e siècles avant J.-C.* Paris: Les belles lettres.

Eckstein, Felix. 1974. *Handwerk 1: Die Aussagen des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht.

Faraguna, Michele. 2012. "*Hektemoroi*, *isomoiria*, *seisachtheia*: Ricerche recenti sulle riforme economiche di Solone." *Dike* 15: 171-93.

Forsdyke, Sara. 2006. "Land, Labor and Economy in Solonian Athens: Breaking the Impasse between Archaeology and History." In *Solon of Athens: New historical and philological approaches*, eds. J. H. Blok, and A. P. M. H. Lardinois, 334-50. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Fritsch, Nina-Sophie, and Roland Verwiebe. 2018. "Armut in Europa." In *Handbuch Armut: Ursachen, Trends, Maßnahmen*, eds. P. Böhnke, J. Dittmann, and J. Goebel, 79-89. Stuttgart: utb.

Galbois, Estelle, and Sylvie Rougier-Blanc. 2014. "Introduction générale : La pauvreté en Grèce ancienne, un faux sujet de recherche?" In *La pauvreté en Grèce ancienne: formes, représentations, enjeux*, eds. E. Galbois, and S. Rougier-Blanc, 13-23. Bordeaux-Paris: Ausonius.

Gallant, Thomas W. 1991. *Risk and Survival in Ancient Greece: Reconstructing the Rural Domestic Economy*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Gallo, Luigi. 1999. "Solone, gli 'hektemoroi' e gli 'horoi.'" *AION* n.s. 6: 59-71.

Garnsey, Peter. 1988. *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---. 1992. "Yield of the Land." In *Agriculture in Ancient Greece*. ed. B. Wells, 147-53. Stockholm: Åström.

---. 1998. *Cities, Peasants and Food in Classical Antiquity: Essays in Social and Economic History*, ed. W. Scheidel. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

45 On the development of a systematic policy for the poor in early modern times see von Hippel 2013, 44-53. In medieval times the informal giving of alms took the shape of helping a beggar as a likeness of Christ – mostly in order to benefit the giver's own salvation (ibid. 44). Ibid. 53: "Erst wenn man Armut zu einem guten Teil als gesellschaftlich vermeidbar betrachtete, konnte man auch daran denken, Armut durch übergreifende Maßnahmen sozialen Ausgleichs abzubauen und ihrer Entstehung vorzubeugen, konnte man – mühsam genug – im ‚Industriezeitalter' von spezieller ‚Armen'- zur umfassender verstandenen ‚Sozialpolitik' vorstoßen, die durch ein höheres Maß an ‚sozialer Sicherheit' und ‚sozialer Gerechtigkeit' dazu beitragen soll, ‚sozialen Frieden' zu schaffen und zu erhalten."

46 On beggars in the ancient world see Roubineau 2013; Coin-Longeray 2014; Helmer 2015.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 937

Gehrke, Hans-Joachim. 1985. "Die klassische Polisgesellschaft in der Perspektive griechischer Philosophen." *Saeculum* 36: 133-50.

Halstead, Paul. 1987. "Traditional and Ancient Rural Economy in Mediterranean Europe. Plus ça change?" *JHS* 107: 77-87.

Halstead, Paul, and Glynis Jones. 1989. "Agrarian Ecology in the Greek Islands: Time, Stress, Scale and Risk." *JHS* 109: 41-55.

Hanson, Victor D. 1995. *The Other Greeks: The Family Farm and the Agrarian Roots of Western Civilization*. New York et al.: Free Press.

Harris, Edward M. 1997. "A New Solution to the Riddle of the Seisachtheia." In *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece*, eds. L. P. Mitchell, and P. J. Rhodes, 103-12. London-New York: Routledge.

Helmer, Étienne. 2015. *Le dernier des hommes: figures du mendiant en Grèce ancienne. Les marches du temps.* Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin.

---. 2016. "Platon et le désir de richesse: psychologie, économie et politique." In *Richesse et pauvreté chez les philosophes de l'Antiquité*, ed. É. Helmer, 197-220. Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin.

von Hippel, Wolfgang. 2013. *Armut, Unterschichten, Randgruppen in der Frühen Neuzeit*. München: Oldenbourg-Verlag.

Hradil, Stefan. 2015. "Armut in einer modernen Gesellschaft." In *Arm und Reich: Zur gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Ungleichheit in der Geschichte,* ed. G. Schulz, 15-24. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Isager, Signe, and Jens E. Skydsgaard. 1992. *Ancient Greek Agriculture: An Introduction*. London-New York: Routledge.

Jacquemin, Anne. 2013. "La question des pauvres et de la pauvreté dans le monde grec." *Ktèma* 38: 1-170.

Lencman, Jakov A. 1966. *Die Sklaverei im mykenischen und homerischen Griechenland.* dt. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Lenfant, Dominique. 2013. "Intégrés ou dénoncés: La place faite aux pauvres dans les discours grecs sur la démocratie." *Ktèma* 38: 37-51.

Lepenies, Philipp. 2017. *Armut: Ursachen, Formen, Auswege*. München: C.H. Beck.

Mülke, Christoph. 2002. *Solons politische Elegien und Iamben (Fr. 1-13; 32-37 West): Einleitung, Übersetzung, Kommentar*. München-Leipzig: Saur.

Nelson, Stephanie A. 1998. *God and the Land: The Metaphysics of Farming in Hesiod and Vergil*. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ober, Josiah. 2006. "Solon and the *horoi*: Facts on the Ground in Archaic Athens." In *Solon of Athens: New historical and philological approaches*, eds. J. H. Blok, and A. P. M. H. Lardinois, 441-56. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Ortmayr, Norbert. (ed) 1995. *Knechte: Autobiographische Dokumente und sozialhistorische Skizzen*. 2nd edition. Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau Verlag.

Osborne, Robin. 1987. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and its Countryside*. London: Philip.

Pébarthe, Christophe. 2014. "Les sophistes, les philosophes et la pauvreté." In *La pauvreté en Grèce ancienne: formes, représentations, enjeux*, eds. E. Galbois and S. Rougier-Blanc, 223-36. Bordeaux-Paris: Ausonius.

Raaflaub, Kurt A. 2006. "Athenian and Spartan Eunomia, or: What to do with Solon's Timocracy?" In *Solon of Athens: New historical and philological approaches*, eds. J. H. Blok, and A. P. M. H. Lardinois, 390-428. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

Rhodes, Peter J. 1981. *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rihll, Tracy E. 1991. "Εκτήμοροι: Partners in Crime?" *JHS* 111: 101-27.

Roubineau, Jean-Manuel. 2013. "Mendicité, déchéance et indignité sociale dans les cités grecques." *Ktèma* 38: 15-36.

Sarpaki, Anaya. 1992. "The Palaeoethnobotanical Approach: The Mediterranean Triad or Is It a Quartet?" In *Agriculture in Ancient Greece*, ed. B. Wells, 61-76. Stockholm: Åström.

Scheidel, Walter. 1990. "Feldarbeit von Frauen in der antiken Landwirtschaft." *Gymnasium* 97: 405-31.

---. 1992. "Frau und Landarbeit in der Alten Geschichte." In *Nachrichten aus der Zeit: Ein Streifzug durch die Frauengeschichte des Altertums*, ed. E. Specht, 195-235. Wien: Wiener Frauenverlag (= Scheidel, Walter. 1995-6. "The Most Silent Women of Greece and Rome: Rural Labour and Women's Life in the Ancient World I-II." *Greece & Rome* 42: 202-17 and 43: 1-10).

Schmidt, Martin. 2017. "Hesiodos", "Ilias", and "Odyssee." In *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, ed. H. Heinen, 1403-7, 1480-5, and 2084-95. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Schmitz, Winfried. 1995. "Reiche und Gleiche: Timokratische Gliederung und demokratische Gleichheit der athenischen Bürger im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr." In *Die athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.: Vollendung oder Verfall einer Verfassungsform?*, ed. W. Eder, 573-97. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

---. 2004. *Nachbarschaft und Dorfgemeinschaft im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

---. 2013. "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*, eds. P. Mauritsch, and C. Ulf, vol. 2, 535-52. Graz: Grazer Universitätsverlag.

---. 2017. "Gesinde, freies." In *Handwörterbuch der antiken Sklaverei*, ed. H. Heinen, 1178-81. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Schulte, Regina. 1989. *Das Dorf im Verhör: Brandstifter, Kindsmörderinnen und Wilderer vor den Schranken des Bürgerlichen Gerichts, Oberbayern 1848-1910.* Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt.

Segalen, Martine. 1989. "Aufgaben und Rollenverteilung bei Männern und Frauen im ländlichen Milieu des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts: Frankreich und die Gesellschaften des Mittelmeerraumes." In *Aufgaben, Rollen und Räume von Frau und Mann*, vol. 2, eds. J. Martin, and R. Zoepffel, 915-36. Freiburg-München: Herder-Verlag.

Simmel, Georg. 1992 [1908]. "Der Arme." In *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung*, ed. G. Simmel, 345-74. Berlin: Duncker & Humbolt.

---. 1995 [1903]. "Soziologie der Konkurrenz." In *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen 1901-1908*, Bd. 1, ed. G. Simmel, 221-46. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

Stein-Hölkeskamp, Elke. 1989. *Adelskultur und Polisgesellschaft: Studien zum griechischen Adel in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 938

Taylor, Claire. 2016. "Social Dynamics in Forth-Century Athens: Poverty and Standards of Living." In *Die Athenische Demokratie im 4. Jahrhundert: Zwischen Modernisierung und Tradition*, ed. C. Tiersch, 260-77. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.

---. 2017. *Poverty, Wealth, and Well-Being: Experiencing Penia in Democratic Athens*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ulf, Christoph. 1990. *Die homerische Gesellschaft: Materialien zur analytischen Beschreibung und historischen Lokalisierung*. München: C. H. Beck Verlag.

---. 2009. "The World of Homer and Hesiod." In *A Companion to Archaic Greece*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub, and H. van Wees, 81-99. Malden: Wiley-Blackwell.

Weber, Therese. (ed) 1991. *Mägde: Lebenserinnerungen an die Dienstbotenzeit bei Bauern*. 3rd edition. Köln/Wien/Weimar: Böhlau-Verlag.

Van Wees, Hans. 2006. "Mass and Elite in Solon's Athens: The Property Classes Revisited." In *Solon of Athens: New historical and philological approaches*, eds. J. H. Blok, and A. P. M. H. Lardinois, 351-89. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

---. 2011. "Demetrius and Draco: Athens' Property Classes and Population in and before 317 BC." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 131: 95-114.

Welwei, Karl-Wilhelm. 2005. "Ursachen und Ausmaß der Verschuldung attischer Bauern um 600 v. Chr." *Hermes* 133: 29-43.

Werlings, Marie-Josephine. 2014. "Qui étaient vraiment les pauvres dans les cités grecques archaïques?" In *La pauvreté en Grèce ancienne: Formes, représentations, enjeux*, eds. E. Galbois, and S. Rougier-Blanc, 67-85. Bordeaux-Paris: Ausonius.

Wickert-Micknat, Gisela. 1983. *Unfreiheit im Zeitalter der homerischen Epen*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Winterling, Aloys. 1993. "' Arme' und ' Reiche' : Die Struktur der griechischen Polisgesellschaften in Aristoteles' ' Politik' ." *Saeculum* 44: 179-205.

Zoepffel, Renate. 1989. "Aufgaben, Rollen und Räume von Mann und Frau im archaischen und klassischen Griechenland." In *Aufgaben, Rollen und Räume von Frau und Mann,* ed. J. Martin, and R. Zoepffel, 819-914. Freiburg-München: Herder-Verlag.

Zurbach, Julien. 2013. "La formation des cités grecques : Statuts, classes et systèmes fonciers." *Annales HSS* 68 (4): 957-98.

3. Research Lenses

3.4. Labour and Spatiality

Gül Şen. “Between Two Spaces: Enslavement and Labor in the Early Modern Ottoman Navy,” in *Comparative and Global Framing of Enslavement*, eds. Stephan Conermann, Youval Rotman, Ehud R. Toledano, and Rachel Zelnick-Abramovitz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2023): 133-166.

https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-006

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 (*başţarda*): 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.

Open Access. © 2023 the author(s), published by De Gruyter. BY-NC-ND This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.
https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111296913-006

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 941

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

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 943

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 944

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 945

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 (Süzeboli)[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 *Tuḥfet 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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 947

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 949

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 istiḫdām 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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 950

> [. . .] if there are men available who voluntarily serve at the oars (*küreğe gitmegi iḫtiyār ėder ʿādem*) for 900–1000 *aḳçe* 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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 951

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 *akçe*.[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 ḳavāʿidiʿl-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 (*muḫallefāt*) 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 (*aḳçe*), 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 *aḳçe.* Additionally 53a: "90 *forṣa* in the Imperial Fleet in Mediterranean" with a value of 500,000 *aḳçe*.

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 956

> 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]

---

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 957

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 959

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 *aḳçe* 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 *aḳçe*. 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 tîşeleı 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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 961

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.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 962

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

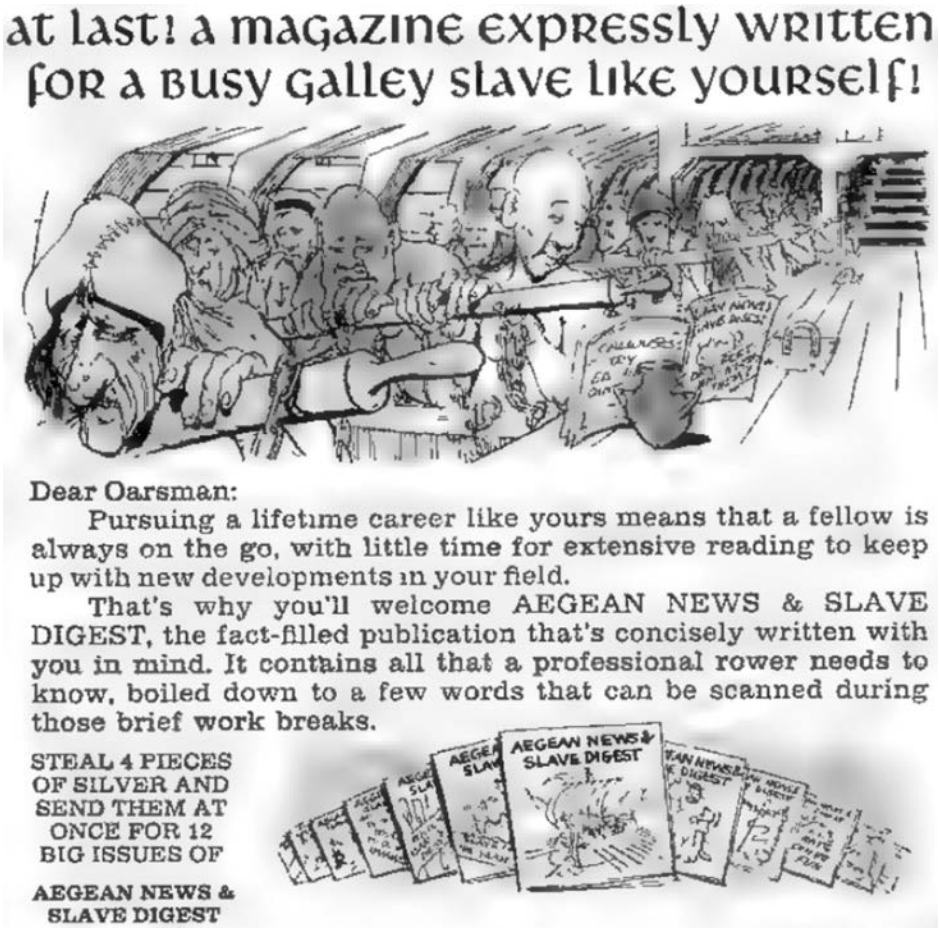


Fig. 1: "If Junkmail had Always Existed," *MAD Magazine* 232, July 1982.

109 Şen, "Galley Slaves": 131, 138.

110 Agatha Christie, *4:50 from Paddington* (Glasgow: Omnia Books, 2002): 226.

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 963

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 *akçe*. The *forsa*s, however, were paid one-half *akçe* per day in 1603–4 and two *akçe* 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."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 966

> 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."

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 968

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.

Bibliography

Ágoston, Gábor. *Guns for the Sultan: Military Power and the Weapons Industry in the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

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

Balkan, Ömer Lütfi. "Avarız," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 2 (1989): 15–16.

Bamford, Paul W. *Fighting Ships and Prisons: The Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973).

Bono, Salvatore. *Piraten und Korsaren im Mittelmeer: Seekrieg, Handel und Sklaverei vom 16. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, trans. Achim Wurm (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2009).

Bornstein-Makovetsky, Leah. "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* (2020): 421–42.

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

Bostan, İdris. "Osmanlı Donanmasında Kürekçi Temini ve 958 (1551) Tarihli 59–76: Kürekçi Defterleri," in *Beylikten Imparatorluğa Osmanlı Denizciliği*, ed. İdris Bostan (Istanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, 2008): 60–61.

Bostan, İdris. "Kılıç Ali Paşa," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 25 (2002): 411–12.

Brown, Carolyn, and Marcel van der Linden. "Shifting Boundaries between Free and Unfree Labor: Introduction," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 78 (2010): 4–11.

Cassola, Arnold. *The 1565 Ottoman Malta Campaign Register* (Malta: Bank of Valletta/Publishers Enterprises Group, 1998).

Çelebi, Evliyâ b. Derviş Mehemmed Zıllî. *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 1, ed. Robert Dankoff, Seyit Ali Kahraman and Yücel Dağlı (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003).

Çelebi, Katib. *Tuhfetü'l-Kibâr fî Esfâri'l-Bihâr*, ed. İdris Bostan (Ankara: Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi, 2018).

Çelik, Şenol. "Şehir Kethüdâsı," *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 38 (2010): 451–53.

de Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel. *The Exemplary Novels of Cervantes*, trans. Walter K. Kelly (Auckland: The Floating Press, 2015).

Çetin, Cemal. *Sultanın Esirleri: İstanbul'da Bir Esir Kampı (1715*) (Konya: Palet, 2015).

Cezar, Mustafa. *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2014).

Christie, Agatha. *4:50 from Paddington* (Glasgow: Omnia Books, 2002).

Conermann, Stephan, 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.

Dancy, J. Ross. *The Myth of the Press Gang: Volunteers, Impressment and the Naval Manpower Problem in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015).

De Vito, Christian G., and Anne Gerritsen. "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): 1–27.

Erdem, Y. Hakan. *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800–1909* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

Engerman, Stanley L. "Introduction," in *Terms of Labor: Slavery, Serfdom, and Free Labor*, ed. Stanley Engerman (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999): 1–15.

Faroqhi, Suraiya. *Slavery in the Ottoman World: A Literature Survey*, *OSML 4* (Berlin: EB-Verlag, 2017).

Faroqhi, Suraiya. "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.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1977).

Freller, Thomas. "Reinhold Lubenau und das Osmanische Reich in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Militärgeschichtliche Zeitschrift* 74, no. 1–2 (2015): 127–61.

Gerlach, Stephan. *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).

Green, Molly. *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

Güneş-Yağcı, Zübeyde. "Kırım Tereke Defterleri Üzerine Bazı Mülahazalar," *Cihannüma* 6 (2020): 17–45.

Güneş-Yağcı, Zübeyde. "Kıbrıs'ın Fethi ve Ele Geçirilen Esirler," in *Tarihte Kıbrıs (İlkçağlardan 1960'a Kadar)*, vol. 1, ed. Osman Köse (Bursa: Akdeniz Karpaz Üniversitesi, 2017): 305–18.

Güneş-Yağcı, Zübeyde. "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.

Güneş-Yağcı, Zübeyde, 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): 83–113.

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

Gürkan, Emrah Safa. *Sultanın Korsanları: Osmanlı Akdenizi'nde Gazâ, Yağma ve Esaret, 1500–1700* (Istanbul: Kronik, 2018).

Guilmartin, John Francis. *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, London. 1974).

Hantzsch, Viktor. "Wild, Johannes," in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd120141620.html [accessed 06.03.2023].

BCDSS Reader (1st ed.) - page 971

Hathaway, Jane. *The Politics of Households in Ottoman Egypt: The Rise of the Qazdağlıs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

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

İnalcık, Halil. "Servile Labor in the Ottoman Empire," in *Studies in Ottoman Social and Economic History*, ed. Halil İnalcık (London: Variorum, 1985): 25–52.

İpşirli, Mehmet. "XVI. Asrın İkinci Yarısında Kürek Cezası İle İlgili Hükümler," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12 (1982): 206–7.

Kabadayı, M. Erdem. "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): 230–41.

Kahane, Henry, 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).

Kolovos, Elias. "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, Greece: Crete University Press, 2009): 103–75.

Królikowska-Jedlińska, Natalia. "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): 355–69.

van der Linden, Marcel. "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.

van der Linden, Marcel. "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): 293–322.

van der Linden, Marcel, 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.

Lucassen, Jan. "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.

Marteilhe, Jean. *Galeerensträfling unter dem Sonnenkönig: Memoiren*, trans. Hermann Adelberg (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1989).

Moustakas, Konstantinos. "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: Koninklijke Brill, 2015): 29–43.

Özcan, Abdülkadir. "Pencik." *Diyanet İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 34 (2007): 227.

Pamuk, Şevket. *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

Panzac, Daniel. *La marine ottomane: De l'apogée à la chute de l'Empire (1572–1923)* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2009).

Pedani, Maria Pia. *The Ottoman-Venetian Border 15th–18th Centuries)*, trans. Mariateresa Sala (Venice: Edizioni Ca'Foscari, 2017).

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

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

Priesching, Nicole. *Von Menschenfängern und Menschenfischern: Sklaverei und Loskauf im Kirchenstaat des 16.–18. Jahrhunderts* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2012).

Quataert, Donald. "Labor History and the Ottoman Empire, c. 1700–1922," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 60 (2001): 93–109.

Rediker, Marcus. *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

Şen, Gül. "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): 146–47.

Shefer-Mossensohn, Miri. "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): 542–68.

Smiley, Will. *From Slaves to Prisoners of War: The Ottoman Empire, Russia, and the International Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Sobers-Khan, Nur. *Slaves Without Shackles: Forced Labour and Manumission in the Galata Court Registers, 1560–1572* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2014).

Toledano, Ehud R. "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.

Toledano, Ehud R. *The Ottoman Slave Trade and Its Suppression: 1840–1890* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

Toledano, Ehud R. "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.

White, Joshua M. *Piracy and Law in the Ottoman Mediterranean* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2017).

White, Joshua M. "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.

[Wild, Johann.] *Johann Wild: Reysbeschreibung eines Gefangenen Christen Anno 1604*, ed. Georg A. Narciß (Stuttgart: Steingrüben Verlag, 1964).

Wratislaw, Wenceslas. *Adventures of Baron Wenceslas Wratislaw of Mitrowitz*, trans. Albert Henry Wratislaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Wurffbain, Johann Sigmund. *Reise Nach den Molukken und Vorder-Indien 1632–1646* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Joh. Th. de Bry, 1931).

Yaşa, Fırat. "Kırım Hanlığı'nda Köleliğin Sosyal ve Mali Boyutları," *Gaziantep Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 13 (2014): 657–69.

Zarinebaf, Fariba. *Crime and Punishment in Istanbul: 1700–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

Zeuske, Michael. *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei: Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2019).

Zysberg, André. "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.

Published Archival Sources

12 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (978–979/1570–1572): Özet, Transkripsiyon ve İndeks. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1998.

3 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri 966-968 (1558-1560): Özet ve Transkripsiyon. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1993.

5 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (973/1565–1566): Özet ve İndeks. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1994.

6 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (972/1564–1565):Özet,Transkripsiyon ve İndeks. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1995.

7 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (975–976/1567–1569), Özet, Transkripsiyon ve İndeks. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı, 1998.

82 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (1026-1027/1617-1618): Özet, Transkripsiyon, İndeks ve Tıpkıbasım. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Bakanlığı,2000.

H.951–952 Tarihli ve E-12321 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri Topkapı Sarayı Arşivi, edited by Halil Sahillioğlu. Istanbul: İRCİCA 2002.

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Galata Mahkemesi 15 Numaralı Sicil (H. 981–1000 / M. 1573–1591), edited by Coşkun Yılmaz. Istanbul: İSAM, 2012.

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri: Galata Mahkemesi 46 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1024–1029 / M. 1615–1620), edited by Coşkun Yılmaz. Istanbul: İSAM, 2012.

Tanrıvermiş, Abdullah. "72 Numaralı Mühimme Defteri (H. 1002–1003), (VR.1–230). İnceleme-Metin," Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Istanbul: Marmara Üniversitesi, 2014.

3. Research Lenses

3.5. Gender and Intersectionality

Introduction

The fifth research area focused specifically on asymmetrical power relationships as reflected in gender relations and gender orders. The question of gender asymmetries (in an open or latent form) ultimately arises in connection with any kind of social dependency or power asymmetry. Even more importantly, we are convinced that the gender perspective bears the potential of challenging a whole series of mainstream assumptions. Susan Stuard, for example, argues against the common theory established by Marc Bloch and others that ancient slavery was replaced by a system of serfdom during the early Middle Ages. Instead, she claims that slavery for women has continued.[1] In a similar way, David Herlihy illustrates that women's textile work was "domesticated" in the Central Middle Ages, shifting from the female-slave workshop of the Carolingian period to the artisan family, while women themselves effectively remained barrack-slaves[2]. The 'gendering of the history of strong asymmetrical dependencies' has made it possible to discern differences and complementary structures in the experience of bonded and oppressed men and women. It provided new insights for women's, gender and masculinity studies as well as for dependency studies and social history. In order to achieve that goal, the fifth research area also needed to delve into recent debates on intersectionality. Originally developed by scholars from gender studies, intersectionality has since been productively applied to various forms of social hierarchization, discrimination, discreditation and stigmatization. The approach focuses on intersections between structure and agency to analyze the combination of various markers of social difference, including gender as well as age, class, origin, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, skin color or physical stigmata and mutilations, all of which determine the web of strong asymmetrical dependencies that inform people's lives. Intersectionality states that various factors, such as gender, sexual orientation and race, do not exist in isolation from one another, but instead are linked by complex and interwoven relationships. Intersectional approaches maintain that paying attention to these relationships is essential for understanding the human condition. When systems of justice or other entities attempt to separate and isolate one of these factors, misconceptions are bound to occur and essential aspects of the human condition may be lost. Intersectionality argues for thinking of each factor informing the identity and the social position of a person as inextricably linked with all of the other factors. This framework allowed us to understand systemic injustice and social inequality in new ways. Racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, transphobia, xenophobia and religious or other belief-based bigotry and persecution did and do not occur independently of each other. Instead, these forms of oppression typically interrelate with one another, creating a system of asymmetrical dependencies that reflects the 'intersection' of multiple forms of discrimination. Starting from this hypothesis, it becomes apparent that identities are usually not addressed in social discourses and often come with their own forms of oppression, domination and discrimination. Laws and policies generally only address one form of marginalized identity. The overlapping of multiple oppressed identities often goes unnoticed. Intersectionality, by

[1] Susan M. Stuard. "Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery," *Past & Present* 149 (1995): 3–28; Marc Bloch *Feudal Society*, trans. L.A. Manyon (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1961).
[2] David Herlihy, *Opera Muliebria: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990): 161.

contrast, proposes that all aspects of one's identity must be viewed as simultaneously interacting with one another and affecting one's privilege (or lack thereof) and perception in society. Intersectionality does not only necessitate a rethinking of personal identity, but rather allows for an overarching analysis of asymmetrical dependencies present within identities. The framework of intersectionality also provides insight into how multiple systems of oppression interrelate and are interactive. Intersectionality is not a static field; rather, it is dynamic and constantly developing as a response to formations of complex social inequalities. Concerning gender aspects, there is a particularly large gap in the field of unfree labor. While gender historians have deconstructed outdated narratives in many fields over the last decades, the gender perspective has rarely been combined with a focus on coerced labor relations. While the new history of labor, for example, has turned gender asymmetries into a central category of analysis by examining productive and reproductive work, gainful and unpaid work, and work outside the household as well as work within the household, this question is still a rather marginal issue in debates on coerced labor. The fifth research area took this gap as its starting point and argued for a combination of 'feminist labor history' research with slavery and dependency studies.

3. Research Lenses

3.5. Gender and Intersectionality

Birgit Ulrike Münch. “Prostitution / Servitude / Slavery. Picturing Female Dependencies in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam,” Working Paper 15/24 (Bonn: Excellence Cluster Beyond Slavery and Freedom, 2024).

https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/working-papers/wp_15_munch.pdf

WORKING PAPER 24 | 15

Birgit Ulrike Münch

PROSTITUTION / SERVITUDE / SLAVERY. PICTURING FEMALE DEPENDENCIES IN SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AMSTERDAM

UNIVERSITÄT BONN

BONN CENTER FOR DEPENDENCY AND SLAVERY STUDIES

Working Paper, ISSN 2747-9331
Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Editors: Janico Albrecht/Jeannine Bischoff/Stephan Conermann

Working Paper 2024/15
© July 2024, by the author

Birgit Ulrike Münch
Department of Art History, University of Bonn

Prostitution / Servitude / Slavery. Picturing Female Dependencies in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam

Download
https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications/bcdsss-publishing-series/working-papers
……

"Gefördert durch die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG) im Rahmen der Exzellenzstrategie des Bundes und der Länder – Exzellenzcluster Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Projektnummer: 390683433"

"Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Foundation) under Germany's Excellence Strategy – Cluster of Excellence Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS) EXC 2036/1-2020, Project No.: 390683433"

Contact:
Dr. Janico Albrecht
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany
Email: publications@dependency.uni-bonn.de
Web: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Abstract

This working paper seeks to explore the concept of asymmetrical dependency from an art and cultural historical perspective. Prostitution and sex work are central domains in which female dependency was negotiated and bargained over during the early modern period. The aim of this project is to modify the network of different asymmetrical dependencies as it relates to female occupations, in particular to female prostitution in Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which is critically shaped by the role of the globalized metropolis in Dutch colonialism. The final section will focus on the concrete example of the exhibition on Dutch still lives "Augenlust," co-curated by the author (LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, 23.09.22–20.02.23, held in cooperation with the Museum Allard Pierson Amsterdam), in which several cabinets were dedicated to the theme of asymmetrical dependency.

Table of Contents

I. Introduction 1

II. Methods and Challenges: Initial Thoughts 4

III. Prostitution, Labor, Servitude – or Slavery? 7

III.1 Research Areas 8

III.2 Slavery versus Prostitution in Word and Image, and Blind Spots in Stedman's *Narrative of Surinam* (1796) 9

IV. Picturing the Dimensions of Female Dependencies in Early Modern Amsterdam: Three Examples 11

IV.1 The *Aalmoezeniers'* Cycle: Female Poverty and Prostitution 11

IV.2 Imprisoned Women as / Forced to Play Prostitutes: Bartholomeus van der Helsts *Portrait of the Regents of the spinhuis* 15

IV.3 Christiaen van Couwenbergh's *Three White Men and a Black Woman* / The Sexual Harassment / The Rape) 17

V. Exhibiting Untold Stories 20

V.1 Augenlust / The Lust of the Eyes 20

V.2 Banning the "Golden Age" and Returning Identities: Recent Approaches in Dutch and Flemish Museums 28

VI. Conclusion 29

Selected Bibliography 31

I. Introduction

Prostitution and sex work are a central field of negotiation relating to urban modes of female dependency in the early modern period. The aim of this project is to readjust the web of different asymmetrical dependencies in the realm of female occupations. In particular it will focus on female prostitution and its broader associations and implications in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Amsterdam, which were significantly shaped by the role of the metropolis in Dutch colonialism. Indeed, the unheard and unexplored voices of this group of women emerge in a generically diverse and under-utilized body of visual evidence.

The new conditions of this urban environment were crucial for pre-conditioning these acts of negotiation. Amsterdam experienced extreme population growth during the period under study. In the first place, the influx of religious refugees into the city led to an exponential increase in the number of inhabitants from 54,000 in around 1600 to 240,000 in 1740. Apart from a confessional motivation, seventeenth-century Amsterdam attracted an above-average number of young female migrants for other reasons. These reasons varied. One primary reason was the demand for domestic servants – primarily female – among the city's upper class and booming middle class. Another key reason was that the city provided exemplary care for the poor, while opportunities for unmarried pregnant women to give birth to their illegitimate children and receive medical care were also far superior to those in other cities of the time. These conditions attracted young women not only from Dutch and Flemish villages, but also from further afield in northern Germany and Scandinavia. Many of these women worked as domestic servants, in prostitution, or between the two areas.

During the pre-modern era beginning from the late fifteenth century, prostitution was closely linked both in internal and external perception to the port city of Amsterdam. Even then, legal documents, travel reports, diary entries and letters, overlapped with the growing production of fictional reports, including plays, novelizations and stories, as well as a booming visual media from paintings, statues and a variety of print media. In a growing number of novels published in this time, for example Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken's *Brieven an Abraham Blankaart* (1787–1789) the protagonists visited the brothels of Amsterdam. In other works the city was identified, in itself, as the Babylon of "fallen girls."

As the terminology of prostitution in its current sense has only been in use since the middle of the nineteenth century, the sources containing the terms *hoererij* or *hoeren* (whores) do not only describe the sale of sexual acts, but refer more generally to any non-normative extramarital affair that was not intended to produce offspring.[1]

[1] Fernando Henriques, *Prostitution in Europe and the New World* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1963); Julie Coleman, "Corpus Linguistics and Seventeenth-Century Prostitution: Computational Linguistics and History," *The Seventeenth Century* 33 (2017): 1–2; Wolfgang Pfeifer et al., "Prostitution," in *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1993), digital version at https://www.dwds.de/wb/etymwb/Prostitution [accessed 20.10.2023].

Prostitution was legally forbidden following the *alteratie*, the deposing of the Spanish-Habsburg city government of Amsterdam by the Calvinists on 26 May 1578, and the resulting criminal prosecution produced extensive written sources that need to be delved into further. Another, perhaps unintended result was the increase of brothels throughout the entire city. The *Confessieboeken der Gevangenen* (interrogation records), which record the name, age, profession, place of birth, and offence of the delinquents being interrogated by the courts, were maintained until 1811. These show that between 1650 and 1749, over 9,000 trials against prostitutes were held, which means that one fifth of all criminal cases in Amsterdam at that time concerned 'prostitution' or connected acts.[2]

The female composition and control of Amsterdam's prostitution system has led previous researchers to portray the trade as progressive and to falsely characterize it in terms of female self-determination. Of the 890 *hoerenhouders* or *hoerenkeepers* (whore-keepers) mentioned in the criminal records of Amsterdam between 1650 and 1750, 'only' approximately 350 were male brothel operators.

As mentioned previously, the demography of early modern Amsterdam was further marked by the predominance of women. Indeed, records indicate that there was a 2:3 ratio of men to women among the poorest social classes. After all, one in three men went to sea at this time, and of these only two thirds returned to their hometowns. In addition, while sailors could sign on with the *Oost Indische Compagnie* (Dutch East India Company)[3] in several towns, they could only receive their wages in Amsterdam and Middelburg. This meant that when on leave, and newly paid, they would frequent brothels in these cities in larger numbers than in other areas.

The wives of these sailors were also in an extremely vulnerable position, as married women were sometimes left on their own in the city for several years, with very few able to rely on regular financial support from their husbands while they were at sea. Beyond the court records relating to prostitution, other crimes committed by women in the mid-seventeenth century may be related to this situation. For instance, many of the thefts prosecuted in this period were committed by women. Further documents reporting on female convicts and especially prostitutes, and the conditions in which they lived and were educated, appear in the visitor records of the women's prison, the *spinhuis* (house of correction, where the women had to work on spinning wheels). Here female convicts, especially prostitutes, were rehabilitated and educated to work in professions outside the sex trade following their release. According to various travelogues and early tourist guides, we know that the prisons, along with their inhabitants, were exhibited to visitors for a fee. These records are another key resource into the daily lives of the women and give us an insight into their lives beyond the words of their trials and court records.

[2] Lotte C. van de Pol, *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 103–4.

[3] Jan Lucassen, "A Multinational and its Labor Force: The Dutch East India Company 1595–1795," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (2004): 12–39.

Critical attention needs to be given to various forms of urban female dependency within Amsterdam in the seventeenth century, ranging from prostitution to slavery to other forms of domestic servitude, as well as to the allegedly self-determined work in brothels mentioned above. We can gain some knowledge of these women and their world from the contemporary fictional and non-fictional texts, pamphlets, reports and plays of the period. *Le Putanisme d' Amsterdam* (the Putanism in Amsterdam) of 1681, for example, A book that provides information on how to deal with prostitutes compares the purchase of prostitutes to a slave market[4], while *D'Openhertige Juffrouw* (The open-hearted virgin) (1699) describes the exchange, hire, and sale of prostitutes as directly comparable to the ways enslaved women were treated in Turkey[5]. In *De Amsteldamsche speelhuizen* (The Amsterdam Playhouses) of 1793, a prostitute is quoted as saying that she would rather change places with a Black maid or slave in Batavia than live in the *speelhuizen* and brothels as if she were in prison.[6]

This last example points to further questions that need to be asked in relation to prostitutes from Amsterdam's Black and Asian communities, which were made up of formerly enslaved persons who settled primarily in the Jodenbreestraat area in the seventeenth century. Some of these, including a woman named Christina, born to an enslaved mother in Batavia and brought to Amsterdam at the age of five by her owner Adrianus van der Geugten, were imprisoned in the *spinhuis* in 1766 for their "immoral life style."[7] The daughters of slaveholders were another group that complexify the assymetrical dependencies of early modern Amsterdam. For example, Wilhelmina Balk, whose father was the owner of the plantation *De Vriendschap* (the Friendship) in Berbice in present-day Guyana, was appointed by him as sole heiress and raised by a guardian in Amsterdam.[8] It was precisely from Guyana that many slaves came to the metropolis in the eighteenth century, but their legal status did not change despite the abolition of slavery. How should we define the forms of dependency of people in Amsterdam who were no longer enslaved? And, what was the servant relationship like for women in Amsterdam hailing from the colonies, for Black Jewish women and for daughters of slaveholders? Clearly, the sources offer an array of methodological challenges.

[4] Anonymous, *Le Putanisme d'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jogchemse de Rhin, 1681).
[5] Anonymous, *D'openhertige juffrouw, of D'ontdekte geveinsdheid* (Amsterdam: Widow of Gijsbert de Groot, 1699): vol. 1, 172.
[6] Anonymous, *De Amstedamsche speelhuizen* (Amsterdam, 1793?), vol. 1.
[7] Leo Balai, *Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel over de belangen van Amsterdamse regenten bij de trans-atlantische slavenhandel* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2013): 34; Markus Balkenhol, "Tracing Slavery: An Ethnography of Diaspora, Affect, and Cultural Heritage in Amsterdam" (Phd diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2014); Carl Harnack, "Slavernij in beeld," in *De Slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam-onderzoek*, ed. Pepijn Brandon, Guno Jones, Nancy Jouwe and Matthias van Rossum (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020): 236–38.
[8] See the British Guiana Colonists Index "B": https://www.vc.id.au/tb/bgcolonistsB.html [accessed 20.03.2024].

II. Methods and Challenges: Initial Thoughts

The theoretical horizon against which the concrete, source-based project work of this study has been developed is closely linked to the Cluster's broader questions about modes and models of dependency and is informed, to this extent, by a broader approach than the traditional European binary opposition of "slavery versus freedom" – an opposition whose terminological weaknesses are particularly evident in gender-related topics. For this reason, the theoretical approach adopted here focuses on *practices* and regards not only relations between people, but also between people and objects of material culture as equally important to understanding asymmetrical dependencies. The Cluster's methodological principles, theoretical frameworks and terminologies have been summarized in a exploratory paper published in 2021.[9] The specific asymmetry of the dependencies experienced by historical actors in the field of early modern female prostitution may be conditioned by factors of gender, (proto-)racism, colonial marginalization, and religious cultures – or by any conceivable combination of these factors. This project asks which factors led to the long silence surrounding asymmetrical dependency in this area, and which new sources need to be consulted in order to reveal them.[10]

By focusing on concrete case studies, rather than attempting an overview of unspecified social groups and tacitly assuming their homogeneity, the project draws on the methodology prominent in previous work produced at the BCDSS: the micro-historical approach put forward by Tomich and Zeuske.[11] This essay adopts, then, the concept of "comparative microhistories" as a tool to analyze several cases and to create from them the basis for a broader understanding of the issue at hand. Thus, this project also connects to the Cluster's concentration on a "micro-spatial approach".[12] In particular, I focus on a specific historical setting – the prosperous city of Amsterdam as a field of negotiation that brings to light asymmetrical dependencies of a very specific kind: female prostitution.

Another study that could be of great importance for the project from a theoretical-hermeneutical point of view, but which, in contrast to the texts mentioned so far, has not yet played such a decisive role in the Cluster's work, is Saidiya Hartman's *Scenes of Subjection*. This study asks us to think about forms of dependency and their progressive dissolution, not as constituents of the narrative arc of justice and progress in humanity's history, but as an

[9] Julia Winnebeck, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann, "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 20.03.2024].

[10] Lisa Hellman, Sinah Kloß, Christian Mader, Jutta Wimmler and Julia Winnebeck, "Interview: A Window on our Research Perspectives," *DEPENDENT. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies*, 2021-1: 16–22.

[11] Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske, "The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World Economy and Comparative Microhistories," *Review – Fernand Braudel Center* 31, no. 2 (2008): 91–100.

[12] Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen, "Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labour: Towards a New Global History," *in Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labour*, ed. Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 1–28.

affirmation of a deeply constrained and compromised conception of slavery and freedom.[13] Hartman challenges the assumption that the forms of dependency endured by people classified as socially "different" even after the end of their respective dependency relations are merely the result of ongoing patterns of exclusion, a situation for which inclusion is the only viable solution. Instead, Hartman asks us to consider a different question, namely, what is meant by freedom? If freedom is *simply* the opposite of slavery, then it is a hollow concept. Thus, my project tries to re-evaluate concrete historical modes of dependency with a special focus on the possible ambivalence that inheres in the terms "slavery" and "freedom," which merely appear to be mutually exclusive.

Direct testimonies from enslaved people are rare in written sources within and beyond the Colonial-era Netherlands and its territories, partly due to the fact that writing and reading were forbidden in many colonies to enslaved people, who also had no access to writing materials. The autobiographical documents that have been preserved are from formerly enslaved people who talk about their lives in the past, almost as though viewed in a rear-view mirror. One important person is Boston Band, a resistance fighter and writing ex-slave, who was deported to Suriname in 1749 and died in 1766. He was previously one of the leaders of the rebellious slaves in East Surinam and is regarded as an important representative of the Maroons (runaway slaves). The Boston Band's text is of great importance in the field of Dutch history of slavery, even though it has only survived in Dutch translation, rather than in the original.[14] The written records of the formerly enslaved Angela van Bengalen, who was freed together with her children, can also be cited in this context. She was married several times, even though she was a *heelslag* (born as a child of two slaves), which contravened the rule that only enslaved persons with one enslaved parent could marry a European. She inherited, among other things, land from her three husbands.[15]

In this project, I will focus on images as key sources alongside juridical records, death and baptismal registers or administrative documents. Of particular interest are artefacts that directly or indirectly provide information on the theme of prostitution and asymmetric dependence. As a methodological approach to dealing with the victim archive, which is often difficult or indeed impossible to reconstruct, I will draw on Saidiya Hartman's approach of critical fabulation.[16] This theorem facilitates a multifaceted inquiry and, above all, eschews the mistake of trying to answer the question solely from the perpetrator archive. In her essay "Venus in Two Acts" (2008), she first draws attention to the fact that archives must be viewed critically and therefore asks specifically about the archive of the prisoners, then about the archive of the victims, and finally about how the wide archival gaps can be closed. She calls

[13] Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection. Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[14] Frank Dragtenstein, *Alles voor de vrede. Die brieven van Boston Band tussen 1757 en 1763* (Amsterdam: Amrit, 2010).
[15] Eveline Sint Nicolaas and Valika Smeulders, eds., *Slavery. The Story of João, Wally, Oopjen, Paulus, van Bengalen, Surapati, Sapali, Tula, Dirk, Lohkay* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2021): 14.
[16] Saidiya Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14.

these gaps the "silence of the archive"[17] – gaps that reflect a specific aspect of the situation of those enslaved or forced into prostitution, and that often do not reveal the direct voice of the colonized. In order to give the silenced a voice and close these gaps, the literary scholar proposes to tell a counter-history. For this, however, it is necessary to become aware of the immanent structure of "violence in the archive." This in turn raises the question of how the stories of Black prisoners can be told with dignity without reproducing the violence. How can we succeed in adopting new perspectives that bypass the cruel representations of the colonizers? Saidiya Hartman proposes a way for dealing with the "violence of the archive" by means of what she calls "critical fabulation." Critical fabulation is meant to encourage dealing with the gaps in the archive that have been created by the lack of Black perspectives.[18] They are not meant to be filled by these unknown perspectives alone, but rather to serve as a starting point for a story that moves along the line between truth and fiction, asking, "What if?" or "What could have been?" She explains:

> By playing with and rearranging the basic elements of the story, by re-presenting the sequence of events in divergent stories and from contested points of view, I have attempted to jeopardize the status of the event, to displace the received or authorized account, and to imagine what might have happened or might have been said or might have been done.[19]

The aim is not to create a story based on the supposed facts of the archive as studied by earlier scholars, but one that goes beyond them. Hartman encourages us to look critically at the archive and to go beyond its boundaries. The challenge is to "both to tell an impossible story and to amplify the impossibility of its telling."[20]

My project applies Hartman's concept of critical fabulation to the field of visualizations and the field of prostitution and other forms of asymmetrical dependency and covers the entire spectrum from female labor to sexualized enslavement in the early modern era. The application of Hartmann's literary method to fields of art historical research includes, for example, artefacts shown in the backgrounds of an image, images in the broadest sense of

[17] See Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts": 12, "Admittedly my own writing is unable to exceed the limits of the sayable dictated by the archive. It depends upon the legal records, surgeons' journals, ledgers, ship manifests, and captains' logs, and in this regard falters before the archive's silence and reproduces it omissions. The irreparable violence of the Atlantic slave trade resides precisely in all the stories that we cannot know and that will never be recovered. This formidable obstacle or constitutive impossibility defines the parameters of my work." See also the development of the concept in: Saidiya V. Hartman, *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019) and Saidiya V. Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).

[18] See Kristina Maurer, "Critical fabulation als Perspektive für ein dekolonisierendes Theater," https://theaterdekolonisierenseminar.wordpress.com/2020/12/15/critical-fabulation-als-perspektive-fur-ein-dekolonisierendes-theater/ [accessed 20.03.2024]

[19] Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts": 11.

[20] Hartman, "Venus in Two Acts": 11.

the visual sciences, sketches, drawings and symbols as well as descriptions of images that no longer exist.

III. Prostitution, Labor, Servitude – or Slavery?

One characteristic of asymmetrical dependencies in premodern Europe is gender-related access to and exclusion from power structures, as well as a fundamental imbalance in the exercise of domination and violence. From a cultural-historical point of view, one of the oldest forms of these processes of power and violence is female prostitution, which even in its earliest ancient examples was obviously linked explicitly to urban social and power structures. The term "prostitution" has been used since the sixteenth century to refer to the sale of bodies as a trade.[21] In the entry "Prostituiren," the *Great Complete Encyclopedia of All Sciences and Arts* published by Johann Heinrich Zedler between 1731 and 1754 explains the term as broadly referring to "offering oneself for sale, presenting oneself, indicating oneself, giving oneself for sale; likewise, making oneself mean and contemptible, or bringing oneself into disgrace and ridicule through imprudent speeches and deeds."[22] While prostitution can be read as a synonym for "demeaning oneself, diminishing oneself and insulting oneself," it denotes "in particular, however, the lending or offering for fornication, or other indecent and disgraceful pursuits."[23] The European early modern period is no exception to this definition. Economically important metropolises at the international level such as London or Amsterdam were sites of flourishing female prostitution, often induced by poverty. As we will see below, Amsterdam was a center of the phenomenon in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries due to its specific social and economic structure as the largest city in the Netherlands.

In what follows, I will firstly outline Amsterdam's prostitution system and its characteristics, and then present and discuss selected examples to highlight the extent to which the images expose strong asymmetric dependencies. The same images also help to address the question of overlap between the field of prostitution and those of female servitude and human trafficking. I will consider whether female prostitution in Amsterdam can be compared, paralleled or contrasted with different forms of dependency up to and including colonial slavery. Were there differences in the degree of visibility of female prostitution in the colonies in contrast to the – presumably – more socially regulated and sanctioned urban space of Amsterdam? In doing so, I will consider how specific "archives of victims" should be

[21] Douglas Harper, "Prostitute," Online Etymology Dictionary, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse.prostitute [accessed 20.10.2023], quoted after: Sydney Houston-Goudge, "Common Woman to Commodity: Changing Perceptions of Prostitution in Early Modern England, c.1450–1750" (M.A. thesis, Dalhousie University, 2011): 1 with further literature.

[22] Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 29 (Leipzig, 1731): 947; William Gordon, *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, vol. 3, *Q-Z* (London: Bloomsbury, 1994).

[23] See the original text in Zedler, *Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 29, 947: "Prostituiren, Prostituere, bedeutet in den Rechten so viel, als sich selbst feil und darbieten, dargeben, angeben, zu verkauffen geben; desgleichen sich gemein und verächtlich machen, oder sich durch unbesonnene Reden und Thaten in Schande und Spott bringen."

reconstructed in relation to their variability and how they overlap in both personal and structural terms.

Another chapter will delve more deeply into the question of how the problem of the non-represented can be considered in terms of Benjaminian hermeneutics, of what is marginalized or suppressed by discourses of power, and of how visual sources relate to textual sources in the area of asymmetrical dependence. The extent to which both areas are intertwined ultimately leads me to first tentative ideas, not yet a theory. account for the pecifics of the source material analyzed and open up general considerations on asymmetrical dependencies.

The final chapter will focus on the broader outreach of the project, specifically an exhibition at the LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn, for which I acted as co-curator. Three cabinets of this exhibition address the close intertwining of female labor, female criminality, and slavery of women and others.

III.1 Research Areas

This project has close links to three Research Areas within the Cluster:

(1) Research Area B (Embodied Dependencies) concerns the non-textual sources of asymmetrical dependencies. My project starts from the premise that the depiction of a prostitute / maid / slave / Black woman offers the possibility of illuminating the research topic in areas a) about which textual sources provide little or no information, and b) for which there are normative sources that need to be matched with constructions given in images. The pictorial corpus is extensive, especially for Amsterdam, and ranges from city views depicting a wide variety of ethnic groups to painted or engraved portraits, emblems or early photographs of families with servants in the colonies as well as in Amsterdam. Of special note are sources containing illustrations, including medical treatises and books (for example on venereal diseases), publications dealing with education and marriage, and pornographic literature. Travel reports (diaries, letters) and early travel guides to Amsterdam, including the visit to the *spinhuis*, are just as important as the baptismal, marriage and death registers. For example, the *ondertrouwregisters*, which have been preserved in their entirety for Amsterdam from 1565 to 1811, make it possible to investigate Amsterdam's Afro-Atlantic community and its prosopography, which has only recently been comprehensively addressed[24].

(2) In relation to Research Area D (Labor and Spatiality) which addresses the intrinsic ambivalence of the different forms of labor and dependency, the project focuses on the tension between the position of prostitutes in relation to maids or domestic servants, as well as to (former) slaves and the direct descendants of enslaved persons.

[24] Mark Ponte, "Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen. Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws," *The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15, no. 4 (2019): 33–62.

(3) The content of the project relates to questions of gender, otherness and intersectionality problems raised in Research Area E.

III.2 Slavery versus Prostitution in Word and Image, and Blind Spots in Stedman's *Narrative of Surinam* (1796)

One extremely important source for the project that still needs to be analyzed in detail is John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam.*[25] This text, which was first published in English in 1796 and translated into numerous other European languages within the next few years, is the revised version of a diary that Stedman had written while he was a member of the Scottish Brigade of the Dutch army during the suppression of several slave uprisings in Suriname between 1772 and 1777.[26] Parts of the text were heavily edited by an anonymous writer commissioned by the publisher, but the diary had been extensively illustrated by Stedman himself. On the basis of these original illustrations, a total of eighty prints were created – by William Blake among others – which were added to the printed text with its edited content (**fig. 1**). The genesis of this highly regarded publication on slavery in Suriname thus already reflects the most diverse interests within the slavery debates of the late eighteenth century: author, anonymous writer and publisher represented quite different points of view and interests when it came to the question of the justification or abolition of slavery in the overseas colonies of the great European powers. A close comparison of the *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, the original version of Stedman's illustrated text, with the version finally published in print, therefore reveals very impressively the negotiation processes behind the publication history of the *Narrative,* and captures in a sort of microcosm the entire problem of reconstructing the source material. The thematic fields of "prostitution," "rape" and "slavery" as the two dominant forms of female dependence in the colonial field of action prove to be the focal points of these negotiation processes. In his diary entries, Stedman mentions, as if in passing, his numerous sexual contacts with female slaves.[27] Although these sometimes appear in the form of direct or mediated prostitution, they should not be equated with it in all cases. This means that while "slave" and "prostitute" do *overlap* as terms here, they are not synonymous. These mentions are completely erased in the printed versions in which Stedman's relationship with Joanna (**fig. 2**), a fifteen-year-old slave who lived with him in a form of concubinage and with whom he fathered a son, is brought into focus and romanticized.[28] Their shared history was completely removed from the 1824 publication

[25] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*. *Transcribed for the First Time from the 1790 Manuscript*, ed. Richard Price and Sally Price (Baltimore: Open Road, 1988).

[26] John Gabriel Stedman, *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (London, 1796).

[27] Mario Klarer, "Humanitarian Pornography. John Gabriel Stedman's 'Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam' (1796)," *New Literary History* 36 (2005): 559–87.

[28] Beryl Gilroy, *Stedman and Joanna – A Love in Bondage. Dedicated Love in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Vantage Press, 1991).

of the *Narrative*. By readjusting the dependency relationships of female figures – mostly nameless slaves in the diary versus the "wife" Joanna in the printed *Narrative* – not only the options, but also the limitations, of the fields of action for dependent female bodies subjected to colonial violence become clear: rape, contractual prostitution, concubinage.[29] This project will contrast such colonial negotiation processes with contemporaneous fields of action in Amsterdam, while the analysis of Stedman's records will focus on the hitherto neglected relationship between image and text.

Fig. 1: William Blake: engraving of a Dutch plantation owner and female enslaved person, book illustration of the work of John Gabriel Stedman´s *Narrative of a Five Year´s Expedition,* published in London 2nd December 1793, by J. Johnson. St. Paul's Church Yard.

Fig. 2: William Blake: Joanna, engraving in: John Gabriel Stedman´s *Narrative of a Five Year´s Expedition,* published in London 2nd December 1793, by J. Johnson. St. Paul's Church Yard.

[29] Jenny Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery. A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003): 17–18.

IV. Picturing the Dimensions of Female Dependencies in Early Modern Amsterdam: Three Examples

IV.1 The *Aalmoezeniers'* Cycle: Female Poverty and Prostitution

The two paintings discussed in this chapter make up part of a cycle of five paintings in total. The complete cycle was created in the late 1620s by an artist unknown today, commissioned by the college of the Amsterdam *Aalmoezeniershuis* (the overseers of the poors´house) and deals indirectly with the theme of female labor and prostitution.[30] The individual paintings in the cycle refer to specific activities relating to the care of the poor, with various poorhouse regents appearing in the scenes. The largest painting shows the registration of the poor, with a second painting showing the distribution of bread. The artist's depiction of young women crowding round a bread counter is particularly striking. Two narrower paintings show the donation of clothes and a visit to the hemp-beating factory respectively. The latter was an institution that served to re-educate delinquent girls and women who had committed crimes such as illicit prostitution or begging. The fifth painting, square in shape, is entitled, "The House Call" and will be the focus of my reflections below (**fig. 3**). The five-part cycle was intended for the Regent's Room, which no longer exists.

[30] Norbert Middelkoop, "Schutters, gildebroeders en regentessen: Het Amsterdams corporatiestuk 1525–1850" (PhD. diss., Amsterdam University, 2019): 842–45; Ronni Baer, *Class Distinctions. Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2016); Birgit Ulrike Münch, "Das Hostienwunder in der Wohnstube. Visualisierte Armutsdiskurse der Amsterdamer *Aalmoezeniers*," in *Kunst & Katholizismus in der niederländischen Republik = Art & Catholicism in the Dutch Republic*, ed. Esther Meier and Almut Pollmer Schmidt (Petersberg: Imhof, 2022): 183–95. An online resource with extensive text by Norbert Middelkoop is the Amsterdam Museum database: http://hdl.handle.net/11259/collection.37812.

Fig. 3: Anonymous: *Aalmoezeniers* Cycle: The Visit, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam 1626–ca. 1628.

The paintings are remarkable in several respects, beginning with the ways in which the regents are portrayed amidst a representation of the broader activities of the *Aalmoezeniers*, and simultaneously depicting the seven works of mercy.[31] This virtue cycle goes back to chapter 25 of the Gospel of Matthew, which describes the correct ways of dealing with poverty and wealth.[32] The distribution of bread directly depicts the feeding of the hungry and thirsty, while clothing the naked is shown in the scene of the donating of clothes. Visiting the sick, sheltering strangers and burying the dead are shown in the so-called House Call. The work of mercy of visiting the imprisoned is represented in the image of the hemp beaters. Probably for this reason, the artist relocated the work of mercy to a basement room, where one of the overseers is shown entering down a dark stone staircase (**fig. 3, detail**). This iconographic subtext is not surprising, for as Ralf van Bühren pointed out, the works of mercy were a highly

[31] On charitable works of art, see: Sheila D. Muller, *Charity in the Dutch Republic. Pictures of Rich and Poor for Charitable Institutions* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).
[32] Matt. 25.31–46.

popular subject in both the northern and southern Netherlands and were taken up by many different confessions.[33]

Fig. 3, detail: Aalmoezeniers Cycle: The Visit, Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam 1626–ca. 1628, detail: Brothel Scene.

Amsterdam's gathering economic power led to a rapid increase in population, including the sudden influx of refugees at a level that few cities experienced during this period. In 1600, Amsterdam had 60,000 inhabitants, but thirty years later – at the time the cycle was painted

[33] Ralf van Bühren, *Die Werke der Barmherzigkeit in der Kunst des 12.–18. Jahrhunderts. Zum Wandel eines Bildmotivs vor dem Hintergrund neuzeitlicher Rhetorikrezeption,* Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 115 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1998): 45; Sylvaine Hänsel, "Caritas und Pietas – Wohltäter im Porträt. Armut, Familie und Repräsentation in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Die andere Familie. Repräsentationskritische Analysen von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Arbeitskreis 'Repräsentationen' (Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 2013): 385–418.

– this number had increased to 115,000.[34] The expansion of the economy also attracted an equally growing number of refugees. An important factor, which was highlighted in the writings of Lotte van de Pol amongst others, were the immigrants who would come to the city for a fixed period, and often returned more than once. The number of single immigrant women, in particular, was extremely high and contributed to the high disproportion of male and female members of the population, which was generally recorded as 2:3 throughout the whole century. Unemployment and a broader situation of hopelessness led to a crime rate of over 50 percent among the poor female population.[35] The large proportion of single women, infants and children within the cycle appears to be a direct reference to the impoverished female household as a target group of the *Aalmoezeniers*.

The complexity of the sequence of images is most evident in the so-called House Call. Here the two *Aalmoezeniers* are in the center of the picture in a simple-looking living room with different groups of people. In the foreground on the right sits an elderly man who points with his index finger to his swollen ankle, and thus to his inability to work. The sick woman in the bed behind him raises her hands to heaven in prayer, while one of the *Aalmoezeniers'* caretakers is depicted gesticulating to a group of women beside her bed. So far, scholars have interpreted the room as a unified pictorial surface, but it is clear that the left-hand side has a different argumentative focus. This half of the picture also shows an elderly couple who are not idle, but busy looking after small children, including an infant who has just been changed while the father of the house dries the nappy by the fireplace. A young woman in the middle ground on the left admonishes two young children, while another woman is bent over a washtub in the foreground, and a little girl seen from the back sits in a spinning chair. In the left half of the picture, children are already at work, and thus experience an education strongly characterized by the work ethic. In various prints, the spinning wheel stands for female education, so for example in a woodcut by Lieven de Witte, entitled "Van de aerbeyt der menschen," or "from the Work: the People."[36] This institution became a popular destination for the educated middle classes to visit, especially at the time when the painting was created.

In 2001, Dieter Beaujean investigated the extent to which paintings in the Northern Netherlands can provide keys to further layers of meaning, but his findings are sobering. Among some 1,000 paintings he examined, he found very few images that could be

[34] Jan De Vries, "The Population and Economy of the Preindustrial Netherlands," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15 (1985): 661–82; Jan De Vries and Ad van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2005): 39; Ulrich Ufer, *Welthandelszentrum Amsterdam. Globale Dynamik und modernes Leben im 17. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgarter Historische Forschungen 8 (Köln: Böhlau, 2008): 95–96.

[35] Lotte C. van de Pol, "The Lure of the Big City: Female Migration to Amsterdam," in *Women of the Golden Age. An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth Century Holland, England, and Italy*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen and Marijke Huisman (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994): 73–81; Lotte C. van de Pol and Erika Kuijpers, "Poor Women´s Migration to the City: The Attraction of the Amsterdam Health Care and Social Assistance in Early Modern Times," *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 1 (2005): 44–60; Birgit Ulrike Münch, "Arbeitende Frauen," in *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail*, ed. Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022): 176–85.

[36] Lieven de Witte, Woodcut: "Van den aerbeyt der menschen," in Andries vander Muelen, *Een zuverlic boexkin van der ketyvigheyt der menschelicker naturen* (Gent: J. Lambrecht, 1543).

interpreted as an essential part of an iconological concept.[37] This makes it even more remarkable that a hidden layer of meaning of a cautionary nature can be shown in the painting of the "House Call": here, above the fireplace, is a frameless picture attached to the wall with nails, which Van Bühren has interpreted as a wedding party, intended to offer a strong contrast to the sparse interior of the living room.[38] However, the careless hanging of the picture, and above all the suggestion of the staircase on the left and finally the couple in the centre of the table – the man grasping his partner by the waist in a posture indicating sex – clearly indicate the negative character of the depiction, which hints at a brothel scene. In numerous Dutch 17th century paintings, the staircase symbolises the fact that events take place far from the eye, in the dark. Numerous brothel scenes, for example, contain the staircase in the background. Thus, the image is by no means a "picture of better times," but rather a didactic admonition to take the righteous path at an early age. The fact that the artist has further placed a second, framed, picture within the first, frameless, one speaks for his unique pictorial wit. This is emphasized by the placement of a small child's chair at the lower edge of the picture, virtually inviting the little viewer to look at the brothel scene and to recognize it as a warning example of the "wrong way."

IV.2 Imprisoned Women as / Forced to Play Prostitutes: Bartholomeus van der Helsts *Portrait of the Regents of the spinhuis*

The *spinhuis* was an Amsterdam invention that had opened as a women's prison in 1597, two years after the equivalent for men, the *rasphuis*.[39] It took in unemployed women, women who had allegedly or actually committed a crime, those who were "causing trouble" or prostituting themselves without permission. It served as a reformatory, but also as a tourist attraction. Many travel guides of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries recommend a visit to the *spinhuis*. For a fee, both male and female spectators could watch the sinful women through a grille. Prints and paintings show that, again for a fee, the women entertained their audience by sometimes wearing heavy make-up and provocative clothing, performing an alleged offence and being punished for it.

In the background of the painting by Bartholomeus van der Helst's *Regents of the Spinhuis* from 1650 (**fig. 4 and fig. 4, detail**),[40] we see a scene featuring the regent raising his slipper at a young woman who tries to duck. The spinning wheel as a symbol of female labor was eponymous for the institution. It served as a sign of the will to work, and the idea was that it was only through introducing a person to a culture of work that a criminal could be brought back to the path to virtue. The pedagogical impetus is striking; and the belief that children should be introduced to physical work at a very early age, with girls set to work on the spinning

[37] Dieter Beaujean, *Bilder in Bildern. Studien zur niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2001): 212.
[38] Van Bühren, *Die Werke der Barmherzigkeit*: 48.
[39] Olfert Dapper, *Historische beschryvinghe van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663): 32–33.
[40] Norbert Middelkoop, Gusta Reichwein and Judith van Gent, *De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam. Schilderijen tot 1800* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2008): 104–5.

wheel, is found in numerous sources. In various other contexts, the reference to the spinning wheel is also tangible as a warning against inactivity. A sentence emblazoned above the entrance to the Amsterdam *spinhuis* on the corner of Achterburgwal is still legible today: it informs those entering about the function of the institution: "Schrik niet ik wreek geen quaat maar dwing tot goet. Straf is myn hant maar lieflyk myn gemoet."[41] Some of the *spinhuis'*s inmates came from the colonies, such as a woman named Christina.[42] She was the daughter of a mother enslaved in Batavia, and had been brought to Amsterdam as a five-year-old by her owner, Adrianus van der Geugten. Because of her "immoral way of life" she was imprisoned in the *spinhuis* in 1766.[43] As hard and sometimes unfair as life in the *spinhuis* may have been, the Netherlands and Amsterdam are distinguished by a large number of charitable institutions, orphanages and foundations for old men and women, and are thus far ahead of other European countries of the time.

Fig. 4: Bartholomeus van der Helst: Regents of the Spinhuis, dated in the middle of the book (alphabet Anno 1650), 233x317 cm; Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum.

[41] "Do not cry / weep, for my intention is not to seek vengeance for transgressions but to compel you towards virtue. My hand may be unyielding, yet my heart is gentle." Translated by the author. In the following: Unless otherwise stated, the translations are by the author.

[42] Lotte C. van de Pol, "The Whore, the Bawd, and the Artist: The Reality of Imagery of 17th Century Dutch Prostitution," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010), https://jhna.org/articles/whore-bawd-artist-reality-imagery-seventeenth-century-dutch-prostitution/ [accessed 20.10.2023]; Lotte C. van de Pol, "Prostitutie en de Amsterdamse burgerij: Eerbegrippen in een vroegmoderne stedelijke samenleving," in *Cultuur en maatschappij in nederland, 1500–1850: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burk and Willem Frijhoff (Amsterdam: Boom, 1992): 179–218.

[43] Julia Holzmann, *Geschichte der Sklaverei in der Niederländischen Republik. Recht, Rassismus und Handlungsmacht Schwarzer Menschen und People of Color, 1680–1863* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2022): 209–43, see also 279–80.

Fig. 4, detail: Bartholomeus van der Helst: Regents of the Spinhuis, dated in the middle of the book (alphabet Anno 1650), 233x317 cm; Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, detail of the "prostitutes" and visitors.

IV.3 Christiaen van Couwenbergh's *Three White Men and a Black Woman* / The Sexual Harassment / The Rape)

Christiaen van Couwenbergh's painting signifies a caesura and a crossing of boundaries that has been addressed surprisingly rarely in previous scholarship; when it has been mentioned, it has been described in terminologically problematic ways (**fig. 5**). Dated to 1632, it shows three white men in an interior room about to rape a Black woman.[44]

[44] Birgit Ulrike Münch, "Verloren im Theater des Grauens. Sexuelle Gewalt, male bonding und black-facing in Christiaen van Couwenberghs unethischem Bild," in *Sinn und Sinnlichkeit in der Kunst*, ed. Helen Boeßenecker et al. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2023): 28–35.

Fig. 5: Christiaen van Couwenbergh: The Sexual Harassment / The Rape, 105x125 cm, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Strasbourg, 1632.

In sensual cycles, or in a painting of the Prodigal Son, Couwenbergh depicts sexual desire, women and men seducing each other, sometimes without a clear dominance of one sex. The painting under discussion, however, is quite different: a naked man sits on the bed with its dark blue coverlet, which is placed diagonally in the room; he has grabbed the unclothed woman and pulled her onto his lap. Her hand, placed on top of his, would suggest consensus if seen by itself, but her right arm, held in a defensive stance, and the fact that her mouth is open in a cry, indicate her distress and suggests that she is begging for help. Behind the seated couple is a clothed man who has also raised his hands in a defensive gesture but seems to be smiling mischievously. Most significant is the man in the foreground to the left, who is dressed only in a white loincloth. He is communicating with the viewer whom he seems to be addressing, pointing to the raptus scene with his right index finger.

As recently as 1999 in the catalogue of the exhibition on Dutch classicism, which was shown in Rotterdam and Frankfurt, the painting is described as intriguing and even comical, even though the woman is being held apparently against her will. However, the prior interpretations and terminology have been criticized by Diane Wolfthal in her work *Images of*

Rape, which directly refers to this painting.[45] It is also notable that, despite Couwenbergh's remarkable œuvre, very little work has been carried out on this painting and the artist himself. The painting remains a rare example of such a drastic interpretation of a rape scene.

Paul Vandenbroeck described the painting as "Rape of an African Woman" in the catalogue *Beeld van de andere* (Antwerp 1987) and included it in the category "Instructional Pieces and Parables."[46] A "man ready for a bath" prepares to "wash a Negress," but is laughingly mocked by a second man for this futile endeavor. In this interpretation, the painting thus shows an *impossibilium*, like the classic example in Jeremiah 13:23 (where the question is asked, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?"), or in Aesop's fable "Washing the Ethiopian White." All other researchers have ruled out any reference to Aesop and the biblical text, as no washing utensils have been included within the image and only a chamber pot is seen at the back.

However, it seems plausible that the categorization as a "didactic piece" is correct when considering the finger pointing at the lightly clothed man. But if we return to the widespread iconography of the Prodigal Son, the contemporary viewer may also have held a direct association with the loincloth-clad sinner. If the naked, standing man is a self-portrait of the artist, as in at least four other genre scenes and portraits of the period, this would cast him in the role of the penitent, placing himself not amusingly but warningly next to the crime. In any case, it seems that the subversive depths of this painting have not yet been sufficiently explored. I have suggested recently that the key to interpreting the work is a play: Gerbrand Adraensz Bredero's play "Moortje" from 1615, an adaptation of "Eunuchus," a play by the Roman comic poet Terence (ca. 190–159 BC), which the author himself describes and which he transferred to the Amsterdam of his time. For example, he turned the eunuch into a black enslaved woman.[47]

[45] Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The "Heroic" Tradition and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 45–53.

[46] Paul Vandenbroeck, *Beeld van de andere, vertoog over het zelf over wilden en narren, boeren en bedelaars* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1997): 23–27.

[47] Birgit Ulrike Münch, "Verloren im Theater des Grauens. Sexuelle Gewalt, male bonding und black-facing in Christiaen van Couwenberghs unethischem Bild," in *Sinn und Sinnlichkeit in der Kunst*, ed. Helen Boeßenecker et al. (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2023): 28–35.

V. Exhibiting Untold Stories

V.1 Augenlust / The Lust of the Eyes

This exhibition, which was in preparation since 2019 and took place in 2022, set itself the goal of facilitating new approaches to Dutch still lives, and in this way negotiated questions that have rarely or only recently been asked in relation to images within this genre (**fig. 6**).[48] The exhibition faced several challenges. It set out to focus on a narrow group of paintings. One painting was chosen to be the center of every cabinet, with each cabinet concentrating on a single (pair of) theme(s), such as global and local; fish and seafood; slavery, female labor; man as an object; abundance of children / infant mortality, and female artists.[49] We put great emphasis on sustainability by sourcing the objects grouped around the painting in each cabinet, including everyday objects such as books and globes, from as few museums as possible in order to save on energy costs and transport. Three museums in Amsterdam were chosen as the main lenders: the University Museum of the Free University of Amsterdam, the Allard Pierson Museum and the City Archaeological Museum.

Fig. 6: View of the exhibition space of the exhibition "Augenlust" (LVR-Landesmuseum Bonn in cooperation with the Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam), co-curated by the author together with Alexandra Käss and Lothar Altringer.

[48] Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk, eds., *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022); see also the following review of the exhibition: Eva Lehner, Review of *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail*, ed. Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch und Thorsten Valk, Histrhen. Rheinische Geschichte wissenschaftlich bloggen, 15.02.2024, http://histrhen.landesgeschichte.eu/2024/02/rezension-augenlust-lehner [accessed 25.04.2024].

[49] Alexandra Käss et al.: "Augenlust? Nicht nur ein Fest für die Sinne," in *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail*, ed. Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022): 22–25.

It is only at first glance that still lifes follow the same patterns as each other. For instance, *trompe-l'œil* plays with our perception, while *vanitas* still lifes remind viewers of their own mortality in a moralizing way. But the literally "dead objects" (*nature morte, stilleven*) that are united in the paintings – whether fish and oysters, flowers, fruit baskets, game, snails from the New World, hourglasses or globes – are also fascinating in their own right. They tell us about the time in which the paintings were created in an astonishingly condensed way, and at the same time provide information on topics that are vital in historical and current discourse. In this way, still life painting of the seventeenth century is not only a witness to its own time of origin: its contents also provide information about the social conditions that prevailed at the time. Still lifes point to globalization and migration, to colonialism, to the unfair distribution of resources, to differences in status and exclusion based on race and gender.[50] In order for visitors to discover these themes – which are so topical today – in the pictures, it is essential to sensitize viewers to the richness of detail in still lifes, all the more so as the sensual experience holds a greater primary importance within this genre than all others.

Only a few particularly high-quality and unusual still lifes were shown, in accordance with the greater themes of reduction and sustainability focused on in the exhibition. While this might sometimes disrupt the flow of the viewing experience, the curatorial team hoped that it would engage the visitors' curiosity and lead to larger discussions beyond the frame of the exhibition. The fifteen works selected were presented in "thematic cubes" or small cabinets, which intended to offer visitors the opportunity to become fully involved in the details of each individual picture (**fig. 7 and fig. 8**). The objects assigned to the still lifes helped to draw attention to certain aspects of the pictures, and act as an invitation to view them from fresh angles, rendering visible details in the picture that are often overlooked, thus making them apparent for the first time and thereby deepening our knowledge of them. This concept not only brings the diversity and richness of detail of still lifes into focus, but also offers visitors the opportunity to use the pictures and objects to gain insights into Dutch life in the seventeenth century, and the ways these highlight how objects in the paintings were produced, earned or imported.

[50] Gloria Wekker, *White Innocence. Paradoces of Colonialism and Race* (London: Duke University Press, 2016); Gloria Wekker, *Witte onschuld. Paradoxen van kolonialisme en ras* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

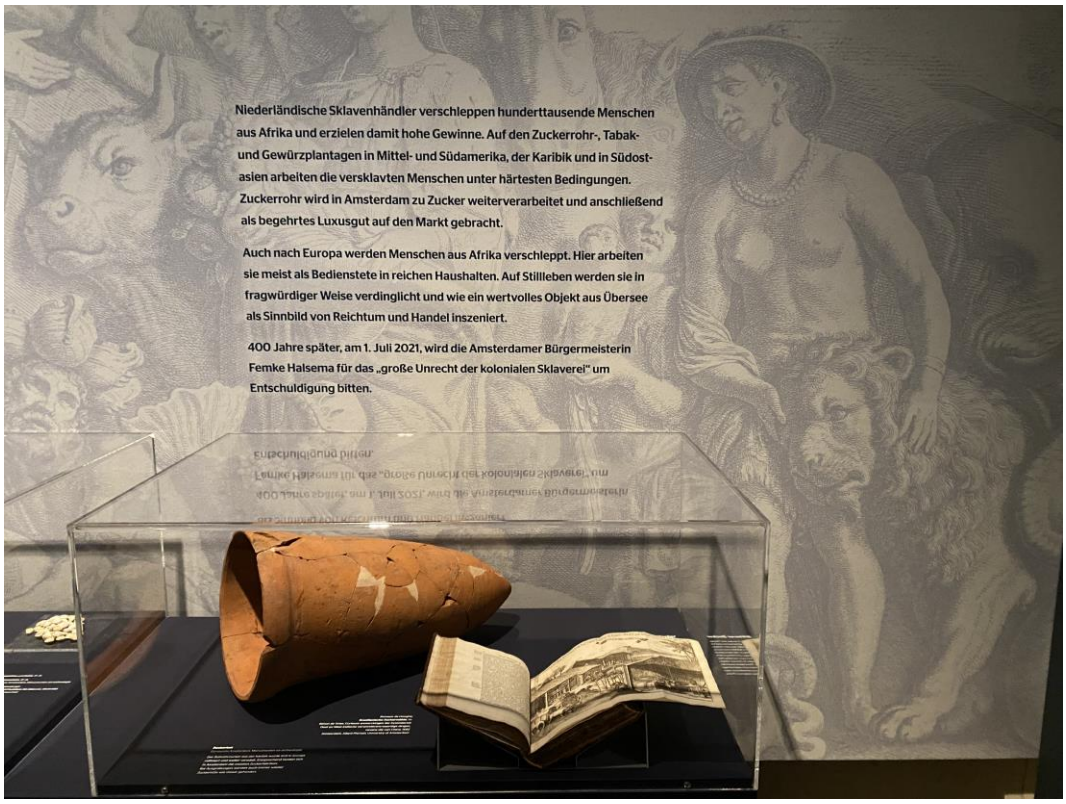


Fig. 7: Exhibition cabinet, exhibition “Augenlust” on the subject of “The Human being as a commodity: Slavery, sugar cane as a ‘bloody’ raw material.”

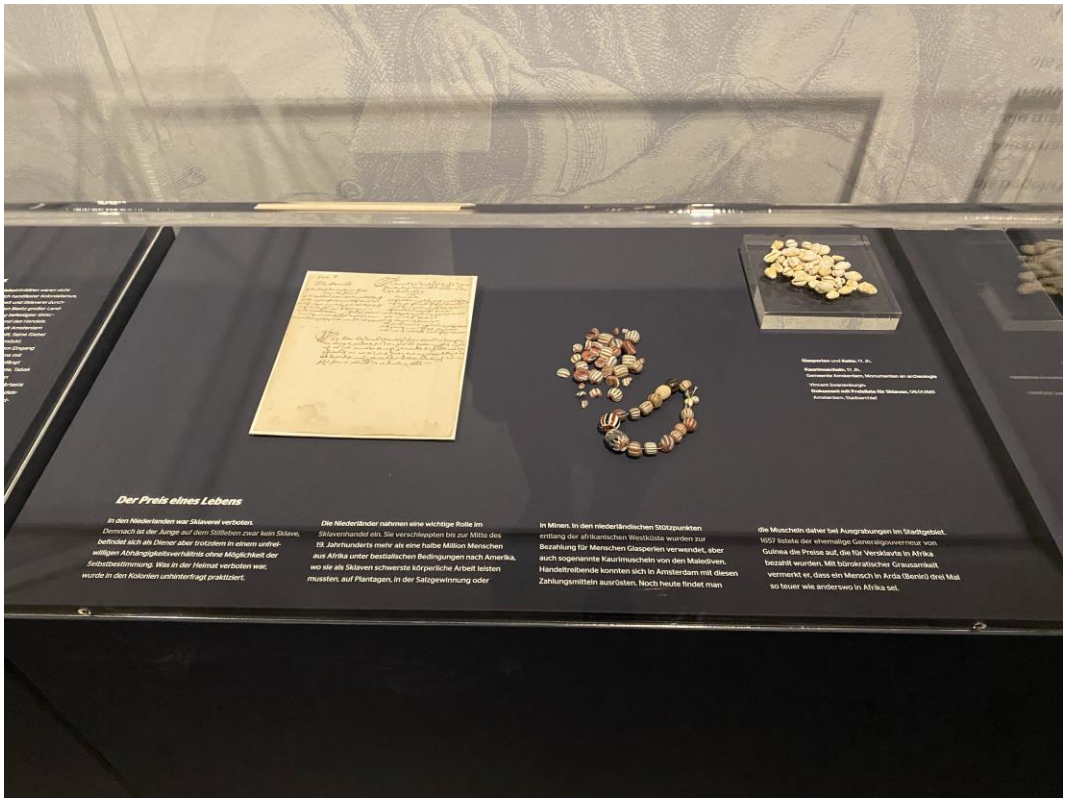


Fig. 8: Exhibition cabinet, exhibition “Augenlust” on the subject of “The Human being as a commodity: The price of a life.” Source on the price of enslaved people and Kauri shells (Kauei snails) as a means of payment in the early modern slave trade.

In addition, the fact that these fifteen topics which are still being negotiated today, strongly shaped or configured seventeenth-century society, including globalization and colonialism, race and gender, poverty and wealth, allow the exhibition to invite visitors on a voyage of discovery and exploration of the world in miniature. The aim of the exhibition was to demonstrate that a still life painting is not necessarily harmless, but also depicts dangerous forms of dependency or those which today might be categorized as objectionable in some ways. Paintings may appear innocent at first glance, but what they show is not.

In recent years, some museums have deemed the previous, almost inflationary, use of the term "Golden Age" as too one-sided. At the end of 2019, for example, the curator of the Amsterdam City Museum, Tom van der Molen, decided to ban the term "Golden Age" from his museum altogether. The museum wants to be "polymorphous and inclusive," and the so-called "Golden Age" witnessed not only prosperity, peace and opulence, but also poverty, slavery, forced labor and human trafficking.[51] "Golden Age" is therefore a misnomer.[52] Our exhibition took on the task of explaining that the cabinets should be interpreted in a straightforward manner, and perhaps even with pride. Visitors were presented with a text which asked them to act as a servant (both male and female) to the artist in numerous still lifes, incorporating luxury objects associated with the still lifes themeselves. Visitors are shown that the slave trade was widespread at the time of the decline of the Roman Empire, and that it by no means ended with the Romans but, on the contrary, that a flourishing slave trade existed throughout the Middle Ages, especially in the Christian Mediterranean regions. In the late Middle Ages, enslaved people were working at European courts or in well-off families as servants, or in the menageries as animal keepers. Just like people with dwarfism or "wolf people" – sufferers of hypertrichosis – enslaved people were highly sought after in the courts from the end of the fifteenth century onwards as curiosities, and were often depicted in art. In some seventeenth-century paintings their sumptuous clothing and their close contact with the family who owned them, especially with the children, testify to the close, long-standing relationships between the individuals. Many African pages had originally arrived at the courts as children, but as adults they were abruptly excluded from the closest circle of the family, as they could no longer take on the role of cute "accessories," constant companions or entertainers. The closeness and familiarity suggested in the picture is therefore not an automatic given within the background of the asymmetrical dependence of this relationship.

---

[51] Tom van der Molen, "The Problem of the 'Golden Age'," Curator´s project, CODART features, https://www.codart.nl/feature/curators-project/the-problem-of-the-golden-age/ [accessed 20.10.2023]; Brigit Katz, "Why the Amsterdam Museum Will No Longer Use the Term 'Dutch Golden Age'," *Smithsonian Magazine* (16.09.2019), https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/amsterdam-museum-will-no-longer-use-term-dutch-golden-age-180973140/ [accessed 20.10.2023], quoting Tom van der Molen: "The Golden Age occupies an important place in Western historiography that is strongly linked to national pride. But positive associations with the term such as prosperity, peace, opulence and innocence do not cover the charge of historical reality in this period. The term ignores the many negative sides of the 17th century such as poverty, war, forced labour and human trafficking." See also https://www.theguardian.com/world/2019/sep/13/end-of-golden-age-amsterdam-museum-bans-term-from-exhibits [accessed 03.07.2024].

[52] Tom van der Molen, "The Problem of the 'Golden Age'," https://www.codart.nl/feature/curators-project/the-problem-of-the-golden-age/[accessed 20.10.2023].

Following the rise of colonialism, the number of households with Black servants substantially increased[53], especially in Amsterdam. It is difficult to reconstruct the living situations of Black servants, as the cultural archives of the victims of slavery are far less often able to provide information than those of the perpetrators – and they have begun to be consulted only recently. It is important to make even a few traces visible. It is true that the slave depicted in various paintings lived in the house of a wealthy bourgeois family and not on a plantation, but even here he was an unfree human being, exposed to violence without protection. Where did the person depicted in these paintings see his own place in relation to the exuberant luxury objects?

The exhibition focuses on the situation in Amsterdam. In addition to the unfree Black people living as servants in wealthy households, there were also a number of free or liberated Black people living in Amsterdam, primarily in the Jodenbreestraat area, close to Rembrandt´s famous house and the Sephardic synagogue – where many Jews also worked as merchants. However, far too little is known about their living conditions, and though sources such as marriage and baptismal registers have become more freely available in recent years, they have rarely been consulted in this context.[54]

In numerous portraits or, as in our exhibition in the still lifes, the "pageboys" appear in orientalized clothing.[55] To what extent the artists portrayed a stereotype, or rather an individual person, is also a research question that is not easy to answer.[56] The depictions often evoke sensuality – by means of clothing or dark, luminous skin color – with the sitters gazing sometimes with childlike admiration and sometimes full of desire at the male or female white person who is the focus of the picture, whom they present with fruits, flowers or large, "exotic" shells. The distinction of skin color and the juxtaposition very dark to strikingly light

[53] Katja Wolf, "'Und ihre siegreichen Reize steigert im Kontrast ein Mohr.' Weiße Damen und schwarze Pagen in der Bildnismalerei," in *Weiße Blicke. Geschlechtermythen des Kolonialismus*, ed. Karl Hölz, Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff and Herbert Uerlings (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2004): 19–36; Elmer Kolfin, *Van de slavenzweep en de muze. Twee eeuwen verbeelding van slavernij in Suriname* (Leiden: KITLV, 1997); Elmer Kolfin, "Zwarte modellen in de Nederlandse kunst tussen 1580 en 1800. Feit en fictie," in *Black is beautiful. Rubens tot Dumas,* ed. Esther Schreuder and Elmer Kolfin (Zwolle: Waanders BV, 2008): 70–88; Elmer Kolfin, "Becoming Human. The Iconography of Black Slavery in French, British and Dutch Book Illustrations, c. 1600–1800," in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and J.M. Massing (London: University of London Press, 2012): 253–97; Diane Wolfthal, *Household Servants and Slaves. A Visual History 1300–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022). Wolfthal's recent book is central to my research, but draws few connections between forced labor, slavery and prostitution.

[54] Mark Ponte, "Tussen slavernij en vrijheid in Amsterdam," in *De Slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam-onderzoek*, ed. Pepijn Brandon, Guno Jones, Nancy Jouwe and Matthias van Rossum (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020): 248–56; Mark Ponte, "Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen. Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws," *The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15, no. 4 (2019): 33–62.

[55] Elizabeth McGrath, "Caryatids, Page Boys, and African Letters. Themes of Slavery in European Art," in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and J.M. Massing (London: University of London Press, 2012): 3–39.

[56] Birgit Ulrike Münch, "Die Schattenseiten des Luxus, oder: Der Mensch als Ding," in *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail*, ed. Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022): 125–35.

skin tones, is not noticeable in this work, but the pageboy has deliberately been included in the dark background behind the elaborate arrangement on the table.[57]

The debate about how to acknowledge and discuss slavery is currently a central issue in the Netherlands. Much has been achieved in recent years, including through large-scale exhibitions, the erection of monuments to the victims of colonialism, and public apologies by the state. In the process, it is becoming increasingly clear how long stereotypes and colonially-influenced images have gone unchallenged, and how rooted they still are in everyday culture in the twenty-first century.[58] For instance, the helper of St. Nicholas (Sinterklaas) has been Black-faced Zwarte Piet since the late colonial age in the nineteenth century. He is famous as a permanent fixture of the Dutch St. Nicholas festival (Sinterklaas). There has been a heated public debate for more than ten years about whether the racist connotation of Piet, who has to punish the bad children, should be abolished. In addition to "Blackfacing," white people made-up as Black, the performers of Swarte Piet wear the orientalizing ceremonial clothing of a servant, thereby evoking references to the depiction of the pageboy in still lifes as well as the problematic colonial past.

Between the mid-sixteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries, over 520,000 people – 5% of Africas 10 million inhabitants – were kidnapped, tortured, forced to work or killed by people from Dutch ships, trade and merchant companies alone[59]. With the war against the Habsburgs, the Spanish-Portuguese colonial empire was also a point of attack for the Dutch provinces; economic networks had to be configured more globally, as the way into many ports was now blocked following the entry into war. The trading companies, especially the VOC, the Dutch East India Company founded in 1621, and the WIC, the West India Company, ensured that by the middle of the seventeenth century, half of the world's trade was controlled in Dutch ports. With the Dutch East Indies – modern-day Indonesia – they secured a monopoly in the spice trade, for example with the extremely precious nutmeg, which was grown and distributed by thousands of slaves from Bengal.

The ship as a much-cited symbol of the trading power of the Netherlands symbolizes the transport of precious fruits, porcelain and fabrics, but also stands for the numerous ships that sailed to West Africa, bought people and held them in captivity for months until the ship was filled and set sail. The ship stood for inhumane confinement, because just like the spices and food, the human cargo was arranged economically. Many slaves, who often spoke different languages and could therefore not communicate with one another, died during the crossing of illnesses, exhaustion or because they were executed after attempted revolts as cautionary examples. More than 300 are said to have been tried on Dutch ships alone. The number of

[57] Katja Wolf, "Weiße Damen und schwarze Pagen": 19–36.
[58] See: Karwan Fatah-Black and Matthias Van Rossum, "Slavery in a 'Slave Free Enclave'? Historical Links Between the Dutch Republic, Empire and Slavery, 1580s–1860s," *WERKSTATTGESCHICHTE* 66–67 (2014): 55–73.
[59] Iris Därmann, *Undienlichkeit. Gewaltgeschichte und politische Philosophie* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2020): 130–56.

those who put an end to their suffering by going on hunger strike or committing suicide, for example by jumping into the sea, was also large.

Thus, there is inevitably blood present in the making of a splendid still life. Against this background, the expensive and opulent clothing of the persons we interpret to be maids or pages within the still lifes seems almost cynical, especially when we consider that the consumption of the most fascinating goods from all over the world could never have been possible without this human commodity, enslaved, half-naked and humiliated for the luxury of others in the colonies.

In Suriname, one of the former Dutch colonies, the abolition of slavery on 1 July 1863 is celebrated as Keti Koti, "broken chains." Starting in 2021, when mayor Femke Halsema of Amsterdam apologized for the city's role in the slave trade, there has been widespread discussion about whether Keti Koti should also become a public holiday in the Netherlands.

In the seventeenth century, however, there was little sense of injustice among all colonial powers. The Dutch colonial masters, who were active all over the world, saw no problem in the exploitative treatment of the people within these territories.[60] On the contrary, the Dutch staged themselves metaphorically as masters of the world, who were allowed to take the treasures of the earth for themselves. On the tympanum of the Amsterdam *stadhuis,* dating to 1655, all the continents celebrate the successes of the trading power and pay homage as a matter of course to the city of Amsterdam, to which they deliver goods from all over the world and lay them at its feet. The fact that people had to perform hard labor so that raw materials and goods could flow into the trading metropolis was seen as self-evident and just. A blind eye was turned to the injustice of the slave trade and its gruesome practices, at least in public debate. The poet Willem van Focquenbroch, who is still popular today, recounted his life as a high-ranking administrator at Fort Elmina in present-day Ghana. We hear nothing about the slave trade, but much about the idea of the foreign land, first as a place of longing, but soon we also hear his complaints about loneliness away from home. The cover of his report, which also contains letters (*Africaense Thalia*), refers to European history with a reference to the battle for Troy, while also depicting indigenous people dancing. European culture is thus brought together with African culture as old Europe self-confidently inscribes itself in its new possessions and appropriates them. It is the destiny of Europeans, Focquenbroch's report suggests, to seize this land and its treasures. Self-glorification, disparagement of the other and concealment of criminal actions made it possible to continue the system of injustice without feeling guilt. Plantation owners had drawings and paintings made of their overseas properties, as did for instance Amsterdam's city secretary Jonas Witsen, who commissioned his friend, the painter Dirk Valkenburg, to travel to Suriname for several years to document his properties there. Valkenburg was contractually forbidden to give any pictorial material into third hands. Most of the drawings show the mills, or almost romanticized water views of the sugar plantations. One painting shows a gathering of female and male slaves – a rare image of its

[60] Dienke Hondius, "Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme, Center for Renaissance and Reformation Studies* 31, no. 2 (2008): 85–103.

kind. If it depicts an authentic celebration, which is not definite, it should be noted that Witsen had abolished free Saturdays, and the slaves were granted only one day off per year. The sparse dwellings of the slaves are absent from most of the pictures, which focus instead on the view of the beautiful landscape, while violence and death seem far away.

The exhibition shows objects that memorably visualize the purchase of the "human commodity," and at the same time are designed in their complexity in such a way that visitors can clearly assign the material culture.

Textual sources help to identify the prices paid for enslaved people.[61] For instance, on January 9, 1661, the Amsterdam notary Vincent Swanenburgh signed a document in which Hendrick Mathijs, Governor General in Guinea, listed prices for slaves in Africa in 1657. In Ardra (Benin), the list indicates, slaves were three times as expensive as in other parts of Africa. Most importantly, the source indicates that payment was not made by money but by trade goods: 40 pounds of coral or 120 pounds of Schleswig textile had to be spent for a slave. Alternatively, one could pay with "bougis," also known as cowrie shells.[62] The cowrie shell – more accurately a form of snail – was the first and most widespread trade currency and a popular means of payment, especially in Africa. The cowries, which came primarily from the Maldives, were brought from there to the European market and then used to pay for slaves in West Africa. The most important European trading point for cowries was Amsterdam, where archaeological excavations still find these shells in the city area today. As the list shown in the exhibition makes clear, a price for a slave was set at just 100 pounds of "bougis" – a means of payment that symbolized the path to slavery for thousands. A list of objects in Dutch still lifes whose production involved slave labor and harsh exploitation in the colonies would be staggeringly long. It would include tobacco, spices and sugar, a commodity that is taken for granted today, but was particularly sought after in the seventeenth century. The sweetener of choice in pre-modern Europe was honey, because sugar cane does not grow here. For this reason, sugar, obtained through slave labor, had to be imported from the Americas, and was extremely expensive to produce.[63] In contrast, sugar is often depicted as an exquisite sweet in still lifes.

Since sugar cane spoils quickly after harvesting, and so had to be pressed in mills on site. The juice obtained was boiled before it could be further refined. It was then transported to Europe in the form of cones (sugar loaves), thereby adding to the expense within the trade networks and the importance of Amsterdam as a nexus within the European import of the product. Sugar was initially only available in pharmacies and was considered a medicine and luxury good. The Dutch were extremely successful in the Brazilian sugar trade in the seventeenth century, importing it from their possessions in America. Some Amsterdamers came to great

[61] See here and in the following: Münch, "Die Schattenseiten des Luxus, oder: Der Mensch als Ding": 32–33; for the premodern concept of possession and consuming subjects, see: Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects – Women, Shopping, and Business in the 18th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).
[62] www.amsterdam.nl/stads- archief/themasites/amsterdam-slavernij/1661-bougis/ [accessed 20.10.2023].
[63] Erik Odegard, "Suiker en slavernij in Nederlands-Brazilië," in *De slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam-onderzoek*, ed. Pepijn Brandon et al. (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020): 149–56.

wealth through trade in the "white gold," such as Oopjen Coppit, whom Rembrandt portrayed in life-size in precious robes in 1634 with her husband, Marten Soolmans, manager of the sugar refinery "'t'Vagevuur" (Purgatory). What is cynical about this is not only that sugar cane was cultivated with slave labor, but that the slave traders in turn were often paid with promises of the coveted commodity of sugar, which had yet to be earned in the future. Business deals with promises of goods fueled a perfidious cycle and the exquisite sweet of the still lifes continued to have an ugly existence beneath its beautiful veneer.

V.2 Banning the "Golden Age" and Returning Identities: Recent Approaches in Dutch and Flemish Museums

Johan Maurits was the governor of Dutch Brazil for eight years from 1636 to 1644, and during this time he significantly boosted the sugar trade there through low prices and slave labor. After his return to the Netherlands, the *Braziliaan* expanded his extremely wealthy townhouse in The Hague, today the famous museum *Mauritshuis*. In 2019, the museum took a critical look at its colonial history and the one-sided positive image of the cultured Johan Maurits, who was well versed in Brazilian botany and culture. Since then, the press has also ironically referred to the Mauritshuis as the "Sugar Palace."[64]

In the course of this, a bust of Johan Maurits was removed from the museum's foyer and was re-contextualised in relation to various objects on the upper floor. In the course of the subsequent exhibition, "Shifting Image – In Search of Johan Maurits" in 2019, a project was initiated that deals for the first time exclusively with Johan Maurits's time as governor in Brazil and his role in the transatlantic slave trade.[65] Various publications are expected as results in the coming years.[66]

As part of its drive to expand its coverage of history, the Amsterdam Museum curated an exhibition entitled "Dutch Masters Revisited," in which portraits of a key group of thirteen Amsterdam citizens of color from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a mix of historically famous and unknown, were recreated in photographs. The historical citizens were represented by public figures, such as the former Dutch national football player Ruud Gullit. Judikje Kiers, the director of the museum, told the daily newspaper Het Parool, "These are important steps in a long process, but we are not there yet. We will continue to work with people in the city to uncover underexposed stories and perspectives of our shared history."[67]

---

[64] Lena van der Linde, *Bewogen beeld. Op zoek naar Johan Maurits / Shifting Image. In Search of Johan Maurits* (The Hague: Mauritshuis, 2019).

[65] The project, located at the *Mauritshuis*, is led by Dr Erik Odegard in close cooperation with Leiden University.

[66] Initial research results can be found in Carolina Monteiro and Erik Odegard, "Slavery at the Court of the 'Humanist Prince.' Reexamining Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and His Role in Slavery, Slave Trade and Slave-Smuggling in Dutch Brazil," *Journal of Early American History* 10, no. 1 (2020): 3–32.

[67] See Manuel Charr, "Dutch Museum Drops the Term 'Golden Age'," *Museum next*, 23.09.2019, https://www.museumnext.com/article/dutch-museum-drops-the-term-golden-age/ [accessed 20.10.2023].

In contrast, the Rijksmuseum, the Netherlands' most high-profile museum, has continued to use the term "Golden Age." The institution's director, Taco Dibbits, argued in 2019: "The name refers to a period in history of great prosperity. That does not alter the fact that we acknowledge the dark side of this. The Rijksmuseum approaches history from different perspectives. For example, we are opening an exhibition on slavery next year."[68] This exhibition was held between May and September of 2022,[69] and took "ten true stories" as its focus.[70] The selection stands thus in striking contrast to the ten to twelve million Africans estimated to have been abducted from Africa between 1500 and 1850, or the 500,000 Africans taken to the colonies in Latin America and the Caribbean by the Dutch between 1600 and the abolition of slavery in the Netherlands on 1 July 1863. Ten stories of enslaved people, but also of slaveholders, men and women. The exhibition traces their footsteps, and further asks what their lives were like. Are there clues as to how they characterized their situation? As a follow-up to the exhibition, material culture related to slavery is now continuously recorded in a database entitled "Rijksmuseum & Slavery: 1650–1960," which currently includes over seventy objects.[71]

VI. Conclusion

This project starts from the premise that a) thinking and knowledge about asymmetrical dependency are profoundly shaped by non-written, visual artefacts, and b) these visualizations are central to expanding and making visible the hitherto marginalized victims' archive in the field of prostitution within the large corpus of extant images. In many instances, as my case studies show, the images of this subject area have so far been insufficiently analyzed. It is therefore important to start from the distinctiveness of the pictorial medium, which follows its own inner logic and language of meaning. A central approach is to research the ways by which silenced archives of victims can be accessed, and which methods can be used to accomplish this.

The few case studies that I discussed brought to light very different thematizations of the subject: word-image-relations, iconographies and iconologies of prostitution versus slavery and labor, visual fiction versus written sources of fiction and non-fiction, as well as interdependencies between the phenomena in the colonies and in Amsterdam, and the question of interweaving or mentioning the respective other space of knowledge. This becomes apparent, for example, when it is reported that the prostitutes in the colonies could not be mentioned in the diaries of colonizers, as the family at home should not be allowed to

[68] See Tom Christiaens, *Low Countries*, 13.09.2019, https://www.the-low-countries.com/article/dutch-museum-bans-term-golden-age/ [accessed 03.07.2024].
[69] *Slavery*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Curators of the Exhibition were: Valika Smeulders, Head of the Department of History; Eveline Sint Nicolaas, Senior Curator of History; Maria Holtrop, Curator of History; Stephanie Archangel, Junior Curator of History. May 18, 2021–August 29, 2021.
[70] Sint Nicolaas et al., eds., *Slavery. The Story of João, Wally, Oopjen, Paulus, van Bengalen, Surapati, Sapali, Tula, Dirk, Lohkay* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum / Atlas Contact, 2021).
[71] https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/rijksstudio/20160--rijksmuseum/collections/rijksmuseum-slavery-1650-1960?ii=0&p=0 [accessed 20.10.2023].

read about them. Alternatively, situations in the colonies are often directly compared with those of Amsterdam brothel in other reports meant for WHAT PUBLIC.

Only after a thorough categorization of the different image media and comparison of these with text genres will it be possible to fully analyze the research field of female asymmetrical dependency in the field of prostitution and related contexts. It can already be re-stated that the image corpus is very extensive in the individual fields and can illuminate crucial blind spots, especially in those areas where the textual sources are silent. There is a need to examine whether the concept of literary or pictorial fiction can be an effective tool across the board, but this seems to be the case, especially in regard to often ignored background scenes or those of purely illustrative character.

The exhibition “Augenlust,” curated in 2022, demonstrated that even in a seemingly “innocent” pictorial subject such as still lifes, both overt and covert allusions to asymmetrical dependencies can be found in very different areas. In particular, it addressed the areas of “slavery” and “female labor” very intensively due to the subject matter, and demonstrated that the artists made deliberate use of the opposites (luxury exploitation; global seafaring, constructed as masculine – local domestic activity, constructed as feminine) within the still life.

The present paper ends with a look at the paradigm shift in museum and exhibition curating that has taken place in recent years: hitherto marginalized persons (for example, formerly enslaved people, maids, etc.) are being analyzed more closely, and the question of interaction with the artist and the voluntariness of sitting in portraits is being reflected upon. The focus has turned intensively to concepts: Picture titles that are problematic must be re-considered, and exhibition or collection titles such as “Golden Age,” need be contextualized as much as persons central to the age in question, in order to elicit the contrasting dimensions of both luxury and exploitation.

Selected Bibliography

Anonymous, *Le Putanisme d'Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jogchemse de Rhin, 1681).

Anonymous. *D'openhertige juffrouw, of D'ontdekte geveinsdheid* (Amsterdam: Widow of Gijsbert de Groot, 1699).

Anonymous, *De Amsteldamsche speelhuizen* (Amsterdam, 1793?).

Baer, Ronni, ed. *Class Distinctions. Dutch Painting in the Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2016).

Balai, Leo. *Geschiedenis van de Amsterdamse slavenhandel over de belangen van Amsterdamse regenten bij de trans-atlantische slavenhandel* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2013).

Balkenhol, Markus. "Tracing Slavery: An Ethnography of Diaspora, Affect, and Cultural Heritage in Amsterdam" (PhD diss., Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2014).

Beaujean, Dieter. *Bilder in Bildern. Studien zur niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 2001).

Brandon, Pepijn, Guno Jones, Nancy Jouwe and Matthias van Rossum. *De Slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam-onderzoek* (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020).

Charr, Manuel. "Dutch Museum Drops the Term 'Golden Age'," *Museum next*, 23.09.2019, https://www.museumnext.com/article/dutch-museum-drops-the-term-golden-age/ [accessed 02.05.2024].

Dapper, Olfert. *Historische Beschryving der Stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663).

Därmann, Iris. *Undienlichkeit. Gewaltgeschichte und politische Philosophie* (Berlin: Matthes & Seitz, 2020).

De Vito, Christian G., and Anne Gerritsen. "Micro- Spatial Histories of Global Labour: Towards a new Global History," in *Micro-Spatial Histories of Global Labour*, ed. Christian G. De Vito and Anne Gerritsen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 1–28.

De Vries, Jan. "The Population and Economy of the Preindustrial Netherlands," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 15 (1985): 661–82

De Vries, Jan, and Ad van der Woude. *Nederland 1500–1815. De eerste ronde van moderne economische groei* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2005).

Dragtenstein, Frank. *Alles voor de vrede. Die brieven van Boston Band tussen 1757 en 1763* (Amsterdam: Amrit, 2010).

Fatah-Black, Karwan, and Matthias van Rossum. "Slavery in a 'Slave Free Enclave'? Historical Links Between the Dutch Republic, Empire and Slavery, 1580s–1860s," *WERKSTATTGESCHICHTE* 66–67 (2014): 55–73.

Gilroy, Beryl. *Stedman and Joanna – A Love in Bondage. Dedicated Love in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Vantage Press, 1991).

Gordon, William. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, vol. 1–3 (London: Bloomsbury, 1994).

Hänsel, Sylvaine. "Caritas und Pietas – Wohltäter im Porträt. Armut, Familie und Repräsentation in der niederländischen Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Die andere*

Familie. Repräsentationskritische Analysen von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart, ed. Arbeitskreis 'Repräsentationen' (Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 2013): 385–418.

Harnack, Carl. "Slavernij in beeld," in *De Slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam-onderzoek*, ed. Pepijn Brandon, Guno Jones, Nancy Jouwe and Matthias van Rossum (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020): 236–38.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Riotous Black Girls, Troublesome Women, and Queer Radicals* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019).

Hartman, Saidiya V. "Venus in Two Acts," *Small Axe* 12, no. 2 (2008): 1–14.

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2006).

Hartman, Saidiya V. *Scenes of Subjection. Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

Hellman, Lisa, Sinah Kloß, Christian Mader, Jutta Wimmler and Julia Winnebeck. "Interview: A Window on our Research Perspectives," *DEPENDENT. The Magazine of the Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies* 2021-1: 16–22.

Henriques, Fernando. *Prostitution in Europe and the New World* (London: MacGibbon & Kee, 1963).

Holzmann, Julia. *Geschichte der Sklaverei in der Niederländischen Republik. Recht, Rassismus und Handlungsmacht Schwarzer Menschen und People of Color, 1680–1863* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2022).

Hondius, Dienke. "Black Africans in Seventeenth Century Amsterdam," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme, Center for Renaissance and Reformation Studies* 31, no. 2 (2008): 85–103.

Houston-Goudge, Sydney. "Common Woman to Commodity: Changing Perceptions of Prostitution in Early Modern England, c.1450–1750" (MA thesis, Dalhousie University, 2011).

Käss, Alexandra, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk, eds. *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail* (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022).

Klarer, Mario. "Humanitarian Pornography. John Gabriel Stedman's 'Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam' (1796)," *New Literary History* 36 (2005): 559–87.

Kolfin, Elmer. *Van de slavenzweep en de muze. Twee eeuwen verbeelding van slavernij in Suriname* (Leiden: KITLV, 1997).

Kolfin, Elmer. "Zwarte modellen in de Nederlandse kunst tussen 1580 en 1800. Feit en fictie," in *Black is Beautiful. Rubens tot Dumas*, ed. Esther Schreuder and Eelmer Kolfin (Zwolle: Waanders BV, 2008): 70–88.

Kolfin, Elmer. "Becoming Human. The Iconography of Black Slavery in French, British and Dutch Book Illustrations, c. 1600–1800," in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth McGrath and J.M. Massing (London: London University Press, 2012): 253–97.

Kowaleski-Wallace, Elizabeth. *Consuming Subjects – Women, Shopping, and Business in the 18th Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997).

Lucassen, Jan. "A Multinational and its Labor Force: The Dutch East India Company 1595–1795," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 66 (2004): 12–39.

Maurer, Kristina. "Critical fabulation als Perspektive für ein dekolonisierendes Theater," https://theaterdekolonisierenseminar.wordpress.com/2020/12/15/critical-fabulation-als-perspektive-fur-ein-dekolonisierendes-theater/ [accessed 20.03.2024].

McGrath, Elizabeth. "Caryatids, Page Boys, and African Letters. Themes of Slavery in European Art," in *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem*, ed. Elizabeth Mc Grath and J.M. Massing (London: London University Press, 2012): 3–39.

Middelkoop, Norbert. "Schutters, gildebroeders en regentessen: Het Amsterdams corporatiestuk 1525– 1850" (PhD diss., Amsterdam University, 2019).

Middelkoop, Norbert, Gusta Reichwein and Judith van Gent: *De oude meesters van de stad Amsterdam. Schilderijen tot 1800* (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2008).

Monteiro, Carolina, and Erik Odegard. "Slavery at the Court of the 'Humanist Prince' Reexamining Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen and his Role in Slavery, Slave Trade and Slave-smuggling in Dutch Brazil," *Journal of Early American History* 10, no. 1 (2020): 3–32.

Muller, Sheila D. *Charity in the Dutch Republic. Pictures of Rich and Poor for Charitable Institutions* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985).

Münch, Birgit Ulrike. "Das Hostienwunder in der Wohnstube. Visualisierte Armutsdiskurse der Amsterdamer *Aalmoezeniers*," in *Kunst & Katholizismus in der niederländischen Republik = Art & Catholicism in the Dutch Republic*, ed. Esther Meier and Almut Pollmer Schmidt (Petersberg: Imhof, 2022): 183–95.

Münch, Birgit Ulrike. "'Arbeitende Frauen'," in *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail*, ed. Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022): 176–85.

Münch, Birgit Ulrike. "Die Schattenseiten des Luxus, oder: Der Mensch als Ding," in *Augenlust? Niederländische Stillleben im Detail*, ed. Alexandra Käss, Birgit Ulrike Münch and Torsten Valk (Dresden: Sandstein Verlag, 2022): 125–35.

Münch, Birgit Ulrike. "Verloren im Theater des Grauens. Sexuelle Gewalt, male bonding und black-facing in Christiaen van Couwenberghs unethischem Bild," in Sinn und Sinnlichkeit in der Kunst, ed. Helen Boeßenecker et al. (Petersberg: Imof, 2023): 28–35.

Pfeifer, Wolfgang et al. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1993), digital version at https://www.dwds.de/wb/etymwb/Prostitution [accessed 20.10.2023.].

Ponte, Mark. "Tussen slavernij en vrijheid in Amsterdam," in *De Slavernij in Oost en West. Het Amsterdam-onderzoek*, ed.Pepijn Brandon, Guno Jones, Nancy Jouwe and Matthias van Rossum (Amsterdam: Spectrum, 2020): 248–56.

Ponte, Mark. "Al de swarten die hier ter stede comen. Een Afro-Atlantische gemeenschap in zeventiende-eeuws," *The Low Countries Journal of Social and Economic History* 15, no. 4 (2019): 33–62.

Schmidt-Linsenhoff, Viktoria et al., eds. *Weiße Blicke. Geschlechtermythen des Kolonialismus* (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2004).

Schreuder, Esther, and Elmer Kolfin, eds. *Black is beautiful. Van Rubens tot Dumas / Rubens to Dumas* (Zwolle: Waanders BV, 2008).

Sharpe, Jenny: *Ghosts of Slavery. A Literary Archaeology of Black Women's Lives* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2003).

Sint Nicolaas, Eveline, and Valika Smeulders, eds. *Slavery: The Story of João, Wally, Oopjen, Paulus, Van Bengalen, Surapati, Sapali, Tula, Dirk, Lohkay* (Amsterdam: Atlas Contact, 2021).

Stedman, John Gabriel. *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (London, 1796).

Stedman, John Gabriel. *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*. *Transcribed for the first time from the 1790 manuscript*, ed. Richard Price and Sally Price (Baltimore: Open Road, 1988).

Tomich, Dale, and Michael Zeuske. "The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World Economy and Comparative Microhistories," *Review – Fernand Braudel Center* 31, no. 2 (2008): 91–100.

Ufer, Ulrich. *Welthandelszentrum Amsterdam. Globale Dynamik und modernes Leben im 17. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgarter Historische Forschungen 8 (Köln: Böhlau, 2008).

Van Bühren, Ralf. *Die Werke der Barmherzigkeit in der Kunst des 12.–18. Jahrhunderts. Zum Wandel eines Bildmotivs vor dem Hintergrund neuzeitlicher Rhetorikrezeption*, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 115 (Hildesheim: Olms, 1998).

Van der Linde, Lena. *Bewogen beeld. Op zoek naar Johan Maurits / Shifting Image. In Search of Johan Maurits* (The Hague: Mauritshuis, 2019).

Van de Pol, Lotte C. "Prostitutie en de Amsterdamse burgerij: Eerbegrippen in een vroegmoderne stedelijke samenleving," in *Cultuur en maatschappij in nederland, 1500–1850: Een historisch-antropologisch perspectief*, ed. Peter te Boekhorst, Peter Burk and Willem Frijhoff (Amsterdam: Boom 1992): 179–218.

Van de Pol, Lotte C. "The Lure of the Big City: Female Migration to Amsterdam," in *Women of the Golden Age. An International Debate on Women in Seventeenth Century Holland, England, and Italy*, ed. Els Kloek, Nicole Teeuwen and Marijke Huisman (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994): 73–81.

Van de Pol, Lotte C., and Erika Kuijpers. "Poor Women´s Migration to the City: The Attraction of the Amsterdam Health Care and Social Assistance in Early Modern Times," *Journal of Urban History* 32, no. 1 (2005): 44–60.

Van de Pol, Lotte C. *The Burgher and the Whore: Prostitution in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

Van de Pol, Lotte C. "The Whore, the Bawd, and the Artist: The Reality of Imagery of 17th century Dutch Prostitution," *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 2 (2010), www.jhna.org [accessed 03.07.2024].

Vandenbroeck, Paul. *Beeld van de andere, vertoog over het zelf over wilden en narren, boeren en bedelaars* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1997): 23–27.

Wekker, Gloria. *White Innocence. Paradoces of Colonialism and Race* (London: Duke University Press, 2016).

Wekker, Gloria. *Witte onschuld. Paradoxen van kolonialisme en ras* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

Winnebeck, Julia, Ove Sutter, Adrian Hermann, Christoph Antweiler and Stephan Conermann. "On Asymmetrical Dependency," *Concept Paper* 1, Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (2021), https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/images/pdf-files/concept-papers/bcdss_cp_1-_on-asymmetrical-dependency.pdf [accessed 03.07.2024].

Wolfthal, Diane. *Images of Rape: The "Heroic" Tradition and Its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 45–53.

Wolfthal, Diane. *Household Servants and Slaves. A Visual History 1300–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022).

Zedler, Johann Heinrich. *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, vol. 29 (Leipzig, 1731).

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies

Outlook

We see this collection of texts as a living reader. This means that it will be regularly updated with relevant new publications by members of the BCDSS. In addition, it must be successively expanded to include the results of our new research topics. In the next phase, we will use the broad scope of our case studies to establish the field of Dependency Studies as an interdisciplinary and comparative approach in the humanities and social sciences. This will require, among other things, bringing Dependency Studies into conversation with research developed in other fields to tackle core epistemological questions regarding why and how SADs are a persistent and foundational element of human communities. Why did SAD persist (and transform)? In this context, we will redirect our focus towards historical trajectories, disruptions, continuities, and legacies, in short, the persisting impact of past SADs on the present. We focus particularly on the effects of past SADs on contemporary and future societies in social, political, economic, religious and cultural terms. We will ask what present societies can learn from a historical anthropology and social history of SAD, and how we can use our knowledge of the past to better understand present forms and practices of SAD – either because the modern world still lives with the legacies of past SADs, or as the past opens a window onto how and why SADs are created, tolerated, adapted, or overcome.

For further titles see: https://www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en/publications

Contact:

Bonn Center for Dependency and Slavery Studies (BCDSS)
University of Bonn
Niebuhrstr. 5
53113 Bonn
Germany

For more information:

Web: www.dependency.uni-bonn.de/en

Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/DependencyBonn

Twitter: https://twitter.com/DependencyBonn

Instagram: https://www.instagram.com/dependencybonn/

Newsletter: https://listen.uni-bonn.de/wws/subscribe/dependencystudies