

Introduction: Slave Subjectivities— Studying Absences?

Ângela Barreto Xavier, Cristina Nogueira da Silva, and Michel Cahen

In memory of Professor Joseph C. Miller

We now have that half century of increasingly sophisticated research on histories in Africa and historicized anthropology that, if utilized, allow us to move beyond what Africans may have created to consider how and why they created it, and on that basis, to infer something more complex about the experiences of the enslaved with reasonable, even high degrees of confidence. ... Perhaps no historical context is more dependent than slavery on destruction or manipulation of the identities of others—and therefore more conducive to misrepresentation of self—on both sides.¹



This book is a collection of studies on slave subjectivities in the Iberian worlds, based on the experiences of slaves in different spaces and times, in a chronological period ranging from the sixteenth to the twentieth century.² The idea of putting together this volume originated with the international colloquium held at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon (2–4 July 2018), in partnership with Casa de Velázquez, in ~~the~~ which contributors participated.³



- 1 Joseph C. Miller, “Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering. Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and under Slavery in Brasil”, in *Enslaving connections: changing cultures of Africa and Brazil during the era of slavery*, ed. José C. Curto & Paul E. Lovejoy (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004), 81–121.
- 2 We use the expression Iberian worlds to refer to the different spaces that, from the 15th century onwards, were under the dominion of the Iberian crowns, including the peninsular territories.
- 3 “Subjetividades escravas nos mundos ibéricos”, Casa de Velázquez, <https://www.casadevelazquez.org/pt/investigacao/noticia/subjectividades-escravas-nos-mundos-ibericos-secs-xv-xx/>. Of the large number of proposals submitted to the colloquium, a majority focused on the Americas, the rest on the Iberian Peninsula, Asia and Africa, with a small percentage of proposals with comparative approaches. Of these, less than 10% concerned the 15th and

The conference had very concrete objectives: firstly, to contribute to the knowledge of a less studied dimension of slavery, that of the enslaved people's consciousness and how they faced their condition. Two other equally relevant objectives were added: To discuss ~~why the tradition~~ of studies on the subject, in the Anglo-American ~~worlds is different from that of~~ the Iberian worlds and to explore ways of studying the subjective experiences of enslaved populations in these latter spaces, where the subject has been comparatively less studied, namely concerning Asia and Oceania. 

One of the hypotheses was that this difference was related to the historical sources available. In the slave-owning regions and societies of the Caribbean and North America, about seventy slave autobiographies have been found, often collected by Protestant missionaries. Although these are scarce compared to the millions of enslaved people who lived and circulated there, and although they are generally late—mostly dating from the nineteenth century and, in most cases, associated with the abolitionist movement—they allow privileged access to the interior life of these people. Even if filtered by the voice of those who collected them, they allow more direct access to the worldviews of slaves, their religious beliefs and affective life, their daily experiences and emotions, as well as their modes of resistance, carried out in a more or less visible way.⁴

These types of sources, narrating in the first person, providing windows to access “slave subjectivities”, are rare in the Iberian worlds, even in the nineteenth century, thus denoting some differences ~~between~~ the abolitionist movement in Anglo-American contexts. 

Considering this difference and the *Longue-durée* of Iberian imperial slavery experiences (the chronology takes us back, at the very least, to the fifteenth century) and the amount of new scholarship on slavery, it seemed opportune to contribute to the current scholarship by bringing together in Lisbon researchers working on these themes, in particular those that used other

16th centuries, the vast majority being on the 18th and 19th centuries. These numbers conditioned the proposals selected for the colloquium and the greater weight that the Americas, and the 18th and 19th centuries, ended up having, despite our efforts to the contrary. This edited volume comprises essays based on less than half of those proposals.

- 4 Kimberly Drake (ed.), *Critical Insights: The Slave Narrative* (Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2014), 45; Paul Lovejoy, “Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora”, in Paul E. Lovejoy, *Identity in the shadow of Slavery* (London: Cassel Academic, 2000), pp. 1–29. The references contained in the footnotes of this introduction do not in any way constitute a bibliography on slave subjectivities. They are merely illustrative of our argument. Our grateful thanks to Michel Bertrand (Casa de Velázquez, Madrid) and José C. Curto (York University) for drawing our attention to several important works.

sources and methodological strategies to overcome the scarcity of autobiographical documents.

The guiding questions of the conference were: How can slave subjectivities be studied in the Iberian worlds, where are autobiographies, as far as is known, fewer in number? How do researchers working on Iberian forms of slavery access the experiences of slaves, their perspectives, their voices? How can their memory be retrieved? What historical sources and archives are being used to reconstruct these essential dimensions of the history of slavery? What methodologies are appropriate in reconstructing the subjectivity of slaves by using these sources and archives?

Similar questions inspired the dossier *Vies d'esclaves/Vidas de escravos*, organised by Jean Hébrard and Mariza de Carvalho Soares in 2012, the book edited by Myriam Cottias and Hebe Mattos in 2016, *Escravidão e Subjectividades no Atlântico Luso-Brasileiro e Francês (séculos XVII–XX)*, or the 2017 dossier *Microhistoria de escravos y esclavas*, coordinated by Vicent Sanz Rozalén and Michel Zeuske and published at the same time as the call for papers for the 2018 conference.⁵ Like these studies, which explore various stories of enslaved people in the Atlantic world, many others have valued this dimension of enslaved peoples' experience, showing the relevance of these themes and the methodological alternatives developed to access enslaved peoples' voices in Iberian contexts.⁶

5 Jean Hébrard and Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "Vies d'esclaves/Lives of slaves", *Brésil(s): Sciences Humaines et Sociales* 1 (2012); Myriam Cottias and Hebe Mattos, eds. *Escravidão e Subjectividades no Atlântico Luso-Brasileiro e Francês (séculos XVII–XX). Escravidão e Subjectivités dans l'Atlantique luso-brésilien et français (XVII–XXI^e siècles)* (Marseilles, Open Edition Press, 2016); Vicent Sanz Rozalén and Michel Zeuske, eds. "Microhistorias de escravos y esclavas," *Millars Espai/Història* XLII, 1 (2017).

6 Among the many studies that have emerged—some of them also reviewed in the following notes—see José C. Curto, "The story of Nbena, 1817–1820: Unlawful Enslavement and the Concept of 'Original Freedom' in Angola", in *TransAtlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, eds. Paul Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (London: Continuum, 2003); João José Reis, *Domíngos Sodré, um sacerdote africano: escravidão, liberdade e candomblé na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008); João José dos Reis, Flávio dos Santos Gomes & Marcus de Carvalho, *O Alufá Rufino: Tráfico, Escravidão e Liberdade no Atlântico Negro* (c. 1822–c. 1853) (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010); Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "El moro va, el moro viene: la trágica vida de Francisco Pérez, alias Alí (Gorafe, c.1560–Valencia, 1621)", in *Tríptico de la expulsión de los Moriscos. El triunfo de la razón de estado*, ed. Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco (Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2012): 273–98; Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Las gentes se parecen unas a otras' Melchor Megeçi o Hamete Çamar; una vida entre las dos orillas (1544–1591)", *Hespéris-Tamuda* LIII (2) (2018): 75–102; Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Esclavo del rey en las minas de Almadén: el fatal destino de Juan Bautista, alias Hazman (1667–1711)", *Estudis* 37 (2011): 179–198; Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, "Notas sobre la vida familiar de esclavas y

We know today that there are more slave autobiographies in the Iberian worlds than previously thought.⁷ It is also very likely that more documents of this type will be found after a systematic search, namely in missionary archives, particularly Catholic ones, in African archives (for example, in the *ambaquistas* or African chiefs archives⁸), in Brazil, as well as in other lesser-known archives, in the Philippines, India, China and Japan, ~~also being researched.~~⁹

libertas alarbes marroquíes en Castilla (1520–1545)”, in *Cautivas y esclavas: el tráfico humano en el Mediterráneo*, ed. Aurelia Martín Casares y Maria Cristina Delaigue (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2016): 81–104.

- 7 Miguel Barnet, *Biografía de un cimarrón* (La Habana: Instituto de Etnología y Folklore, 1966); Juan Francisco Manzano, *Autobiografía del esclavo poeta y otros escritos, edición, introducción y notas de William Luis* (Madrid, Iberoamericana Editorial, 2007); Elio Ferreira de Souza, “The ‘Letter’ of the slave Esperança Garcia do Piauí, written by herself, and its relation to the poetry of the women of Cadernos Negros”, in *Cadernos Negros: three decades: essays, poems and tales*, eds. Esmeralda Ribeiro and Márcio Barbosa (São Paulo: Quilombhoje/Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, 2008), 12 p., https://abralic.org.br/anais/arquivos/2015_1455937376.pdf; David Birmingham, *Brief History of Modern Angola [19th–xxi centuries]* (Lisbon: Guerra & Paz, 2017)—see in particular pages 82–85, containing the autobiography of an Angolan slave between Angola and Cameroon.
- 8 In the 19th century the *ambaquistas* (from the locality of Mbaka in Angola) were a very original professional category, of perfectly literate Africans who spoke and wrote in Portuguese, and who were, therefore, often appointed as secretaries to traditional chiefs, some of whom had authentic archives. Some of these archives have been preserved. A well-known case is that of the chief Caculo Cacahenda, studied by Catarina Madeira Santos and Ana Paula Tavares, *Africæ Monumenta. A apropriação da escrita pelos Africanos*. Vol. 1. *Arquivo Caculo Cacahenda* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2002). On sources produced by native populations see also the research project directed by Ricardo Roque, “Arquivos coloniais nativos: Micro-histórias e comparações” (Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa), <https://www.ics.ulisboa.pt/projeto/arquivos-coloniais-nativos-micro-historias-e-comparacoes>.
- 9 Regarding the Indian case, see the studies by Stéphanie Hassell, “Renegade Slaves: Religious Conversion, the Inquisition, and the Portuguese Empire in India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries” (PhD thesis, Stanford, 2014); Stéphanie Hassell, “Inquisition Records from Goa as Sources for the Study of Slavery in the Eastern Domains of the Portuguese Empire,” *History in Africa* 42 (2015), 397–418; by Patrícia Souza de Faria, “Crossing Borders: conversion and cultural mobilities of slaves in the Portuguese Asian Empire (16th and 17th centuries),” *Annals of Além-Mar History* xvii (2016), 147–78; Patrícia Souza de Faria, “Do Índico ao Coração do Império: Cotidiano e Religiosidades de Escravos Asiáticos em Lisboa (Séculos xvi e xvii),” in *Diffusão da fé por entre povos e lugares: instituições, religião e religiosidades no Império Português (Séculos xvi–xix)*, eds. Maria de Deus Beites Manso and Grayce Bonfim Souza (Vitória da Conquista (BA, Brazil): Edições UESB, 2020), v. 1, 167–96. The Indian and Pacific subjugated to the Spanish crown have already been the subject of previous works, such as Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *La traite des Noirs entre l’océan Indien et Montevideo (Uruguay). Fin du xviii^e siècle et début du xix^e*; and Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014). This is an emerging area of study with several ongoing projects that cannot be listed here.

Meanwhile, new strategies have emerged to retrieve enslaved peoples' voices, allowing many studies that overcome the scarcity of autobiographical testimonies. Scholars have demonstrated that there are less direct sources that ~~still~~ enable historians to hear such voices, such as judicial and inquisitorial sources, the latter constituting an Iberian specificity.¹⁰

1 Agency vs Subjectivity of Enslaved People and Some of Its Historiography

Since post-World War II, there were three generations of literature on slavery. If we consider the Anglophone, Francophone, Iberophone or Arabophone worlds, these generations did not have a linear succession, sometimes coexisting with each other or having distinct chronologies. The quantitative ~~study~~ of trafficking characterized the first generation; the second studied slavery as a system or mode of production; a third generation focused increasingly on the lives of slaves, autobiographies (when they existed) and more or less fragmented biographies.

Like the studies mentioned above, this book is part of the third generation, perhaps the “third and a half-generation”, dedicated to studying personal and collective subjectivities, an approach that poses significant methodological challenges. The chapters continue down the path previously opened by research showing how a great diversity of sources and cases can be analysed to access slave subjectivities. Inquisitorial records, legal petitions, documentation

¹⁰ In addition to the examples in note 7, see other recent studies on the potentialities of a biographical use of archives, such as Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Páscoa et ses deux maris: Une esclave entre Angola, Brésil et Portugal* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2019); Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Páscoa Vieira diante da Inquisição: Uma escrava entre Angola, Brasil e Portugal no século XVII* (Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo, 2020); Aurelia Martín Casares, *Juan Latino: talento y destino: un afrohispano en el tiempo de Carlos V y de Felipe II* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2016). The use of judicial archives for the history of slavery and the *agency* of the enslaved, with interesting possibilities from the point of view of the study of subjectivities, has given rise to a plethora of research and books on the use of courts by slaves in Portuguese and Spanish America, Brazil, the Iberian Peninsula and Africa under Portuguese jurisdiction. It would be impossible to list them all here, but we are calling upon studies such as those by Mariana Candido, Sydney Chalhoub, José Curto, Roquinaldo Ferreira, Alejandro de la Fuente, Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, Keila Grinberg, Ariela J. Gross, Jean Hébrard, Javier Fernandez Martin, Michelle A. McKinley, Joseli Mendonça, Maria de los Ángeles Meriño, Brian Owensby, Mariana Armond Dias Paes, Eduardo Spiller Pena, Fernanda Aparecida Domingos Pereira, Aisnara Perera Díaz, Rocío Perriñez Gómez, Bianca Premo, Rebecca Scott, and many others, some of which are cited elsewhere in this text.

and publications produced by brotherhoods, institutions typically characterizing the Peninsular world and its American extensions,¹¹ documentation resulting from situations of resistance and revolt, property titles, accounts of rituals, as well as accounts by the colonial agents, are among historical sources used in the studies published in this book. They provide an increasingly visible alternative “archive” to discuss enslaved peoples’ subjectivities in the Iberian worlds, thus contributing to refine some theoretical issues involved. The first of these issues relate to the concept of slave subjectivities and its relation to enslaved peoples’ agency.

Although they often refer to similar concerns and are often used interchangeably, agency and subjectivity are distinct concepts.¹² Both are associated with the transition from historiography in which the slave was a “passive object” (a “being objectified, incapable of thought and action: slavery would have annihilated people and their culture, leaving behind the fragmentation and emptiness produced by an inexorable domination”¹³) to scholarship interested in their condition as a subject. The latter enquires into how the enslaved people participated in constructing their trajectories, what worldviews and beliefs they held, and how they could develop strategies of resistance to the constraints dictated by the slaves’ condition.¹⁴

- 11 Jorge Fonseca, *Religião e Liberdade: Os negros nas irmandades e confrarias portuguesas* (Famalicão: Húmus, 2016); Didier Lahon, *Esclavage et confréries noires au Portugal durant l’Ancien Régime (1441–1830)*, PhD Thesis (Paris, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001) (Lille: Atelier national de reproduction de thèse, 2005); Didier Lahon, “Esclavage, confréries noires, sainteté noire et pureté de sang au Portugal (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles),” *Lusitania Sacra*, 2.^a Série, no. 15 (Lisbon, 2003), pp. 119–62; Lucilene Reginaldo, *Os Rosários dos Angolas: Irmandade de Africanos e Crioulos na Bahia Setecentista* (São Paulo: Alameda Casa Editorial, 2011); Larissa Viana, *O idioma da mestiçagem. As Irmandades de Pardos na América Portuguesa* (Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2007). More information on historiographical literature on specific subjects are available in each of the chapters that compose this book, as it is the case, for instance, of literature on the Black brotherhoods (Lisa Voigt, or Miguel A. Valerio), or, to refer another exemple, on Black Masters (Robson Pedroso Costa).
- 12 On the specificity of the concept “subjectivity,” refer to Paola Rabughini, “Subject, Subjectivity, Subjectification,” in *Sociopedia. ISA* (2014): 1–11; on *agency* and some theoretical and methodological problems associated with the concept, Walter Johnson, “On agency,” *Journal of Social History* 37, no. 1 (2003): 113–24. See also “Agency” (pp. 8–9) and “subject/subjectivity” (pp. 219–22), in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998).
- 13 Sydney Chalhoub, Fernando Teixeira da Silva, “Sujeitos no imaginário acadêmico: escravos e trabalhadores na historiografia brasileira desde os anos 1980.” *Cadernos AEL: trabalhadores, leis e direitos* 14, no. 26 (2009): 7–47, p. 16.
- 14 On this transition, although with different views on the degree of autonomy of the enslaved, Sydney Chalhoub, *Visões de liberdade: uma história das últimas décadas da*

However, while the concept of agency refers to the capacity and albeit the power to express and act with (some) freedom and autonomy within contexts shaped by dominant power structures, subjectivity refers to the awareness of the differences between the subjects and these structures. Agency results from individual or collective subjectivity and inter-subjectivity, which it often promotes. Simultaneously, agency contributes to the construction of subjectivity by making some dimensions of the slave's condition increasingly visible to the subject's consciousness.

We can argue, therefore, that subjectivity (the result, so to speak, of a process of individuation conditioned by multiple structures) exists before, through and beyond the agency, not as something immutable, but as a process, alienated from the outset by the various contexts (social, cultural, ideological, discursive) inhabited by these people.¹⁵

The limits of their conscious autonomy and their actions related to objective structures should then be discussed. What was the weight of hetero-determination in the construction of slave subjectivity? The fact that we place the subject at the centre of our attention does not mean that we adopt a Cartesian conception of an autonomous and free subject inherited from rationalist and Enlightenment philosophy. Since the nineteenth century, various approaches—sociological, Marxist, psychological, structuralist—have called for the immersion of the subject in social and power/knowledge webs that are decisive in the production of their subjectivity; and, consequently, in the production of the subjectivities of enslaved people.¹⁶ Some studies stressed that enslaved peoples' identity was produced in a context of violence and extreme subordination, even in their most moderate versions, such as "authoritarian paternalism". Others underline that their identifications were strongly conditioned by a fixed legal status that was not chosen by them, and that, ultimately, transformed these people into "things" susceptible of being sold, exchanged, or even rented.¹⁷ Therefore, a very significant part of enslaved people's destiny

escravidão na corte (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990); Chalhoub & Teixeira da Silva, "Sujeitos no imaginário acadêmico ..."; Jacob Gorender, *O escravismo colonial* (São Paulo: Ática, 1978); Rachel Sarah O'Toole, "As Historical Subjects: The African Diaspora in Colonial Latin American History," *History Compass* 11/12 (2013): 1094–110.

15 Amy Allen, "Power, Subjectivity and Agency: Between Arendt and Foucault," *International Journal of Philosophical Studies* 10, n° 2 (2010), 131–49; Michel Foucault, "Subjectivité et vérité," in Michel Foucault, *L'origine de l'herméneutique de soi* (Paris, J. Vrin, 2013), 31–64; Nick Mansfield, *Subjectivity: Theories of the Self from Freud to Haraway* (New York, New York University Press, 2000).

16 "Subject/subjectivity", in Ashcroft, Griffiths e Tiffin, *Key Concepts* ..., 221–22.

17 On this fixity of the legal categories and the way they condition the action, see Carlos Garriga, "¿Cómo Escribir una historia descolonizada del derecho em América latina?",

was out of their control and determined by external conditions that continued after emancipation.¹⁸ In other words, there is a decisive dimension of subjection in slave subjectivity and, linked to it, there are very significant limits to enslaved people's agency that cannot be ignored.

In the last decades, an abundant historiography has focused on these two dimensions of enslaved people's experience: agency and subjectivity.¹⁹ However, although most of the studies have been produced by the aforementioned third generation of historians, the interest in these dimensions of enslaved people has distant roots. It is significantly associated with autobiographies of slaves in the Anglo-Saxon world, which invites us to recall some milestones.

In 1903, W. E. B. Du Bois published *The Souls of Black Folk*,²⁰ a book where the question of slave subjectivities was discussed from a sociological perspective, although Du Bois did not use this concept, but rather that of double consciousness. The theme resurfaces in Du Bois' vast oeuvre, which is also marked by activism aimed at the emancipation of the American population of African origin. Indeed, the development of the civil rights movement in the United States was fundamental, not only to an increase in studies on slavery but also to the growing attention paid to the social component of the slave experience.

Three decades later, enslaved peoples' contributions in forging Brazilian society were considered from an entirely different perspective in the classical studies of Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala* and *Sobrados e Mucambos*.²¹

in *En Antidora. Homenaje a Bartolomé Clavero*, eds. Jesús Vallejo and Sebastián Martín (Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 2019), pp. 325–71.

18 Kátia Lorena Novais Almeida, *Escravos e Libertos nas Minas do Rio de Contas, Bahia, século XVIII* (Salvador: Edufba, 2018); Sidney Chalhoub, *A força da escravidão. Ilegalidade e costume no Brasil oitocentista* (São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2012); Fernanda Domingos Pinheiro, *Em defesa da liberdade. Libertos, coartados e livres de cor nos tribunais do antigo regime português* (Mariana and Lisbon, 1720–1819) (Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço Editora, 2018); Rebecca Scott, "Paper Thin: Freedom and Re-enslavement in the Diaspora of the Haitian Revolution", *Law and History Review* 29, no. 4 (2011), 1061–89.

19 In this regard, see some recent overviews in Iberian slavery historiography: Myriam Cottias, Elisabeth Cunin and António de Almeida Mendes (eds), *Les traites et les esclavages: perspectives historiques et contemporaines* (Paris: Karthala, 2010); Jean Hébrard, *Brésil. Quatre siècles d'esclavages. Nouvelles questions, nouvelles recherches* (Paris: Karthala, 2012); Rafael Marquese, "As desventuras de um conceito: capitalismo histórico e historiografia sobre a escravidão brasileira," *Revista de História* 169, (2013): 223–53; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "A História Global da Escravidão: Balanços e Perspectivas," in *Esboços. Histories in global contexts* 26, no. 41 (2019): 14–41; María Verónica Secreto, "Novas perspectivas na história da escravidão," *Tempo* 22, no. 41 (2016): 442–50.

20 William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk: Essays and Sketches* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & co., 1903).

21 Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-Grande & Senzala, formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia e Schmidt, 1933 [publ. 1934]); Gilberto Freyre,

The historiography with Marxist roots that criticized Freyre's benign view of the Brazilian slave system and the lives of enslaved peoples within it, began in a chronology identical to that of America's, a social history of slavery. For this historiography, however, the enslaved person's social inscription was the primary explanatory variable of their behaviour, accounting for the acceptance of their fate, almost always associated with a "false consciousness", violent resistance, or suicide.²²

The widening of perspectives was greatly stimulated by the *history from below* inaugurated in the 1960s by Edward P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*. The "dominated" came to be observed not only as victims of a system into which they had been unwillingly integrated but also as agents of their history whose behaviour was not reduced to mere acts of passive or active resistance.²³

The publication of the books by Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, in 1983, by João José dos Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A História do Levante dos Malês (1835)*, in 1986, by John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680*, in 1992, by Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic*, in 1993, by Luiz Felipe Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil in the South Atlantic*, in 2000, and by Rebecca J. Scott and Jean M. Hébrard, *Freedom papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the age of emancipation*, in 2012 or that of António de Almeida Mendes, *Eslavage et traites ibériques entre Méditerranée et Atlantique (xv-xvii^e): une histoire globale*, in 2016, constituted important moments for understanding this complexity in the slave and post-emancipation worlds.²⁴ These and other books promoted a



Sobrados e Mucambos (São Paulo, Nacional, 1936). It is important to point out that Gilberto Freyre was not a unique case in Latin America. He was part of a continental ideological movement whose aim was to found the construction of neo-Latin nation-states. On this, see, for example, José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica, Misión de la raza iberoamericana. Notas de viajes a la América del Sur* (Madrid: Agencia Mundial de Librería, 1925); Nicolás Palacios, *Raza Chilena. Livro escrito por un Chileno y para los Chilenos* (Santiago: Editorial Chilena, 1918), 2 vols [2nd ed.; 1st ed. 1904, author's edition].

22 Roger Bastide, Florestan Fernandes, *Relações Raciais entre negros e brancos em São Paulo* (São Paulo: Anhembi, 1955); Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Capitalismo e Escravidão no Brasil Meridional: o negro na sociedade escravocrata do Rio do Grande do Sul* (São Paulo: Difusão Europeia do Livro, 1962); Jacob Gorender, *O escravismo colonial* (São Paulo: Ática, 1978).

23 Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London, Victor Gollanz, 1963).

24 Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge; Nova Iorque: Cambridge University Press, 1983 [1^a ed.]. Nova Iorque: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [3^a ed.]); João José dos Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A História do Levante dos Malês (1835)* (São Paulo, Editora Brasiliense, 1986 [2003, ed. rev. e ampliada; edição inglesa:

significant widening of perspectives by considering both sides of the Atlantic. From that moment onwards, the Atlantic space would be perceived as a space of transnational and transcultural formation in whose construction Africans, enslaved or not, played a fundamental role.²⁵

Since then, numerous studies have focused on the agency of enslaved (African) populations and, increasingly, on their subjectivities, a process that has intensified in the first decades of the twenty-first century. These dynamics are identifiable both in Brazil²⁶ and Spanish America.²⁷ Similarly,

Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (Cambridge; Nova Iorque: Cambridge University Press, 1992); de Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Londres: Verso Books, 1993) [versão brasileira: *O Atlântico negro. Modernidade e dupla consciência* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2001)]; Luiz Felipe Alencastro, *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul* (São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2000); Rebecca J. Scott e Jean M. Hébrard, *Freedom papers: an Atlantic Odyssey in the age of emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012) [versão em português: *Provas de liberdade. Uma odisseia atlântica na era da emancipação* (São Paulo: Editora UNICAMP, 2015)]; António de Almeida Mendes, *Esclavage et traites ibériques entre Méditerranée et Atlantique (xv–xvii^e): une histoire globale* (Lille, ANRT, 2016 [PhD, 2007]).

25 On this issue, see also Rina Cacères, ed., *Rutas de la Esclavitud en África y América Latina* (San José, Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001); On the issues related to sources, see Janes Landers ed., “New Sources and New Findings: Slavery and Abolition in the Atlantic World”, *Slavery & Abolition*, 36 (3), 2015, pp. 421–543 (including Angola, Brazil, Cuba, Peru); José C. Curto & Renée Soulodre-La France (eds.), *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005); José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, (eds), *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (Amherst NY: Prometheus/Humanity Books, 2003); Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World. Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 2012); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *De l’Afrique aux Amériques espagnoles (xv^e–xix^e siècles). Utopies et réalités de l’esclavage* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2002).

26 Regarding historiographical balances, just to mention publications from 2000, see: Leandro Goya Fontella, Luís Augusto Ebling Farinatti, “Acomodação, negação e adaptação: debate historiográfico entre Gilberto Freyre, Jacob Gorender e a Historiografia do Escravo Real,” *Revista Disciplinarum Scientia, Ciências Humanas* 9, no. 1 (2008): 121–40, a debate in which the question of the slaves’ capacity to act was discussed; Sílvia Hunold Lara “African slavery in Luso-Brazilian historiography: balance and perspectives,” in *Brazil-Portugal: History, Agenda for the Millennium*, eds. J. Jobson Arruda and Luís Adão da Fonseca (Bauru, EDUSC/FAPESP/ICCTI, 2001): 387–404; Sílvia Hunold Lara, “O espírito das leis: tradições legais sobre a escravidão e a liberdade no Brasil escravista”, *Africana Studia, International Journal of African Studies* 14 (2010): 73–93; Maria Verónica Secreto, “New perspectives ...”

27 In the absence of a recent review article about the scholarship on slavery in Spanish America, see: José Andrés-Gallego, *La esclavitud en la América española* (Madrid: Ediciones

there is a growing body of work, specifically on African spaces²⁸ and the Iberian Peninsula.²⁹ Less abundant, still, is the literature on agency and slave

Encuentro, Fundación Inacio Larramendi, 2005); Antonio Feros, *Speaking of Spain: The Evolution of Race and Nation in the Hispanic World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017); Alejandro de la Fuente e Ariela J. Gross, *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana* (Studies in Legal History) (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2020); Jane Landers & Barry Robinson, eds., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006); Michelle A. McKinley, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016); José Antonio Piqueras, *La esclavitud en las Españas. Un lazo trasatlántico* (Madrid: Catarata, 2011); Bianca Premo, *The Enlightenment on Trial. Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Rebecca Jarvia Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba. The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Le destin des Noirs aux Indes de Castille : XVI^e–XVII^e siècles* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1984); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Noirs et Indiens au Pérou. Histoire d'une politique ségrégationniste XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Los Jesuitas y los esclavos en la Hispanoamérica, s. XVI–XVIII* (Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico/Libros Peruanos, 2020). A bibliographic review focusing on studies on the slavery law and on slaves as active agents in this story: Alejandro de la Fuente e Ariela Gross, “Comparative Studies of Law, Slavery, and Race in the Americas,” *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 6 (2010): 469–85.

28 As there are no bibliographical syntheses, we indicate some titles which seem illustrative to us: Jean Boulégue, *Les Luso-Africains de Sénégal, XVI^e–XIX^e siècles* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical—Paris, Université de Paris 1, Centre de recherches africaines, 1989); Mariana P. Candido, *Fronteras de esclavización. Esclavitud, comércio e identidade em Benguela, 1780–1850* (Mexico DF, El Colegio de Mexico, 2011); Mariana P. Candido, “O limite tênue entre liberdade e escravidão e Benguela durante a era do comércio transatlântico,” *Afro-Asia* 47 (2013): 239–68, with an interesting and useful section on “Fontes e como recuperar a voz dos africanos,” with important bibliographical references; José C. Curto, *Enslaving Spirits: The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and its Hinterland, c. 1550–1830* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004); José C. Curto, “Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa,” *Histoire sociale. Social history* 41, no. 82 (2008): 381–415, with extensive references to sources with direct and indirect testimonies of enslaved Africans; Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World ...*; Mariana Armond Dias Paes, “Shared Atlantic legal culture: the case of a freedom suit in Benguela,” *Atlantic Studies, Global Currents* 17 (2020): 419–40; Benigna Zimba, Edward Alpers and Allen Isaacman (eds.), *Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa* (Maputo: Filsom Entertainment, 2005).

29 For an overview of the studies on slavery in the Iberian Peninsula, see: Arlindo Caldeira, *Escravos em Portugal. Das Origens ao século XIX* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2017); Arlindo Caldeira and Antonio Feros, “Black Africans in the Iberian peninsula (1400–1820),” in Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, Antonio Feros, *The Iberian World: 1450–1820* (London and New York: Routledge, 2020); Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI. género, raza y religión* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada-Diputación Provincial de Granada, 2000); Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud negroafricana en la historia de España: Siglos XVI y XVII* (Granada: Comares, 2011); Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos no*

subjectivities in Asian spaces dominated by the Portuguese and Spanish and enslaved Amerindians' subjectivities.³⁰

 ~~Most of this~~ historiography has unveiled complex connections between subjectivity and agency. Therefore, mapping the agency of enslaved populations may be a way of indirectly accessing their subjectivities. Some authors of this volume studied black brotherhoods to get close to enslaved people's perceptions and subjectivities. Lisa Voigt (Chapter 5) shows, based on various public practices of the Confraria de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Ouro Preto (Minas Gerais, Brazil), from the construction of a street to the sponsorship of the *Eucharistic Triumph* account, the emergence of a corporate

Sul de Portugal. Séculos XVI–XVII (Lisbon: Vulgata, 2002); Jorge Fonseca, "A historiografia sobre os escravos em Portugal," *Cultura - Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias* 33 (2014), a very useful overview on the Portuguese historiography on slavery: 191–218; Isabel Castro Henriques & João Moreira da Silva, *Os "Pretos do Sado". História e Memória de uma comunidade alentejana de origem africana* (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2020); António de Almeida Mendes, *Portugal, Morocco and Guinea: reconfigurations of the North Atlantic in the Middle Ages* (Leyden: Brill, 2017); Rocío Perrián Gómez, "La investigación sobre la esclavitud en España en la edad moderna," *Norba. Revista de Historia* 21 (2008): 275–82; Rocío Perrián Gómez, *Negros, mulatos y blancos: los esclavos en Extremadura durante la Edad Moderna* (Badajoz, Diputación de Badajoz, 2010); A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Alessandro Stella, "L'esclavage en Andalousie à l'époque moderne," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 47, no. 1 (1992): 35–63; Alessandro Stella, *Histoire d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris, École des Hautes études en sciences sociales, 2000); José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os Negros em Portugal—Uma presença silenciosa* (Lisboa: Caminho, 1988); and bibliography cited therein.

- 30 A recent overview of Amerindian slavery in the Atlantic space is found in Rebecca Anne Goetz, "Indian Slavery: An Atlantic and Hemispheric Problem," *History Compass* 14, n° 2 (2016): 59–70 and, above all, in Andrés Reséndez's book, *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America* (Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016). For the Brazilian case, focusing on subjectivities, see, above all, Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida, *Metamorphoses Indígenas. Identidade e Cultura nas Aldeias Coloniais do Rio de Janeiro*, 2nd ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2013); Manuela Carneiro e Cunha, ed., *História dos Índios no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992); and Maria Leônia Chaves e Resende, "Indian Autonomy and Slavery in the Forests and Towns of Colonial Minas Gerais," in *Native Brazil. Beyond the Convert and Cannibal, 1500–1900*, ed. Hal Langfur (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014), 132–65; as well as the recent dossier organized by the same author "O Protagonismo Indígena na História," *Revista Brasileira de História* 37 (75), 2017. On the recourse to justice of enslaved Indians see, among others, Nancy van Deusen, *Global Indios: the Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015); Ângela Domingues, Maria Leônia Resende, Pedro Cardim (eds.), *Os indígenas e a justiça no mundo Ibero-Americano (séculos XVI–XIX)* (Lisbon: University of Lisbon History Centre, 2019); Brian P. Owensby, *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

subjectivity. Fernanda Domingos Pinheiro (Chapter 11) observes how the Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Lisboa used the legal instances of the King of Portugal to reverse situations of captivity denounced as illegal in the face of eighteenth-century legislation on slavery enacted in that kingdom. Furthermore, Miguel A. Valerio (Chapter 6) analyses, especially for Mexico, the role those brotherhoods played in the funeral rites of Afro-descendants and their identities.

The remaining chapters of the book deal, in different ways, with the links between individual action, subjectivity and freedom of choice. An extreme case is a story by Sophia Blea Nuñez (Chapter 4) in which, against all expectations, a bi-gender person (Elena/Eleno de Céspedes) had an unexpected personal and professional trajectory in sixteenth-century Spain. The agency of Elena/Eleno contrasts with the difficulties faced by enslaved Asians trying to marry in Lisbon, studied by Patrícia de Souza de Faria (Chapter 3) as well as with Asian concubines' highly conditioned choices, studied by James Fujitani (Chapter 2). Restrictions on the affective and sexual life of enslaved people were severe in the Iberian world, even if the Catholic Church defended their right to marry.³¹ Restrictions faced by the workers of the cocoa plantations in the archipelago of São Tomé e Príncipe in the second half of the nineteenth century, studied by Marta Macedo (Chapter 14), were also paramount. Plantation structures strongly conditioned these workers' daily lives and options, leaving them with few horizons of choice beyond forms of resistance frequently marked by suicide.

The autonomy of consciousness and action, the complexity and diversity of slaves' lives, and the role of geography in how the enslaved person lived and perceived their conditions are central issues in this book.

31 Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, "Os filhos obedientes da Santíssima Igreja. Escravidão e estratégias de casamento no Rio de Janeiro do início do século XVIII," in Myriam Cottias and Hebe Mattos (eds), *Escravidão e subjetividades no Atlântico luso-brasileiro e francês (Séculos XVII–XX)* (Marseille: OpenEdition Press, 2016), 23–42; Roberto Guedes, *Egressos do Cativo: Trabalho, família, aliança e mobilidade social* (Rio de Janeiro: Mauad-FAPERJ, 2008); Douglas Cole Libby and Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravidão no Brasil: relações sociais, acordos e conflitos* (São Paulo: Editora da Unicamp, 2014 [3rd. ed, 1st ed. 1996]); Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Esclaves et affranchis dans la vice-royauté du Pérou. L'impossible vie affective et sexuelle (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017); Robert Wayne Slenes, *Na senzala, uma flor—esperanças e recordações na formação da família escrava: Brasil Sudeste, século XIX* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2011 [2nd ed.]).

2 Slaves, Enslaved People, Horizons of Choice and the Limits of Action

The editors and authors of this book generally prefer to use the concept of enslaved people instead of slaves because they are fully aware that to be a slave had nothing to do with the essential nature of a person but with the circumstantial situation of the enslavement.³²

However, systematically replacing the word slave with the word enslaved may lead to another type of “essentialisation”. Overlooking the transformation of the enslaved person into his or her juridical and social classification as a slave over the years, and especially over generations, while emphasising the agency and autonomy of the enslaved person can unconsciously result in a minimisation of the violence of slavery. To stress that the slave identity was constructed in a context marked by the radical asymmetry of power, which framed the possibilities of action for enslaved people, their consciousness, and their expectations continue to be crucial. In most cases, people were identified as slaves by themselves and others, constituting a firm threshold to their horizons of expectations and action.

Enslavement produced slaves—just as proletarianisation produced proletarians—the reason why we have kept the word slave in the title of this book without assuming any monolithic approach to the subjectivity of slaves. The chapters of this book illustrate this wonderfully. For example, the three Japanese studied by Rômulo Ehalt (Chapter 1) were aware of the relationship between their process of “enslavement” in the Iberian context and the making of the status of the slave, fighting against their “objectification” and the limits it imposed on them. Their knowledge of the Japanese labour contexts of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in which slavery was not allowed, was crucial to their refusal of the slave status to which the enslavement process would lead. A similar case is Cesarea/Nazaria in nineteenth-century Cuba, studied by Lisa Surwillo (Chapter 5). After becoming aware of her former status as a free person and her original name, later transformed into Caesarea, Nazaria sought to receive her status as a free person by using the mechanism of legal petitions to bring on a lawsuit against the two women she accused of having enslaved her illegally.

The slaves lived in a society where slavery and its institutions were part of everyday life and a given mode of production. Like the three Japanese of Ehalt and Nazaria of Surwillo, many tried to escape their status (sometimes even by suicide) without necessarily questioning the system. The same is to say: except

32 Sydney Chalhoub, Fernando Teixeira da Silva, “Sujeitos no imaginário acadêmico ...,” 20.

for the final period of slavery, most slaves were not abolitionists;³³ instead, they usually wanted freedom *for themselves* or to improve *their social position*. Henrique Dias is a good illustration of someone mainly concerned with his social mobility. Studied by Hebe Mattos (Chapter 10), he was often qualified as a “black with a white soul” even if he was also represented as a hero of the Pernambuco insurrection (p.). Extreme cases of the pursuit of self-interest are those of enslaved Brazilians who owned slaves, studied by Robson Pedrosa Costa (Chapter 7). By following the path of other studies regarding this unexpected dimension, Costa’s chapter also reminds us of other situations of formerly enslaved people who became slave owners.³⁴ One and the others adhered to the slave system, thereby contributing to its permanence.³⁵

However, this was not the case for enslaved people associated with brotherhoods and sisterhoods, studied by Lisa Voigt and Fernanda Domingos Pinheiro in chapters 5 and 11, and Palmares, in seventeenth-century Brazil, analysed by Silvia Lara (Chapter 11). Due to its longevity and the effective politicization of the formerly enslaved people, Palmares is undoubtedly the most emblematic Brazilian case of anti-systemic collective action. In Palmares, the formerly enslaved people did intend to build an alternative and free political community which echoed African political experiences. Nevertheless, they did not defend the freedom of all slaves, but especially of those that belonged to the Palmares community.

Later, the stories of Antonio Porobio, Francisca Sebastiana de Araujo, María Maza, Gregoria, and her son Julián in Rio de la Plata (in today’s Argentina), Magdalena Candiotti (Chapter 12) highlight other forms of politicisation, this time associated to processes of social mobility. Candiotti shows how nineteenth-century urban slaves creatively used different tactics aimed at social mobility and freedom in Rio de la Plata, as well as forms of politicisation, namely of women who ended up participating anonymously in independence processes.

33 See the case studied by Jean-Pierre Tardieu, *Andresote. Le dessein d’un esclave rebelle, Venezuela (1730–1733)* (Paris, Les Indes Savantes, 2019). This slave leader did not fight against the slavers, or at least not directly against the cocoa or tobacco producers, but against the colonial monopoly and in favour of free trade.

34 See also, by the same author: *Os escravos do Santo. Uma história sobre paternalismo e transgressões nas propriedades beneditinas, nos séculos XVIII e XIX* (Recife: Editora da UFPE, 2020).

35 For Brazil see the almost pioneering study by Francisco Vidal Luna and Iraci del Nero Costa, “A presença do elemento forro no conjunto de proprietários de escravos,” *Ciência e Cultura* 32, n°7 (1980): 836–41.

3 Identities: Re-signification of Historical Vocabulary and Social Sciences Concepts

If mapping forms of enslaved people's agency and consciousness in different times, spaces and imperial frameworks to discuss the possibilities and varieties of slave subjectivities is the primary concern of this book, another question discussed are the links between the naming of these multiple identities by the historical actors and the categories used by historiography.

It is important to remember that the vocabulary of slavery already identified a diversity of trajectories. Words differentiated, for example, Africans arriving directly from the continent (*boçais* in Portuguese, *bozales* in Castilian, *bossales* in French), first-generation enslaved people, from slaves, already born in the colony, the Creoles, and the Black Creoles from the different Americas. The identity of slaves whose African ancestry was several generations old were reconstructed according to their social, community and individual experiences in the colony from their birth. In contrast, the *Boçais* and *Bozales* had different biographical memories because the experience of Africa was the most crucial.³⁶

However, when facing the challenge of identifying enslaved peoples' African identity, many scholars have opted to use the concept of "Afro-descendant".

Although the prefix "afro" has a distinct history in the various societies that were recipients of the African diaspora, namely in the context of the slave trade, it rarely designates first or even second-generation African immigrants. Instead, it generally refers to people of African ancestry born and raised in the territories where their ancestors settled. In many contexts, the term "Afro-descendants" has become synonymous with "blacks" and "black diaspora" with "African diaspora". These meanings prevail in this book.

Some historical circumstances help explain this association. Until 1836–1850, or even later, tens of thousands of Africans from Africa arrived permanently in Brazil and Cuba, leading to a permanent re-Africanization of the slave population of these territories. Moreover, until the middle of the nineteenth century, many enslaved Brazilians were born in Africa. Thus, in texts written between 1890 and 1905, a few years after abolition (although published posthumously in 1932), Raimundo Nina Rodrigues could still speak of Africans, meaning formerly enslaved people born in Africa.³⁷

36 José C. Curto, "The story of Nbená, 1817–1820 ...".

37 In this respect, see the work of Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1935 [1932]) where "Africans" are explicitly and exclusively ex-slaves born in Africa.

Alongside this permanent re-Africanization the end of the slave trade accentuated the permanent dynamics of creolisation. How did these divergent processes—re-Africanization and creolisation—converge in the concept of “Afro-descendants”? To what extent does this category used by social sciences and activism account for the multiplicity of experiences, trajectories and subjectivities of the populations it refers to?

Reflecting primarily on slave identities in Brazil, Joseph C. Miller reminds us that “The most African aspect of the Africans’ struggles for identity under slavery was, therefore, the adaptability with which they returned specific echoes of their pasts to resonate collectively in the novel circumstances they encountered in the Americas.”³⁸

The chapters by Miguel Valerio (Chapter 6) on the funerary rites of black slaves in Mexico, by Silvia Lara (Chapter 11) on the means of negotiation of the *quilombo dos Palmares*, or of Michel Kabalan (Chapter 8) on the role played by religion in the revolt of the Malês (Muslim slaves) in Bahia (1835), are symptomatic of this “re-tuning”. The same can be said of the chapters that study the corporative aspects of subjectivity, particularly in the confraternities, as in Lisa Voigt’s and Fernanda Pinheiro’s. Although the privileges granted by the King framed these brotherhoods, they were a vital space for initiative and the production of the subjectivity of resilience or resistance. According to Miller, this “re-tuning”, although in contexts that evolved, lasted until the end of slavery:

In a relationship of theoretically total domination, slaves could create identities for themselves only in ways their masters could not see or by exploiting for their own purposes the identities attributed to them by their masters. What glittered most exotically as “African” often appeared as gold to those whom slaves fooled. Brazilianization of the coffee estates of São Paulo and environs symbolised nineteenth-century strategies of constructing a collective memory of an Africa no longer personally recalled by slaves with direct experience of Africa. By that late stage in the history of Brazil’s enslaving connection, fewer and fewer people came from African backgrounds sufficiently similar, or individually stable, to provide unambiguous identities of any sort; slaving spreading throughout Africa was propelling more and more people through bewildering successions of marginal affiliations to communities alien to anything they had known and that they understood barely, if at all.³⁹

38 Joseph C. Miller, “Retention ...,” 109.

39 Joseph C. Miller, “Retention ...,” pp. 110–11. It should be noted that J. Miller does not advocate for the concept of creolisation, nor that of [African] survival. For a state of the art on

The studies in this book show the variety of situations enslaved populations were subjected to or how they managed to live. In the first place, this variety resulted from the very diverse territories, communities, and cultures they were kidnapped or taken captive. It also stemmed from the chronologies associated with enslavement processes and the differences in social life once in the Americas, Iberian Peninsula, or the Iberian territories in Asia. For example, using a drum in the rites and customs of enslaved people could be either a sign of Africanness or the American Indian or European influence in the behaviour that the second generation of slaves adopted from the first generation.

These questions invite us to reflect on the uses of other words, such as “Indian” (“índio”) and “Indians” (“indianos”), which were, in the case of the Iberian worlds, truly polysemic. Their uses bear ample witness to the re-signification of practices and identities undertaken by enslaved people. Tatiana Seijas’s 2014 book, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*, is an example of how enslaved people of Chinese origin from the Philippines settled in Mexico and became “Indians”.⁴⁰ Some of the studies in this book explore similar avenues showing the polysemy of the word “Indian” in different parts of the Iberian worlds and the caution we should have when facing it. Patrícia Souza de Faria’s (Chapter 3) essay on the marriage strategies of Asian slaves in Lisbon and Rômulo Ehalt’s (Chapter 1) illustrate this. Both show how the use of the word “índio/yndio” by slaves of Asian origin had distinct meanings (i.e., the “Indios” they referred to were different, although the word used was identical). Furthermore, recourse to this word denoted pragmatic and well-aware options relative to the concrete contexts enslaved persons lived (Lisbon and Lima, for example) and the advantages they could draw from their “Indianization”.

Finally, in discussing the “degree” or characteristics of Africanness (or “Indianness”) of the slaves (and of their descendants to this day) in self-consciousness and subjectivity, one should remember that the majority of the societies from which the enslaved people originated already had (more or less violent) contacts with Europeans’ and their conquering and mercantile activities. The same is to say: that there were no completely untouched “Indian” or “African” traditions.

All these social and cultural processes remind us of the different expectations shared by many enslaved people and some statuses to which they could aspire or with which they identified (more than with others), often related to their individual and group memories concerning the places of origin. Thus,

the various theses (creolisation, etc.), see Christine Chivallon, “‘Créolisation’ universelle ou singulière ? Perspectives depuis le Nouveau Monde,” *L’Homme* 207, n° 8 (2013): 37–74.

40 Tatiana Seijas, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*

the warning Frantz Fanon made in 1955 remains valid: “There are as many differences between a West Indian and a Dakarian as between a Brazilian and a Madrid native. What is sought by including all negroes under the term ‘black people’ is to take away all possibility of individual expression. We are trying to oblige them to respond to the idea that we have of them.”⁴¹ Fanon insists on the need to multiply designations to avoid inadvertently falling into processes of essentialisation that may affix categories that end up silencing the diversity of the voices of the actors involved.

In Joseph Miller and Frantz Fanon’s footsteps, this book is also an exercise in recovering the multiplicity of voices from different geographies and chronologies that hide under a blanket of specific categories imposed upon the enslaved people or that they attributed to themselves. It respects the possibility of these voices being expressed individually, showing the polyphony of slave subjectivities in the Iberian worlds.

• • •

The book’s organisation provides a reading itinerary in three parts, making more visible other connections that can be established between the different chapters. Since historiography has privileged the Atlantic territories, the first part (Slave Subjectivities in Asia) emphasises Asia, a less studied geography. We intend *to localise* the Atlantic experiences in the vaster world of enslaved people in the context of the Iberian empires, contributing to complexifying our understanding of the topics discussed in the book. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 analyse the subjectivities of enslaved people of Asian origin settled in different territories of the Iberian worlds. These chapters show the possibilities of action open to these people, their limits, and their difficulty getting rid of their enslaved status. The second and third parts refer to experiences in the Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic world. The second part analyses the relationship between religion, work and subjectivities (Subjectivities in the Context of Labour and Religion). It highlights the role of confraternities as places for framing enslaved people, making it possible to broaden their terrain of action and identity construction (Chapters 5 and 6), as well as the diverse individual and collective labour trajectories of enslaved people or who had been slaves (chapters 4, 7,

41 Our translation from: “Il y a autant de différences entre un Antillais et un Dakarien qu’entre un Brésilien et un Madrilène. Ce qu’on cherche en englobant tous les nègres sous le terme de « peuple noir », c’est à leur enlever toute possibilité d’expression individuelle. Ce que l’on cherche ainsi, c’est à les mettre dans l’obligation de répondre à l’idée qu’on se fait d’eux,” in Frantz Fanon, “Antillais et Africains,” *Esprit* 223, n° 2 (1955): 261–69.

8, and 9). The third part (Social Mobility and Emancipation) comprises chapters that focus on issues related to social mobility, emancipation, freedom and politicisation from the seventeenth century (Chapters 10 and 11), through the eighteenth century (Chapter 12) into the nineteenth century, during the abolitionist period (Chapters 13 and 14).



Finally, João José ~~dos~~ Reis and Michelle McKinley contributed to this book with a prologue (João José ~~dos~~ Reis) and a postface (Michelle McKinley), which highly enrich the reading itineraries of the volume.

We hope that at the end of it, the reader feels that this book answers the main questions that guided the writing of this volume.

Translated by Brad Safarik and revised by Maria Zaira Miranda

Bibliography

- Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de. *O trato dos viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.
- Allen, Amy. "Power, Subjectivity and Agency: Between Arendt and Foucault." *International Journal of Philosophical Studies*, 10, nº 2 (2010): 131–49.
- Almeida, Kátia Lorena Novais. *Escravos e Libertos nas Minas do Rio de Contas, Bahia, século XVIII*. Salvador da Baía: Edufba, 2018.
- Almeida, Maria Regina Celestino de Almeida. *Metamorfoses Indígenas. Identidade e Cultura nas Aldeias Coloniais do Rio de Janeiro*. 2.^a ed. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2013.
- Altamn, Ida and Thiago Kraus. "Europeans, Indians, and Africans in the making of colonial societies." In *The Iberian World: 1450–1820*, edited by Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, Antonio Feros. London e New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Andrés-Gallego, José. *La esclavitud en la América española*. Madrid: Ediciones Encuentro, Fundación Inacio Larramendi, 2005.
- Ares Queija, Berta e Alessandro Stella. *Negros, mulatos, zambaigos. Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos / Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths e Helen Tiffin, eds. *Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies*. London-New York: Routledge, 1998.
- Barnet, Miguel. *Biografía de un cimarrón*. La Habana: Instituto de Etnología y Folklore, 1966.
- Bastide, Roger & Florestan Fernandes. *Relações raciais entre negros e brancos em São Paulo*. São Paulo: Anhembi, 1955.

- Birmingham, David. *Breve História da Angola Moderna [séculos XIX–XXI]*. Lisboa: Guerra & Paz, 2017.
- Boulègue, Jean. *Les Luso-Africains de Sénégambie, XVI^e–XIX^e siècles*. Lisboa: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical—Paris, Université de Paris 1, Centre de recherches africaines, 1989.
- Cacères, Rina ed. *Rutas de la Esclavitud en África y América Latina*. São José, Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica, 2001.
- Caldeira, Arlindo Manuel and Antonio Feros. “Black Africans in the Iberian peninsula (1400–1820)”, in Fernando Bouza, Pedro Cardim, Antonio Feros (eds.), *The Iberian World: 1450–1820*. London/ New York: Routledge, 2020.
- Caldeira, Arlindo Manuel. *Escravos e Traficantes no Império Português*. Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2013.
- Caldeira, Arlindo Manuel. *Escravos em Portugal. Das Origens ao século XIX*. Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2017.
- Campbell, Gwin ed. “The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia”. *Slavery & Abolition* 24, n° 2 (2003): ix–xxii+1–196.
- Candido, Mariana P. *Fronteras de esclavización. Esclavitud, comércio e identidad en Benguela, 1780–1850*. Mexico DF: El Colégio de Mexico, 2011.
- Candido, Mariana P. “O limite tênue entre liberdade e escravidão e Benguela durante a era do comércio transatlântico”, *Afro-Ásia* 47 (2013): 239–68.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. *Capitalismo e Escravidão no Brasil Meridional: o negro na sociedade escravocrata do Rio do Grande do Sul*. São Paulo: Difusão Europeia do Livro, 1962.
- Carmen Fracchi. “Black but Human”, *Slavery and Visual Arts in Habsburg Spain, 1480–1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Casares, Aurelia Martín. *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI. género, raza y religión*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada-Diputación Provincial de Granada, 2000.
- Casares, Aurelia Martín. *Juan Latino: talento y destino: un afrohispano en el tiempo de Carlos V y de Felipe II*. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2016.
- Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de. “Os filhos obedientes da Santíssima Igreja. Escravidão e estratégias de casamento no Rio de Janeiro do início do século XVIII”, in Myriam Cottias e Hebe Mattos (eds.), *Escravidão e subjetividades no Atlântico luso-brasileiro e francês (Séculos XVII–XX)*. Marseille: OpenEdition Press, 2016.
- Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de. *Páscoa et ses deux maris: Une esclave entre Angola, Brésil et Portugal*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2019.
- Castelnau-L'Estoile, Charlotte de. *Páscoa Vieira diante da Inquisição: Uma escrava entre Angola, Brasil e Portugal no século XVII*. Rio de Janeiro: Bazar do Tempo, 2020.

- Chalhoub, Sydney & Fernando Teixeira da Silva. “Sujeitos no imaginário acadêmico: escravos e trabalhadores na historiografia brasileira desde os anos 1980”. *Cadernos AEL: trabalhadores, leis e direitos* 14, n° 26 (2009): 7–47.
- Chalhoub, Sydney. *Visões de liberdade: uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na corte*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990.
- Chalhoub, Sydney. *A força da escravidão. Ilegalidade e costume no Brasil oitocentista*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012.
- Chivallon, Christine. ““Créolisation” universelle ou singulière ? Perspectives depuis le Nouveau Monde”. *L’Homme*, Paris, 2013: 37–74.
- Costa, Robson Pedrosa. *Os escravos do Santo. Uma história sobre paternalismo e transgressões nas propriedades beneditinas, nos séculos XVIII e XIX*. Recife: Editora da UFPE, 2020.
- Cottias, Myriam, Elisabeth Cunin & António de Almeida Mendes, eds. *Les traites et les esclavages: perspectives historiques et contemporaines*. Paris: Karthala, 2010.
- Cottias, Myriam & Hebe Mattos, eds. *Escravidão e Subjectividades no Atlântico Luso-Brasileiro e Francês (séculos XVII–XX)/ Esclavage et Subjectivités dans l’Atlantique luso-brésilien et français (XVII–XXI^e siècles)*. Marseille: OpenEdition Press, 2016.
- Cunha, Manuela Carneiro, ed. *História dos Índios no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras História dos Índios no Brasil, 1992.
- Curto, José C. “The story of Nbena, 1817–1820: Unlawful Enslavement and the Concept of ‘Original Freedom’ in Angola”. In *TransAtlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, edited by Paul Lovejoy and David V. Trotman. London: Continuum, 2003.
- Curto, José C. *Enslaving Spirits: The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and its Hinterland, c. 1550–1830*. Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004.
- Curto, José C. “Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa”. *Histoire sociale. Social history* 41, n° 82 (2008): 381–41.
- Curto, José C. & Paul E. Lovejoy, eds. *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*. Amherst, NY: Prometheus/Humanity Books, 2003.
- Curto, José C. & Renée Soulodre-La France, eds. *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005.
- Domingues, Ângela, Maria Leônia Resende & Pedro Cardim (eds.). *Os indígenas e a justiça no mundo Ibero-Americano (séculos XVI–XIX)*. Lisbon: Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa, 2019.
- Drake, Kimberly, ed. *Critical Insights: The Slave Narrative*. Ipswich, MA: Salem Press, 2014.
- Du Bois, William Edward Burghardt. *Souls of black folk; essays and sketches*. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1903.
- Fanon, Frantz. “Antillais et Africains”. *Esprit* 223, n° 2 (1955): 261–69.

- Faria, Patrícia Souza de. "Cruzando fronteiras: conversão e mobilidades culturais de escravos no império asiático português (séculos XVI e XVII)". *Anais de História de Além-Mar* XVII (2016): 147–78.
- Faria, Patrícia Souza de. "Do Índico ao Coração do Império: Cotidiano e Religiosidades de Escravos Asiáticos em a (Séculos XVI e XVII)". In *Difusão da fé por entre povos e lugares: instituições, religião e religiosidades no Império Português (Séculos XVI–XIX)*, edited by Maria de Deus Beites Manso e Grayce Bonfim Souza. vol. 1, 167–196. Vitória da Conquista: BA: Edições UESB, 2020.
- Feros, Antonio. *Speaking of Spain: The Evolution of Race and Nation in the Hispanic World*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017.
- Ferreira, Roquinaldo. *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World. Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Ferrer, Ada. *Insurgent Cuba: race, nation, and revolution, 1868–1898*. Chapel Hill; London: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.
- Fonseca, Jorge. *Escravos no Sul de Portugal. Séculos XVI–XVII*. Lisbon: Vulgata, 2002.
- Fonseca, Jorge. "A historiografia sobre os escravos em Portugal", *Cultura—Revista de História e Teoria das Ideias* 33 (2014): 191–218.
- Fonseca, Jorge. *Religião e Liberdade: Os negros nas irmandades e confrarias portuguesas*. Famalicão: Húmus, 2016.
- Fontella, Leandro Goya & Luís Augusto Ebling Farinatti. "Acomodação, negação e adaptação: debate historiográfico entre Gilberto Freyre, Jacob Gorender e a Historiografia do Escravo Real". *Revista Disciplinarum Scientia, Ciências Humanas* 9, nº 1 (2008): 121–40.
- Foucault, Michel. "Subjectivité et vérité," in *Michel Foucault, L'origine de l'herméneutique de soi*. Paris: J. Vrin, 2013: 31–64.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Casa-Grande & Senzala, formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*. Rio de Janeiro: Maia e Schmidt, 1933 [publ. 1934].
- Freyre, Gilberto. *Sobrados e Mucambos*. São Paulo: Nacional, 1936.
- Fuente, Alejandro de la, e Ariela J. Gross. "Comparative Studies of Law, Slavery, and Race in the Americas". *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 6 (2010): 469–85.
- Fuente, Alejandro de la & Ariela J. Gross. *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Garriga, Carlos. "¿Cómo Escribir una historia descolonizada del derecho em América latina?". In *En Antidora. Homenaje a Bartolomé Clavero*, edited by Jesús Vallejo and Sebastián Martín, 325–371. Pamplona: Editorial Aranzadi, 2019.
- Gilroy, Paul. *O Atlântico negro. Modernidade e dupla consciência*. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2001.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness*. London: Verso Books, 1993.

- Goetz, Rebecca Anne Goetz. "Indian Slavery: An Atlantic and Hemispheric Problem." *History Compass* 14 (2), 2016: 59–70.
- Gorender, Jacob. *O escravismo colonial*. São Paulo: Ática, 1978.
- Guedes, Roberto, *Egressos do Cativo: Trabalho, família, aliança e mobilidade social*. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad-FAPERJ, 2008.
- Hassell, Stéphanie. *Renegade Slaves: Religious Conversion, the Inquisition, and the Portuguese Empire in India in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. PhD thesis, Stanford: Stanford University, 2014.
- Hassell, Stéphanie. "Inquisition Records from Goa as Sources for the Study of Slavery in the Eastern Domains of the Portuguese Empire." *History in Africa* 42 (2015): 397–418.
- Hébrard, Jean. *Brésil. Quatre siècles d'esclavages. Nouvelles questions, nouvelles recherches*. Paris: Karthala, 2012.
- Hébrard, Jean & Mariza de Carvalho Soares. "Vies d'esclaves/Vidas de escravos." *Brésil(s): Sciences Humaines et Sociales* 1 (2012).
- Henriques, Isabel Castro. "Ser escravo em S. Tomé no século XVI: uma outra leitura de um mesmo quotidiano", *Primeiras Jornadas de História Moderna—Actas*, v. II. Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 1986.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro. *São Tomé e Príncipe. A invenção de uma sociedade*. Lisbon: Vega, 2000.
- Henriques, Isabel Castro & João Moreira da Silva. *Os « Pretos do Sado ». História e Memória de uma comunidade alentejana de origem africana*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 2020.
- Johnson, Walter. "On agency." *Journal of Social History* 37, n° 1 (2003): 113–24.
- Lahon, Didier. *Esclavage et confréries noires au Portugal durant l'Ancien Régime (1441–1830)*. PhD thesis. Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 2001.
- Lahon, Didier. "Esclavage, confréries noires, sainteté noire et pureté de sang au Portugal (xvi^e–xviii^e siècles)", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2.^a Série, n.º 15 (Lisbon: 2003): 119–62.
- Landers, Jane and Barry Robinson, eds. *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- Landers, Janes, ed. "New Sources and New Findings: Slavery and Abolition in the Atlantic World." *Slavery & Abolition* 36, n° 3 (2015): 421–543.
- Lara, Sílvia Hunold. "Escravidão no Brasil: um balanço historiográfico." *LPH—Revista de História* 3 (Dossiê Escravidão), n° 1 (1992): 215–44.
- Lara, Sílvia Hunold. "O espírito das leis: tradições legais sobre a escravidão e a liberdade no Brasil escravista." *Africana Studia, Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 14 (2010): 73–93.
- Lara, Silvia Hunold. "A escravidão africana na historiografia luso-brasileira: balanço e perspectivas". In *Brasil-Portugal: História, agenda para o milênio*, edited by J. Jobson Arruda and Luís Adão da Fonseca, 387–404. Bauru: EDUSC/FAPESP/ICCTI, 2001.

- Libby, Douglas Cole and Eduardo França Paiva, *Escravidão no Brasil: relações sociais, acordos e conflitos* (São Paulo: Editora da Unicamp, 2014 [3a. ed, 1a ed. 1996]).
- Lovejoy, Paul E. *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983 (1a ed.) [3ª ed., 2011].
- Lovejoy, Paul E. "Identifying Enslaved Africans in the African Diaspora", in Paul E. Lovejoy, *Identity in the shadow of Slavery*. London: Cassel Academic, 2000: 1–29.
- Luis A. Figueroa. *Sugar, Slavery, and Freedom in Nineteenth-Century Puerto Rico*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Mansfield, Nick. *Subjectivity: Theories of the Self from Freud to Haraway*. New York: New York University Press 2000.
- Manzano, Juan Francisco. *Autobiografía del esclavo poeta y otros escritos, edición, introducción y notas de William Luis*. Madrid: Iberoamericana Editorial, 2007.
- Marquese, Rafael de Bivar. "A História Global da Escravidão: Balanços e Perspectivas". *Esboços. Histórias em contextos globais* 26, n° 41 (2019): 14–41.
- Marquese, Rafael, Tâmis Parron and Márcia Berbel, eds. *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790–1850*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016.
- Marquese, Rafael. "As desventuras de um conceito: capitalismo histórico e historiografia sobre a escravidão brasileira". *Revista de História* 169 (2013): 223–53.
- Martín Casares, Aurelia. *La esclavitud negroafricana en la historia de España: Siglos XVI y XVII*. Granada: Comares, 2011.
- McKinley, Michelle, *Fractional Freedoms: Slavery, Intimacy, and Legal Mobilization in Colonial Lima, 1600–1700*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- Mendes, António de Almeida. *Esclavage et traites ibériques entre Méditerranée et Atlantique (XV–XVII^e): une histoire globale*. Lille: ANRT, 2016 [tese de 2007].
- Miller, Joseph C. *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Miller, Joseph C. "Retention, Reinvention, and Remembering. Restoring Identities through Enslavement in Africa and under Slavery in Brasil". In *Enslaving connections: changing cultures of Africa and Brazil during the era of slavery*, edited by José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, 81–121. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004.
- Miller, Joseph C. "Restauração, reinvenção e recordação: recuperando identidades sob a escravização na África e face à escravidão no Brasil". *Revista de História* 164 (jan./jun. 2011): 17–64.
- O'Toole, Rachel Sarah. "As Historical Subjects: The African Diaspora in Colonial Latin American History." *History Compass* 11/12 (2013): 1094–110.
- Owensby, Brian P. *Empire of Law and Indian Justice in Colonial Mexico*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.
- Paes, Mariana Armond Dias. "Shared Atlantic legal culture: the case of a freedom suit in Benguela". *Atlantic Studies, Global Currents* 17 (2020): 419–40.

- Palacios, Nicolás. *Raza Chilena. Livro escrito por un Chileno y para los Chilenos*. 2ª ed.. 2 vols. Santiago: Editorial Chilena, 1918 (1ª ed. 1904, ed. do autor)
- Periáñez Gómez, Rocío. “La investigación sobre la esclavitud en España en la edad moderna”, *Norba. Revista de Historia* 21 (2008): 275–82.
- Periáñez Gómez, Rocío. *Negros, mulatos y blancos: los esclavos en Extremadura durante la Edad Moderna*. Badajoz: Diputación de Badajoz, 2010).
- Pinheiro, Fernanda Domingos, *Em defesa da liberdade. Libertos, coartados e livres de cor nos tribunais do antigo regime português (Mariana e Lisboa, 1720–1819)*. Belo Horizonte: Fino Traço Editora, 2018.
- Piqueras, José António. *La esclavitud en las Españas. Un lazo trasatlántico*. Madrid: Catarata, 2011.
- Premo, Bianca. *The Enlightenment on Trial. Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Rabughini, Paola. “Subject, Subjectivity, Subjectification”, in *Sociopedia.ISA*, 2014, 1–11.
- Reginaldo, Lucilene. *Os Rosários dos Angolas: Irmandade de Africanos e Crioulos na Bahia Setecentista*. São Paulo: Alameda Casa Editorial, 2011.
- Reis, João José dos. *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A História do Levante dos Malês (1835)*. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1986 [2003, 3th ed. revised].
- Reis, João José dos. *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
- Reis, João José dos. *Domingos Sodré, um sacerdote africano: escravidão, liberdade e candomblé na Bahia do século XIX*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008.
- Reis, João José dos, Flávio dos Santos Gomes and Marcus de Carvalho. *O Alufá Rufino: Tráfico, Escravidão e Liberdade no Atlântico Negro (c. 1822–c. 1853)*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010.
- Resende, Maria Leônia Chaves e. “Indian Autonomy and Slavery in the Forests and Towns of Colonial Minas Gerais.” In *Native Brazil. Beyond the Convert and Cannibal, 1500–1900*, edited by Hal Langfur, 132–65. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014.
- Resende, Maria Leônia Chaves e, ed. “O Protagonismo Indígena na História.” *Revista Brasileira de História* 37 (75), 2017.
- Reséndez, Andrés. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016.
- Rodrigues, Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida. *L'Esclave dans les sociétés portugaises avant l'Amérique*. Paris: Université de Paris IV, 1979.
- Rodrigues, Raimundo Nina. *Os Africanos no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1935 (1932).
- Rozalén, Vicent Sanz and Michel Zeuske, eds. *Microhistorias de esclavos y esclavas, Millars spai/Historia XLII* (2017/1).

- Sánchez-Blanco, Rafael Benítez. “Esclavo del rey en las minas de Almadén: el fatal destino de Juan Bautista, alias Hazman (1667–1711)”, *Estudis* 37 (2011): 179–98.
- Sánchez-Blanco, Rafael Benítez. “El moro va, el moro viene: la trágica vida de Francisco Pérez, alias Alí (Gorafe, c.1560–Valencia, 1621)”, in *Tríptico de la expulsión de los Moriscos. El triunfo de la razón de estado*, edited by Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco. Montpellier: Presses universitaires de la Méditerranée, 2012: 273–98.
- Sánchez-Blanco, Rafael Benítez. “Notas sobre la vida familiar de esclavas y libertas alarbes marroquíes en Castilla (1520–1545)”. In *Cautivas y esclavas: el tráfico humano en el Mediterraneo*, edited by Aurelia Martín Casares y Maria Cristina Delaigue. Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2016.
- Sánchez-Blanco, Rafael Benítez, “Las gentes se parecen unas a otras.” Melchor Megeçi o Hamete Çamar; una vida entre las dos orillas (1544–1591), *Hespéris-Tamuda* LIII (2) (2018): 75–102.
- Santana, Francisco. “De coisa a pessoa. Análise de alforrias setecentistas”, *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, série 117, n.º 1–12 (1999): 181–204.
- Santana, Francisco. “Processos de escravos e forros na Inquisição de Lisboa”, *Ler História*, n.º 13 (1988): 15–30.
- Santos, Catarina Madeira and Ana Paula Tavares. *Africae Monumenta. A apropriação da escrita pelos Africanos*. Vol. 1. *Arquivo Caculo Cacahenda*. Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2002.
- Saunders, A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and freedmen in Portugal 1441–1555*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Scott, Rebecca, “Paper Thin: Freedom and Re-enslavement in the Diaspora of the Haitian Revolution”, *Law and History Review* 29, n.º 4 (2011), 1061–87.
- Scott, Rebecca Jarvia and Jean M. Hébrard. *Freedom papers: an Atlantic Odyssey in the age of emancipation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Scott, Rebecca Jarvia and Jean M. Hébrard. *Provas de liberdade. Uma odisseia atlântica na era da emancipação*. São Paulo: Editora UNICAMP, 2015.
- Scott, Rebecca Jarvia. *Slave Emancipation in Cuba. The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986.
- Secreto, María Verónica. “Novas perspectivas na história da escravidão”. *Tempo* 22, n.º 41 (2016): 442–50.
- Seijas, Tatiana. *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico: From Chinos to Indians*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Slenes, Robert Wayne. *Na senzala, uma flor—esperanças e recordações na formação da família escrava: Brasil Sudeste, século XIX*. Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2011 [2a ed.].
- Sousa, Lucio de. *The Portuguese Slave Trade in Early Modern Japan. Merchants, Jesuits and Japanese, Chinese, and Korean Slaves*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2019.

- Souza, Elio Ferreira de. "A 'Carta' da escrava Esperança Garcia do Piauí, escrita por ela mesma, e sua relação com a poesia das mulheres dos Cadernos Negros". In *Cadernos Negros: três décadas: ensaios, poemas e contos*, edited by Esmeralda Ribeiro e Márcio Barbosa, 12 pp. São Paulo: Quilombhoje-Secretaria Especial de Políticas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, 2008, https://abralic.org.br/anais/arquivos/2015_1455937376.pdf.
- Stella, Alessandro. "L'esclavage en Andalousie à l'époque moderne", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 47, n° 1 (1992): 35–63.
- Stella, Alessandro. *Histoire d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique*. Paris: École des Hautes études en sciences sociales, 2000.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *Le destin des Noirs aux Indes de Castille : XVI^e–XVII^e siècles*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1984.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *De l'Afrique aux Amériques espagnoles (XV^e–XIX^e siècles). Utopies et réalités de l'esclavage*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2002.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *La traite des Noirs entre l'océan Indien et Montevideo (Uruguay). Fin du XVIII^e siècle et début du XIX^e*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *Esclaves et affranchis dans la vice-royauté du Pérou. L'impossible vie affective et sexuelle (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 2017.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *Andresote. Le dessein d'un esclave rebelle, Venezuela (1730–1733)*. Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2019.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *Los Jesuitas y los esclavos en la Hispanoamérica, s. XVI–XVIII*. Lima: Centro de Desarrollo Étnico/Libros Peruanos, 2020.
- Tardieu, Jean-Pierre. *Noirs et Indiens au Pérou. Histoire d'une politique ségrégationniste XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1990.
- Thompson, Edward P. *The making of the English Working Class*. London: Victor Gollanz, 1963.
- Thornton, John K. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Tinhorão, José Ramo. *Os Negros em Portugal—Uma presença silenciosa*. Lisbon: Caminho, 1988).
- Van Deusen, Nancy E. *Global Indios: the Indigenous Struggle for Justice in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2015.
- Vasconcelos, José Vasconcelos. *La Raza Cósmica, Misión de la raza iberoamericana. Notas de viajes a la América del Sur*. Madrid: Agencia Mundial de Librería, 1925.
- Viana, Larissa. *O idioma da mestiçagem. As Irmandades de Pardos na America Portuguesa*. Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2007.
- Vidal Luna, Francisco and Iraci del Nero Costa. "A presença do elemento forro no conjunto de proprietários de escravos", *Ciência e Cultura* 32, n° 7 (1980): 836–41.
- Zimba, Benigna, Edward Alpers and Allen Isaacman, eds. *Slave Routes and Oral Tradition in Southeastern Africa*. Maputo: Filsom Entertainment, 2005.