

Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective*

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SUMMARY: This article takes a global-historical perspective on all slaveries and slave trades (and contraband trading of human bodies) in relation to today's state of capitalist accumulation. It follows the different "national" schools of slavery research in different imperial traditions, as well as the sections of historical thinking stimulated through slavery research. Although legal ownership over humans does not exist any more, more women and men are in conditions of slavery today than in any other period of history since 1200. Against this background, the article criticizes the concentration in historiography on "hegemonic" slaveries (antique, Islamic, and American plantation slaveries) and proposes a focus on smaller "slaveries" all over the world (first of all of women and children), and on the agency of slaves and slave women, rather than on "great" slavery in a tradition of "Roman Law".

Slavery research has been dominated since c.1970 by two cultures of historiography and memory: those of the USA and Brazil – though completely unbalanced from a European perspective, with some 80 per cent of publications and research originating in the USA against 10 per cent in Brazil, despite a very important research institute in Canada (The Harriet Tubman Institute).¹ Brazilian global-historical research dominates the history of the South Atlantic and naturally enough that of the Brazilian internal market. In Brazil itself, besides slavery research on the Anglo-American space (centred on the USA), there exists the best, quantitatively most comprehensive and detailed research in the world into slavery, the slave trade, and the slave condition, as well as national post-emancipation research that includes local-historical studies. This too is only natural,

* I would like to thank David Fernbach for the excellent translation.

1. Michael Zeuske, "Umrisse einer postkolonialen Geschichte der Sklaven und der Sklaverei im Atlantik", in *idem* (ed.), *Sklaven und Sklaverei in den Welten des Atlantiks, 1400–1940. Umrisse, Anfänge, Akteure, Vergleichsfelder und Bibliografien* (Münster [etc.], 2006), vol. 1 of M. Zeuske (ed.), *Sklaverei und Postemanzipation*.

given that Brazil was the largest slave society in the world in its time.² So, in a consequent global perspective, Brazil was the most important slave and slave trade society, and it is today the country with the most important historiography. With reference to the above mentioned distortion, John W. Sweet in a recent article claims that there are myths in the history of the slave trade in a macro-historical perspective: the myth of the primordial importance of North America and the myth of the nineteenth century as a “century of abolition” since 1808 (in reality North America was, until 1850, a periphery of the Spanish Caribbean).³

The remaining historiography of slavery is divided diffusely between other national historiographies: the British (often combined with the US into the Anglo-American historiography of slavery), followed particularly by the Dutch, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, the Baltic states (Denmark, Brandenburg, Sweden), Hamburg, Bremen, and Switzerland.⁴ The historiography of different internal slaveries in Africa confronts particular difficulties, while the Atlantic slave trade from Africa 1650–1800 is relatively well known.⁵

Difficulties with the subject in Europe and Latin America also arise time and again in Spain, which from 1493 to 1898 possessed the largest colonial empire in the Americas (still including Cuba and Puerto Rico after 1825), with the longest history of slavery. Spain as a colonial power had no areas for obtaining slaves in Africa until the end of the eighteenth century. The particular view of Spanish Catholicism was (and remains) marked by the “mildness” and “gentleness” (*suavidad*) of Catholic

2. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul, séculos 16. e 17.* (São Paulo, 2000); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Feitores do corpo, missionários da mente. Senhores, letrados e o controle dos escravos nas Américas, 1660–1860* (São Paulo, 2004). A very good overview is provided by Herbert Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (Cambridge, 2010), bibliography: pp. 321–352.

3. John W. Sweet, “The Subject of the Slave Trade: Recent Currents in the Histories of the Atlantic, Great Britain, and Western Africa”, *Early American Studies*, 7 (2009), pp. 1–45; Eliga H. Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery”, *American Historical Review*, 112 (2007), pp. 764–786.

4. See the ongoing bibliographies of Joseph C. von Miller, *Slavery: A Worldwide Bibliography 1900–1982* (White Plains, NY, 1985); *idem*, *Slavery and Slaving in World History: A Bibliography*, 2 vols (Armonk, NY, 1999), now an annual supplementary volume to *Slavery & Abolition*; Jürgen Osterhammel, “Transferanalyse und Vergleich im Fernverhältnis”, in Hartmut Kaelble and Jürgen Schriewer (eds), *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Sozial-, Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften* (Frankfurt [etc.], 2003), pp. 439–466, 459–462; these two historiographies relate very well to the author list in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (New York, 2004).

5. Ibrahima Thioub, “Regard critique sur les lectures africaines de l’esclavage et de la traite atlantique”, in Issiaka Mandé and Blandine Stefanson (eds), *Les Historiens africains et la Mondialisation* (Paris, 2005), pp. 271–292.

Spanish-American forms of slavery (slaves being brothers in Christ with their masters). But because many investments (such as urban modernization in Barcelona, Seville, and Madrid, and large firms in the transport and banking sectors), as well as private wealth were drawn from the smuggling of slaves and from slavery to and in Cuba and Puerto Rico in the nineteenth century, the subject remains even today extremely thorny, being in fact scarcely known outside specialized historiographies.⁶

The hegemony of Anglo-American historiographies threatens a canonization, which is further promoted by a theoretizing history of historiography in central Europe, fixed on the USA, which basically rejects empirical research. The greater part of recent encyclopaedias, textbooks, and atlases of slavery and the slave trade express this hegemony.⁷ New empirical material is kept at bay with the dual argument that empirical research is quite impossible to conduct in such global-historical macro-connections as global history, plantation slavery, and the Atlantic slave trade (Atlantization).⁸ Along with the second argument, implicitly drawn from “media science”, of an almost exclusively “perception history”, this leads to a habitus of postmodern epistemology that is hard to attack, a habitus of impossible access to historical reality (and of the ever stronger self-reflexivity of present-day societies). It is from the fund of this slavery that the official memorial culture of slavery draws its material; its scenarios and scripts almost necessarily produce a new historicism.⁹

6. Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *La esclavitud en la América española* (Warsaw, 2002); *idem*, *Regulación de la esclavitud negra en las colonias de América Española (1503–1886): Documentos para su estudio* (Madrid [etc.], 2005); José Andrés-Gallego, *La esclavitud en la América española* (Madrid, 2005).

7. A selection: Kwame Anthony Appiah and Henry Louis Gates, Jr (eds), *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience* (New York, 1999); Seymour Drescher and Stanley L. Engerman (eds), *A Historical Guide to World Slavery* (New York [etc.], 1998); Toyin Falola and Amanda Warnock (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Middle Passage* (Westport, CT [etc.], 2007); Paul Finkelman and Joseph C. Miller (eds), *Macmillan Encyclopaedia of World Slavery*, 2 vols (New York, 1998); Robert L. Paquette and Mark M. Smith, *The Oxford Handbook of Slavery in the Americas* (Oxford, 2010); Junius Rodríguez (ed.), *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, 2 vols (Santa Barbara, CA, 1997); *idem*, *Chronology of World Slavery* (Santa Barbara, CA, 1999); Marcel Dorigny and Bernard Gainot (eds), *Atlas des esclavages. Traités, sociétés coloniales, abolitions de l'Antiquité à nos jours* (Paris, 2006); David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, foreword by David Brion Davis, afterword by David W. Blight (New Haven, CT [etc.], 2010); James Walvin, *Atlas of Slavery* (London [etc.], 2006).

8. On Atlantization, see M. Zeuske (with Javier Laviña), “Failures of Atlantization: First Slavery in Venezuela and Nueva Granada”, in Dale Tomich and Michael Zeuske (eds), *The Second Slavery: Mass Slavery, World-Economy, and Comparative Microhistories*, Part II, special issue of *Review: A Journal of the Fernand Braudel Center*, 31 (2008), pp. 297–343.

9. Stephan Palmié, “Slavery, Historicism, and the Poverty of Memorialization”, in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwartz (eds), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York, 2010), pp. 363–375.

EARLIER HISTORIOGRAPHIES OF SLAVERY

The starting points of the modern historiography of slavery are the earlier historiographies of religious orders and missions (including those of Sandoval, Labat, and Oldendorp), Cuban historiography (Saco, Ortiz, and Moreno Fraguinal), British West Indian radical thinkers (C.L.R. James, Eric Williams, and Walter Rodney),¹⁰ and Brazilian cultural sociology (Gilberto Freyre).¹¹ These studies developed against a broad background, particularly in the historiography of the Caribbean: Dominicans and Jesuits, but also the Bohemian Herrenhutens (Moravians), works by Caribbean planters and slaveholders such as Ligon, Long, Edwards, Moreau de Saint-Méry, and Arango, and a strongly metropolitan and often political-economy-oriented nineteenth-century historiography such as Merivale, Peytraud, and Nieboehr. Jesuit historiography, especially Tomás de Mercado and Alonso de Sandoval,¹² had aimed at enquiring into the rightness of Catholic proselytism and the conditions for it. The Jesuit universal mission thought and acted globally. It is interesting that John Kelly Thornton,¹³ in the context of a newly Africa-centred world historiography, has drawn massively on Alonso de Sandoval, and more recently also on Oldendorp (Protestant mission).

Starting in the nineteenth century, Cuban historiography was the first of the three major Atlantic-American traditions of slavery research, both chronologically and in a certain sense also in terms of its early quality. The slave culture of what was in the early nineteenth century the most efficient and compact plantation economy also led to research into slavery, and an ethnology and anthropology of slaves: Francisco de Arango y Parreño (1765–1837), the Adam Smith of the plantation economy, as well as one of the founding fathers of the theory of American

10. Francisco A. Scarano, "Slavery and Emancipation in Caribbean History", in Barry W. Higman (ed.), *General History of the Caribbean*, 6 vols, VI: *Methodology and Historiography of the Caribbean* (London [etc.], 1999), pp. 233–282; Winston James, *Holding Aloft the Banner of Ethiopia: Caribbean Radicalism in Early Twentieth-Century America* (London, 1998).

11. Gilberto Freyre, *Casa-grande & senzala* (Rio de Janeiro, 1933), 51st edn: *Casa-grande & senzala. Formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*, introduction by Fernando Henrique Cardoso, bibliography by Edson Nery da Fonseca, notes, reviews, and index by Gustavo Henrique Tuna (São Paulo, 2006); *idem*, *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*; transl. from the Portuguese of the 4th and definitive Brazilian edn by Samuel Putnam (New York, 1946).

12. Tomas Mercado, *Suma de tratos y contratos*, edn with introduction by Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz; transcription by Graciela S.B. de Sánchez-Albornoz, 2 vols (Madrid, 1977); Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, introduction, transcription and translation by Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid, 1987).

13. John K. Thornton, *Africa and the Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1880* (Cambridge, 1998); Margaret M. Olsen, "African Conversion as Jesuit Enterprise", in *idem*, *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias* (Gainesville, FL [etc.], 2004), pp. 60–91.

mass slavery and functional racism, influenced Alexander von Humboldt's essay on Cuba.¹⁴

But there was more. The owner of the "Surinam" *ingenio* and Professor of Latin at Havana, Anselmo Suárez y Romero (1818–1878),¹⁵ conducted a literary slave ethnology; José Antonio Saco (1797–1879), from the township of Bayamo in the east of Cuba, a functional racist like Arango, published one of the first comprehensive world histories of slavery (from the beginnings to around 1850).¹⁶ Cuba, in particular the *Cuba grande* of the technologized plantation economy in the west of the island, was the most "modern" slavery of the nineteenth century, which is why the first visualization of a slave economy in terms of global history, according to the rules of modernity, appeared in the words of an actor of slavery (Cantero/Laplante, *Los Ingenios*, a work from which almost all "authentic" illustrations in books about slavery are still drawn today, Mialhe, and Landaluze).¹⁷ The other strong visual culture of slavery was – not surprisingly – from Brazil (Rugendas, Debret, Thomas Ewbank, Maximilian Prinz zu Wied-Neuwied, Johann B. Spix, Carl F. Ph. Martius, Thomas Ender, Richard Bate, Carl Wilhelm von Thoremin, and Eduard Hildebrandt).

The first cultural history of slaves, arising from highly dubious beginnings in criminal ethnology at the start of the twentieth century

14. Francisco Arango y Parreño, "Representación hecha a S.M. con motivo de la sublevación de los esclavos en los dominios de la Isla de Santo Domingo" (20 November 1791), in *idem, Obras de D. Francisco de Arango y Parreño*, 2 vols (Havana, 1952), I, pp. 111–112; Dale W. Tomich, "The 'Second Slavery': Bonded Labor and the Transformations of the Nineteenth-Century World Economy", in Francisco O. Ramírez (ed.), *Rethinking the Nineteenth Century: Contradictions and Movement* (New York, 1988), pp. 103–117; Dale W. 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*, 1 (2003), pp. 4–28; *idem, Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Boulder, CO [etc.], 2004).

15. Anselmo Suárez y Romero, *Francisco. El ingenio o las delicias del campo (Las escenas pasan antes de 1838)*, prologue by Eduardo Castañeda (Havana, 1974); Martin Lienhard, "Afro-kubanische Oralität und ihre Darstellung in ethnologischen und literarischen Texten", in Ottmar Ette and Martin Franzbach (eds), *Kuba heute. Politik Wirtschaft Kultur* (Frankfurt, 2001), pp. 393–410.

16. José Antonio Saco, *Historia de la esclavitud desde los tiempos más remotos hasta nuestros días*, 3 vols, I and II (Paris, 1875), III (Barcelona, 1877/1878).

17. Justo G. Cantero, *Los Ingenios. Colección de vistas de los principales ingenios de azúcar de la isla de Cuba. Edición de lujo. El texto redactado por Justo G. Cantero, gentil hombre de la cámara de S.M. y alférez real de Trinidad. Las laminas dibujadas del natural y litografiadas por Eduardo Laplante. Dedicado a la Real Junta de Fomento* (Havana, 1857); facsimile: 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. El texto redactado por Cantero, Justo G. Con las láminas dibujadas del natural y litografiadas por Eduardo Laplante* (Madrid, 2005); see Michael Zeuske, "Sklavenbilder: Visualisierungen, Texte und Vergleich im atlantischen Raum (19. Jahrhundert, Brasilien, Kuba und USA)", *Zeitenblicke*, 7, no. 2, (1. 10. 2008), www.zeitenblicke.de/2008/2/zeuske; last accessed 28. 11. 2011.

(Cesare Lombroso), and the first “post-colonial” history of a society that owed its world-historical rise to slaves, the slave trade, and slavery, yet insults ex-slaves as all being “witches”, more or less, stems from the pen of Fernando Ortiz (1881–1969), the creator of the concept of *transculturación* that has become so important today in cultural history, post-colonialism, and subaltern studies.¹⁸

He was followed in the line of concealed transculturation by the essayist Miguel Barnet in 1966, with his prototype of testimonial literature that enjoyed worldwide success under the title *Biografía de un Cimarrón* – a white literature that speaks for blacks (a cultural technique of the actual-historical “transculturation” that existed also in the nineteenth century).¹⁹ Barnet’s “authentic” history was written against the broad background of the works of José Luciano Franco, Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, and Juan Pérez de la Riva,²⁰ as well as of the most important structural and social history of a concrete slavery society (*El Ingenio*, which basically only covered developments until around 1860).²¹ The first volume was published in 1964 by Manuel Moreno Fraginals (1920–2001). Moreno Fraginals belonged to one of the schools of Cuban slavery research that, in contrast to Fernando Ortiz, was based on structures and demography (linked above all with the names of Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, who also introduced the British-Caribbean and French-Caribbean concept of the “sugar revolution”, and Raúl Cepero Bonilla).²² In contrast to this, Barnet’s testimonial

18. Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros brujos (apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal)*. Carta prólogo del Dr C. Lombroso (Madrid, 1906); *idem*, *Hampa afro-cubana: Los negros esclavos. Estudio sociológico y de derecho public* (Havana, 1916), new edn publ. as *Los negros esclavos* (Havana, 1976); *idem*, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y del azúcar (advertencia de sus contrastes agrarios, económicos, históricos y sociales, su etnografía y su transculturación)*, introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski (Havana, 1940); *idem*, “El fenómeno social de la transculturación y su importancia en Cuba”, *Revista Bimestre Cubana*, 66 (July–December 1940), pp. 273–278.

19. Miguel Barnet, *Biografía de un cimarrón* (Havana, 1966).

20. José Luciano Franco, *Historia de la Revolución de Haití* (Havana, 1966); *idem*, *Los Palenques de los esclavos Cimarrones* (Havana, 1973); *idem*, “Piratas, corsarios, filibusteros y contrabandistas, siglo XVIII y XIX”, in *idem*, *Ensayos históricos* (Havana, 1974), pp. 45–92; *idem*, *Las Minas de Santiago del Prado y la rebelión de los Cobreiros* (Havana, 1975); *idem*, *Las conspiraciones de 1810 y 1812* (Havana, 1977); *idem*, *La diáspora africana en el Nuevo Mundo* (Havana, 1978); *idem*, *Comercio clandestino de esclavos* (Havana, 1996), bibliography on pp. 283–285; *idem*, *La presencia negra en el Nuevo Mundo* (Havana, 1981); Pedro Chapeaux Deschamps, *El negro en la economía habanera del siglo XIX* (Havana, 1971); *idem* and Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Contribución a la historia de gentes sin historia* (Havana, 1974).

21. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El Ingenio. Complejo económico social cubano del azúcar*, 3 vols (Havana, 1978).

22. Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, *Azúcar y población en las Antillas* (6th edn Havana, 1976, 1st edn Havana, 1927); Raúl Cepero Bonilla, *Azúcar y abolición: apuntes para una historia crítica del abolicionismo* (Havana, 1948); Barry W. Higman, “The Making of the Sugar Revolution”, in Alvin O. Thompson (ed.), *In the Shadow of the Plantation: Caribbean History and Legacy* (Kingston, 2002), pp. 40–71.

construction of the biography of a former slave and *cimarrón*, still readable today, gives the blacks a place in the national cycle of revolution, appreciating also their role in revolutionary leadership. On the whole, however, Cuban national history is still predominantly a “white” history,²³ overlaid today by the one-sided dominance of the US and Brazilian historiographies of slavery.²⁴

Not surprisingly, United States research into slavery society outside North America begins with Cuba, in the positivist book on the slave trade by Hubert H.S. Aimes (1907).²⁵ Aimes also began, at a very early date, to do comparative work on slavery in the Americas.²⁶ Other equally early works are those of Irene Aloha Wright,²⁷ who, however, dealt with early colonial history. The works of Frederick Douglass²⁸ and W.E.B. Dubois also appeared in the USA, as well as the oldest journal of “black history” (*The Journal of Negro History*, founded 1916). The 1940s, with the work of Fernando Ortiz and Melville J. Herskovits, saw the start of analysis of

23. Alejandro de la Fuente, “Introduction”, in *idem*, *“A Nation for All”: Race, Inequality, and Politics in Twentieth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill, NC [etc.], 2001), pp. 1–19; Volker Mollin, “La problemática de la historiografía nacional cubana”, in *idem*, *Guerra pequeña, guerra olvidada* (Santiago de Cuba, 2002), pp. 52–72.

24. Gloria García Rodríguez, *La esclavitud desde la esclavitud. La visión de los siervos* (Havana, 1996); María del Carmen Barcia Zequeira, *La otra familia. Parientes, redes y descendencia de los esclavos en Cuba* (Havana, 2003); Gloria García Rodríguez, “Tecnología y abolición”, in José A. Piqueras (ed.), *Azúcar y esclavitud en el final del trabajo forzado. Homenaje a M. Moreno Fraginals* (Madrid [etc.], 2002), pp. 76–92; Gloria García Rodríguez, *Conspiraciones y revueltas. La actividad política de los negros en Cuba (1790–1845)* (Santiago de Cuba, 2003); *idem*, “Los cabildos de nación: organización, vicisitudes y tensiones internas (1789–1868)”, *Del Caribe*, 43 (2004), pp. 65–73; *idem*, “El despegue azucarero de Cuba: la versión de Arango y Parreño”, in Imilcy Balboa and José A. Piqueras (eds), *La excepción americana. Cuba en el ocaso del imperio continental* (Valencia, 2006), pp. 155–175; Mercedes García Rodríguez, “Ingenios habaneros del siglo XVIII”, in Consuelo Naranjo Orovio and Miguel Ángel Puig-Samper (eds), *Las raíces históricas del pueblo cubano* (Madrid, 1991), pp. 113–138; Mercedes García Rodríguez, “El monto de la trata hacia Cuba en siglo XVIII”, in Naranjo Orovio and Tomás Mallo Gutiérrez (eds), *Cuba, la perla de la Antillas: Actas de las I Jornadas sobre “Cuba y su Historia”*, pp. 297–312; Mercedes García Rodríguez, “La Compañía del Mar del Sur y el Asiento de esclavos de Cuba”, *Santiago*, 76 (1993), pp. 121–170; *idem*, *Misticismo y capitales. La Compañía de Jesús en la economía habanera del siglo XVIII* (Havana, 2000); *idem*, *La aventura de fundar ingenios. La refacción azucarera en Havana del siglo XVII* (Havana, 2004); *idem*, *Entre Haciendas y Plantaciones. Orígenes de la manufactura azucarera en Havana* (Havana, 2007).

25. Hubert H.S. Aimes, *A History of Slavery in Cuba (1511 to 1868)* (New York, 1907; repr. New York, 1967).

26. *Idem*, “African Institutions in America”, *Journal of American Folklore*, 18 (January–March 1905), pp. 15–32.

27. Irene A. Wright, *The Early History of Cuba, 1492–1586* (New York, 1916); *idem*, “El establecimiento de la industria azucarera en Cuba”, *La Reforma social* (April–June 1916), pp. 26–42.

28. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself* [1845], David W. Blight (ed.) (Boston, MA, 1993).

the African background of slavery and the “black family”, the “forgotten memories” of slaves as well as the “myth of the negro past”;²⁹ somewhat later, Pierre Vergier began to study the connections of Bahia to Benin and the Gold Coast.³⁰ But predominantly, even in the universities, the view of history remained marked by the racist works of Ulrich B. Phillips.³¹ This bore mainly on slavery in the US, absolutizing this as the “peculiar institution”. Only with the extremely influential works of Frank Tannenbaum and Stanley Elkins³² did a new phase comparing the American and the global history of slavery set in (with the influential works of the Genoveses and Anglo-American historians),³³ and with the myth of the “mildness of Ibero-American slavery” (compared with its pathological severity in the USA) partly persisting through to today.³⁴

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SLAVERY

Somewhat outside the mainstream, beginning also in the 1950s, were anthropological studies in the Caribbean, their main protagonists being

29. E. Franklin Frazier, “The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil”, *American Sociological Review*, 7 (1942), pp. 465–478; Melville J. Herskovits, “The Negro in Bahia, Brazil: A Problem in Method”, *American Sociological Review*, 8 (1943), pp. 394–402; *idem*, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York, 1941; new edn Boston, MA, 1990); on this debate, see Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston, MA, 1992).

30. Nina S. Rodrigues, *O Animismo Fetichista dos Negros Bahianos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1932); Pierre Verger, *Bahia and the West African Trade, 1549–1851* (Lagos, 1964); *idem*, *Flux et reflux de la traite des nègres entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1963); *idem*, *Fluxo e refluxo do tráfico de escravos entre o golfo do Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos dos séculos XVII a XIX* (São Paulo, 1987); *idem*, *Os Libertos: sete caminhos na liberdade de escravos da Bahia no século XIX, Salvador* (Bahia, 1992).

31. Ulrich B. Phillips, “The Economic Cost of Slaveholding in the Cotton Belt”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 20 (June 1905); pp. 257–275; *idem*, “Slave Crime in Virginia”, *American Historical Review*, 20 (January 1915), pp. 336–340; on Phillips’s position in the historiography of slavery before *Time On the Cross*, see Daniel C. Littlefield, “From Phillips to Genoveses: The Historiography of American Slavery Before *Time On the Cross*”, in Wolfgang Binder (ed.), *Slavery in the Americas* (Erlangen, 1993), pp. 1–23.

32. Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (New York, 1946; repr. Boston, MA, 1992); Stanley M. Elkins, *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life* (Chicago, IL, 1959); on this debate, see Peter J. Parish, *Slavery: History and Historians* (New York, 1985).

33. Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (New York, 1983); for example, Stanley L. Engerman, “Slavery in World Perspectives”, in *idem*, *Slavery, Emancipation & Freedom: Comparative Perspectives* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2007), pp. 1–36; Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge, 2009).

34. Alejandro de la Fuente, “Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited”, *Law and History Review*, 22 (2004), pp. 339–369, www.press.uillinois.edu/journals/lhr/DLF22_2.pdf (28 June 2004).

Sidney W. Mintz and Eric Wolf, and researchers of slave resistance (like Richard Price and João Reis).³⁵ Both of these conducted empirical research in the field. They studied problems of rural populations (initially in Puerto Rico)³⁶ that lived in former slavery societies. The publications of Sidney Mintz, above all, produced a plethora of stimuli, methodological concepts, and theoretical reflections, which in a certain sense founded an anthropological history of slavery “from below”, from the perspective of slaves and former slaves as actors in a transnational history of the Caribbean, against the background of a pronounced historical translocality (without using this concept).³⁷ Mintz’s work continues to play an important role today, in debates over slave agency, creolity, and centralisms, particularly between Americanists and Africanists (Mintz and Price versus Thornton und Lovejoy etc.).³⁸

Since then, empirically and anthropologically oriented research has taken a mediating standpoint, opening on the one hand on to slave voices and the archaeology of the lives of slaves, the slave trade from an under-deck perspective, and the African diaspora along the line Africa–Atlantic–America, as well as the archaeology of the slave trade in West Africa, and on the other hand to a stronger visualization: (www.slaveryimages.org; Jerome S. Handler; Jane G. Landers; Christopher DeCorse etc.).³⁹ There have also

35. Richard Price (ed.), *Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas* (Baltimore, MD, 1979); João Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil. A história do levante dos malês em 1835* (São Paulo, 2003).

36. Sidney Mintz, *Worker in the Cane: A Puerto Rican Life History* (New York [etc.], 1974; 1st edn 1960).

37. A selection: Sidney Mintz and Eric R. Wolf, “An Analysis of Ritual Co-Parenthood (Compadrazgo)”, *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 6 (1950), pp. 341–365; Sidney Mintz, “The Caribbean as a Socio-Cultural Area”, *Journal of World History*, 9 (1966), pp. 912–937; *idem*, “Afro-Caribbeana: An Introduction”, in *idem*, *Caribbean Transformations* (Chicago, IL, 1974), pp. 1–42; Sidney Mintz and Sally Price (eds), *Caribbean Contours* (Baltimore, MD [etc.], 1985); Sidney Mintz, *Die süße Macht. Kulturgeschichte des Zuckers* (Frankfurt [etc.], 1986); Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston, MA, 1992); Sidney Mintz, *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Power, and the Past* (Boston, MA, 1996); Walton Look Lai, *Indentured Labor, Caribbean Sugar: Chinese and Indian Migrants to the British West Indies, 1838–1918*, with an introduction by Sidney W. Mintz (Baltimore, MD [etc.], 1993); Sidney Mintz, “The Localization of Anthropological Practice: From Area Studies to Transnationalism”, *Critique of Anthropology*, 18 (1998), pp. 117–133; Eric R. Wolf, *Peasant Wars in the Twentieth Century* (New York, 1969); *idem*, *Europe and the People without History* (Los Angeles, CA, [etc.], 1982).

38. Richard Price, “The Miracle of Creolization”, in Kevin A. Yelvington (ed.), *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues. Anthropology in the Diaspora* (Santa Fe, NM [etc.], 2006), pp. 115–147.

39. Jerome S. Handler, “Life Histories of Enslaved Africans in Barbados”, *Slavery & Abolition*, 19 (1998), pp. 129–141; *idem*, “Survivors of the Middle Passage: Life Histories of Enslaved Africans in British America”, *Slavery & Abolition* 23 (2002), pp. 25–56; *idem*, “The Middle Passage and the Material Culture of Captive Africans”, *Slavery & Abolition*, 30 (2009), pp. 1–26;

been studies of historiography and the history of ideas of slavery, starting, above all, with the works of Elsa W. Govea and David Brion Davis.⁴⁰

Under these conditions, research, historical sciences, and historical social sciences in the USA responded to the challenges of Caribbean “postcolonialism before postcolonialism” (especially made by Fernando Ortiz and Eric Williams).⁴¹ As a background, the works of economic history and quantitative studies also need to be mentioned, these likewise having their origins in the late 1950s,⁴² and later culminating in *Time on the Cross*,⁴³ in which it was shown from a standpoint of neoclassical economics that slaves in the USA worked more efficiently than free workers, and were relatively well provided for in terms of diet and medical care, without which it would be impossible to explain the growth of the slave population from around 400,000 in 1808 to something like 4 million in 1865, in the absence of the Atlantic slave trade (even though, in this timeframe, we do not really know how many slaves were smuggled into the USA from the Caribbean, and first of all from Cuba after 1820).⁴⁴ The line of quantitative research, without Fogel’s neoclassical series of assumptions, continues in what is today the most important social-historical data base on the Atlantic slave trade, under the direction of David Eltis, Herbert Klein, and David Richardson: Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database; www.slavevoyages.org.⁴⁵

Christopher DeCorse, *West Africa During the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives* (London, 2001); *idem*, *An Archaeology of Elmina: Africans and Europeans on the Gold Coast, 1400–1900* (Washington DC, 2001); Jane G. Landers and Barry Robinson (eds), *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque, NM, 2006).

40. Elsa V. Goveia, *A Study on the Historiography of the British West Indies to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Mexico City, 1956); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY, 1966).

41. Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (London, 1964, original edn, 1944); Barbara L. Solow, “Caribbean Slavery and British Growth: The Eric Williams Hypothesis”, *Journal of Developmental Economics*, 17 (1985), pp. 99–115; *idem*, “Capitalism and Slavery in the Exceedingly Long Run”, in *idem* and Stanley L. Engerman (eds), *British Capitalism and Caribbean Slavery: The Legacy of Eric Williams* (Cambridge, 1987).

42. Alfred H. Conrad and John R. Meyer, “The Economics of Slavery in the Ante Bellum South”, *Journal of Political Economy*, 6 (1958), pp. 95–130.

43. Robert William Fogel and Stanley Engerman, *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery* (New York [etc.], 1995, 1st edn 1974); Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery*, 4 vols (New York, 1989); *idem*, *The Slavery Debates, 1952–1990: A Retrospective* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2003).

44. Leonardo Marques, “A participação norte-americana no tráfico transatlântico de escravos para os Estados Unidos, Cuba e Brasil”, *Historia: Questões & Debates*, 52 (January–July 2010), pp. 91–111.

45. David Eltis and David Richardson (eds), *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT, 2008); Michael Zeuske, “Out of the Americas: Sklavenhändler und Hidden Atlantic im 19. Jahrhundert. Ein Forschungsprojekt am Historischen Seminar der Universität zu Köln”, *AHF Jahrbuch der historischen Forschung*

The intensive “slavery debate”, particularly in the USA, which was initially comparative and then also quantifying and social-historical,⁴⁶ has seen in the last forty years the introduction of computerized methods into the historical and social sciences. Together with the new approaches of Mintz and others, research into slaves and slavery has seen a blossoming of comparative research and new approaches from the side of culturalist-oriented world and global historiography, as well as a series of new research orientations, such as “racism and slavery”,⁴⁷ “transculturation, diaspora/migration history”,⁴⁸ including trans-Atlantic construction of identities, ethnicities, and Atlantic creoles,⁴⁹ “comparative history of slavery”,⁵⁰ “history from below”, not only of slavery as an institution but

in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, (2009), pp. 37–57, www.ahf-muenchen.de/Forschungsberichte/Jahrbuch2009/AHF_Jb2009_Zeuske.pdf.

46. Ulrike Schmieder, “War die iberamerikanische Sklaverei mild?“, *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte*, 4 (2003), pp. 115–132.

47. Starting with Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (eds), *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, NJ, 1975).

48. Ronald Segal, *The Black Diaspora* (London [etc.], 1995); *idem*, *Islam’s Black Slaves: The Other Diaspora* (New York, 2001); Isidore Okpewho, Carole Boyce Davies, and Ali A. Mazrui, (eds), *African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities* (Bloomington, IN, 1999); David Eltis (ed.), *Coerced and Free Migration: Global Perspectives* (Stanford, CA, 2002); Dirk Hoerder, *Cultures in Contact: World Migrations in the Second Millennium* (Durham, NC, 2002); Harald Kleinschmidt, “Early Forms of Colonialism and Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade”, in *idem*, *People on the Move: Attitudes Toward and Perception of Migration in Medieval and Modern Europe* (Westport, CT, 2003), pp. 150–159; Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York, 2007); Eric Robert Taylor, *If We Must Die: Shipboard Insurrections in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Baton Rouge, LA, 2006); Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA, 2007); Emma Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes, 1730–1807* (Cambridge, 2006); *idem*, Cassandra Pybus, and Marcus Rediker (eds), *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World* (Berkeley, CA, 2007); Beatrix Heintze and Achim von Oppen (eds), *Angola on the Move: Transport Routes, Communications and History/Angola em Movimento. Vias de Transporte, Comunicação e Histórica* (Frankfurt, 2008); Wim Klooster (ed.), *Migration, Trade, and Slavery in an Expanding World: Essays in Honor of Pieter Emmer* (Leiden, 2009); Patrick Manning, *The African Diaspora: A History Through Culture* (New York, 2009).

49. Thornton, *Africa and the Africans*; Paul E. Lovejoy (ed.), *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery* (London, 2000); Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (eds), *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World* (Bloomington, IN, 2004); Linda Heywood (ed.), *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge, 2002); Thornton Heywood, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundations of the Americas, 1585–1660*, (Cambridge, 2007).

50. Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery in the Americas: A Comparative Study of Virginia and Cuba* (Chicago, IL, 1967); Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI, 1970); Michael Zeuske, “The Names of Slavery and Beyond: The Atlantic, the Americas and Cuba”, in Ulrike Schmieder, Katja Füllberg-Stolberg, and Michael Zeuske (eds), *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas: A Comparative Approach* (Münster [etc.], 2011), pp. 51–80; Enrico Dal Lago, “Comparative Slavery”, in Paquette and Smith, *Oxford Handbook of Slavery in the Americas*, pp. 664–684.

first of all based on slave voices, life histories, and experiences, including “abolition and post-emancipation”,⁵¹ “social history of law and slavery”,⁵² “social history of medicine” (and sciences in general),⁵³ as well as international history, microhistory, in particular Atlantic history, history of the seas and migrations,⁵⁴ history of slaveries and creolizations in different spaces of the Indian Ocean,⁵⁵ or “translocal/transnational” cultural history,⁵⁶ with the variants of “new” imperial history,⁵⁷ histories of diasporas, and translocal south–south history.⁵⁸

More recently, the themes “religion and slavery” (if the slavers were only interested in the bodies of the enslaved, slaves in their agency transcended the individualities of the dead and the ubiquity of death),⁵⁹ “women, children, and slavery”,⁶⁰ and “gender and slavery”⁶¹ have also

51. Rebecca J. Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860–1899* (Princeton, NJ, 1985; repr. Pittsburgh, 2000); Michael Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik. Sklaven, Sklavereikulturen und Emanzipation* (Zurich, 2004).

52. Lauren Benton, “Law in Diaspora: The Legal Regime of the Atlantic World”, in *idem*, *Law and Colonial Cultures: Legal Regimes in World History, 1400–1900* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 31–79.

53. Steven Palmer, “From the Plantation to the Academy”, in David Wright, Juanita Barros, and Steven Palmer (eds), *Health and Medicine in the Circum-Caribbean, 1800–1968* (New York, 2009), pp. 53–75; Vincent Brown, *The Reaper’s Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, 2008).

54. Rediker, *The Slave Ship*; Taylor, *If We Must Die*; Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*; Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes*; *idem*, Pybus, and Rediker, *Many Middle Passages*.

55. Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben, *Being “Dutch” in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500–1920* (Athens, OH, 2008); Michael Mann, *Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel im Indik, 16. bis 20. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 2009) (Working Paper Series, No. 3), at www.uni-leipzig.de/ral/gchuman/documents/working_paper_series/RAL_WP_3_Mann_web.pdf (last accessed 31 October 2011); Richard B. Allen, “Suppressing a Nefarious Traffic: Britain and the Abolition of Slave Trading in India and the Western Indian Ocean, 1770–1830”, *William & Mary Quarterly*, 66 (2009), pp. 873–894; Tatiana Seijas, “The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila, 1580–1640”, *Itinerario: International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction*, 32 (2008), pp. 19–38.

56. Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA [etc.], 2005).

57. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ [etc.], 2010).

58. Susanne Freitag, “Translokalisierung als ein Zugang zur Geschichte globaler Verflechtungen”, <http://geschichte-transnational.clio-online.net/forum/2005-06-001> (11 June 2005).

59. Brown, *The Reaper’s Garden*; Joel James Figarola, *La muerte en Cuba* (Havana, 1999); *idem*, *Los sistemas mágico-religiosos cubanos: principios rectores* (Caracas, 1999).

60. Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (eds), *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, WI, 1983); Roger Sawyer, *Children Enslaved* (London [etc.], 1988); Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller (eds), *Women and Slavery*, 2 vols (Athens, OH, 2007–2008); *idem* (eds), *Children in Slavery through the Ages* (Athens, OH [etc.], 2009).

61. Diana Paton, “Decency, Dependence, and the Lash: Gender and the British Debate over Slave Emancipation, 1830–1834”, *Slavery & Abolition*, 17 (1996), pp. 162–184; *idem*,

begun to play major roles, the high point of research so far (resulting in new criteria of analysis for a genuinely global history of slavery from today's perspective) being the two volumes of *Women and Slavery* and *Children in Slavery*. The appearance of Joseph Miller's article of synthesis on this subject is also not accidental.⁶² A relatively new theme, in part influenced (but not solely) by the distortions of the perception history complained of above, is that of "slavery and memory".⁶³ In the USA and the Anglo-American language zone including Canada, ever more works are appearing that open to Atlantic and other historiographies, conducting *histoire croisée*, the history of workers (pirates, sailors, slaves), the transcultural roots of North America, and the importance of the Haitian revolution (1791–1803) for the world history of slaves, thematizing freedom and the Atlantic.⁶⁴ This has led in turn to new assessments of slaveries and the slave trade, as well as of transitional forms in Africa and in world or global history (coolies mostly from China and India)⁶⁵ also of

"Punishment, Crime, and the Bodies of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica", *Journal of Social History*, 34 (2001), pp. 923–954; *idem* and Pamela Scully, "Introduction: Gender and Slave Emancipation in Comparative Perspective", in Pamela Scully and Diana Paton (eds), *Gender and Slave Emancipation in the Atlantic World* (Durham, NC, 2005), pp. 1–34; Diana Paton, "Bibliographic Essay", in Scully and Paton, *Gender and Slave Emancipation*, pp. 328–356; Ulrike Schmieder, *Geschlecht und Ethnizität in Lateinamerika im Spiegel von Reiseberichten: Mexiko, Brasilien und Kuba 1780–1880* (Stuttgart, 2003).

62. Joseph C. Miller, "Domiciled and Dominated: Slavery as a History of Women", in Campbell, Miers, and Miller, *Women and Slavery*, II: *The Modern Atlantic*, pp. 284–312.

63. Ira Berlin, "American Slavery in History and Memory and the Search for Social Justice", *Journal of American History*, 90 (2004), pp. 1251–1268; Stefan Palmié, "Slavery, Historicism, and the Poverty of Memorialization", in Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwartz (eds), *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* (New York, 2010), pp. 363–375; Ana Lucia Araujo (ed.), *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Interactions, Identities, and Images* (Amherst, MA, 2011).

64. Dale Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Boulder, CO [etc.], 2004); Taylor, *If We Must Die*; Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery*; Christopher, *Slave Ship Sailors and Their Captive Cargoes*; Tomich and Zeuske, *The Second Slavery*; Laurent Dubois, Laurent and Julius S. Scott (eds), *Origins of the Black Atlantic* (New York, 2010).

65. On the historical context of the trade in Chinese coolie slaves to America, see Lin Yun, "Historical Context of Coolie Traffic to the Americas", in *idem*, *The Coolie Speaks: Chinese Indentured Laborers and African Slaves in Cuba* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), pp. 1–35; for the historiography, see Juan Jiménez Pastrana, *Los chinos en la liberación de Cuba* (Havana, 1963); *idem*, *Los Chinos en la historia de Cuba: 1847–1930* (Havana, 1983); Juan Pérez de la Riva, "El viaje a Cuba de los culiés chinos", in Chapeaux Deschamps and Pérez de la Riva, *Contribución a la historia de gentes sin historia*, pp. 191–213; Juan Pérez de la Riva, "El tráfico de culiés chinos", in *ibid.*, pp. 215–232; see also "Informe del señor D. Francisco Diago a la Real Junta de Fomento sobre el proyecto de inmigración china", in *ibid.*, pp. 219–223; Jiménez Pastrana, *Los Chinos en la historia de Cuba: 1847–1930* (Havana, 1983); William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "The Portuguese Contribution to the Cuban Slave and Coolie Trades in the Nineteenth Century", *Slavery & Abolition*, 5 (1984), pp. 25–33; Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "Chinese Coolie Labour in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century: Free Labour or Neo-Slavery?", *Slavery & Abolition*,

the eastern hemisphere (especially the Indian Ocean and India, as well as the Arab-Islamic zone).⁶⁶ New impulses for world and global history come especially from Africanists and Brazilianists, including the Atlantic dimension and different cosmologies;⁶⁷ from the new historiography of workers (Boutang, Linebaugh, Rediker, Van der Linden, Lucassen, and Brass);⁶⁸ while especially from Indian Marxist historians there has been a new assessment of global labour relationships including forms of slavery existing through to today.⁶⁹ Histories of slavery have been supplemented by a body of economic, political, and sociological studies of “labour compelled by force” (= slavery), or “free and unfree labour under conditions

14 (1993), pp. 67–86; The Cuba Commission Report, *A Hidden History of the Chinese in Cuba: The Original English-Language Text*, Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture, introduction by Denise Helly (Baltimore, MD [etc.], 1993); José Baltar Rodríguez, *Los chinos de Cuba. Apuntes etnográficos* (Havana, 1997); Evelyn Hu-DeHart, “Chinese in Cuba”, in Lingchi Wang and Gungwu Wang (eds), *The Chinese Diaspora* (Singapore, 1998); Naranjo Orovio and Imilcy Balboa Navarro, “Colonos asiáticos para una economía en expansión: Cuba, 1847–1880”, *Revista Mexicana del Caribe*, 8 (1999), pp. 32–65; Nadia Fernández de Pinedo Echevarría, “Chinos y yucatecos”, in *idem*, *Comercio exterior y fiscalidad: Cuba 1794–1860* (Bilbao, 2002), pp. 222–224; E. Hu-DeHart, “Opium and Social Control: Coolies on the Plantations of Peru and Cuba”, *Journal of Chinese Overseas*, 1 (2005), pp. 169–183; Eduardo Marrero Cruz, “Traficante de esclavos y chinos”, in Marrero Cruz, *Julián de Zulueta y Amondo. Promotor del capitalismo en Cuba* (Havana, 2006), pp. 46–79; Kathleen López, “Afro-Asian: Marriage, Godparentage, and Social Status in Late-Nineteenth Cuba”, *Afro-Hispanic Review*, 27 (2008), pp. 59–72; on coolie traffic from a macrohistorical perspective, see Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker, *Many Middle Passages*.

66. William Gervase Clarence-Smith (ed.), *The Economics of the Indian Ocean Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1977); Gwyn Campbell (ed.), *The Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (London [etc.], 2004).

67. Paul E. Lovejoy and Robin Law, “The Changing Dimensions of African History: Reappropriating the Diaspora”, in Simon McGrath, Charles Jedrej, Kenneth King, and Jack Thompson (eds), *Rethinking African History* (Edinburgh, 1997), pp. 181–200; Thornton, *Africa and the Africans, passim*; Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes*; Curto and Lovejoy, *Enslaving Connections, passim*; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 2000); *idem* (ed.), *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam* (Princeton, NJ, 2004).

68. Jan Lucassen, “Free and Unfree Labour before the Twentieth Century: A Brief Overview”, in Tom Brass, Marcel van der Linden, and Jan Lucassen (eds), *Free and Unfree Labour* (Amsterdam, 1993), pp. 7–18; Tom Brass and Marcel van der Linden (eds), *Free and Unfree Labour: The Debate Continues* (Bern [etc.], 1997); Yann Moulier-Boutang, *De l’esclavage au salariat. Economie historique du salariat brisé* (Paris, 1998); Marcel van den Linden, “Zur Sozialgeschichte des revolutionären Atlantiks”, *Zeitschrift für Weltgeschichte*, 10 (2009), pp. 159–169.

69. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (London, 2000); Rediker, *The Slave Ship*; Christopher, Pybus, and Rediker, *Many Middle Passages*; Marcel van der Linden, *Transnational Labour History: Explorations* (Aldershot, 2003); Karl-Heinz Roth and Marcel van der Linden, “Karl Marx und das Problem der Sklavenarbeit”, in Marcel van der Linden and Karl-Heinz Roth (eds), with the collaboration of Max Henninger, *Über Marx hinaus. Arbeitsgeschichte und Arbeitsbegriff in der Konfrontation in den globalen Arbeitsverhältnisse des 21. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin [etc.], 2009), pp. 581–586.

of globalization”, that arose in parallel with the new cultural paradigm of the “black Atlantic” (Paul Gilroy).⁷⁰

In general, slaves were and are classed by their contemporaries in the lowest and most dishonourable rank of society, expressed above all in violence against bodies and control over the bodies of the enslaved. Even when they have assumed quite high positions as domestic slaves, soldiers, or luxury slaves, their position has always been extremely precarious, “radically uncertain”, as Brent D. Shaw formulated it.⁷¹ This is basically also what the American sociologist Orlando Patterson meant by “ultimative slave” and “social death”.⁷² Patterson’s cultural-sociological concept of “social death” is particularly interesting in this connection, and particularly contested.⁷³ It holds that slaves were not only torn away from their community of origin, but also as members of the same group as their master or mistress they were non-persons in the enslaving society. They had no “honour” and were not “persons”, as defined by the community in which they were forced to live. They had no “freedoms”, in the sense of the European medieval discourse, or at least only very few, and even these were in general not formally defined. They were thus excluded from normal life, and formed almost a kind of social zombie condition, the undead dead.⁷⁴ Their position was bound up with shame, dishonour, insecurity, lack of “freedoms” and loss of status, fatherlessness, as well as such degrading characteristics as slave names.

Anthropologists, historians and social scientists have developed other models of slavery (e.g. Herman Jeremias Nieboer, Moses I. Finley, Claude Meillassoux, Paul E. Lovejoy, Albert Wirz, S. Fenoaltea, Martin A. Klein, Joseph E. Inikori, David Eltis, and John K. Thornton),⁷⁵ or else used no

70. Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (London, 1993); Michael Mann, “Die Mär von der freien Lohnarbeit. Menschenhandel und erzwungene Arbeit in der Neuzeit. Ein einleitender Essay”, in *idem* (ed.), *Menschenhandel und unfreie Arbeit*, (Leipzig, 2003), also *Comparativ*, 13:4 (2003), pp. 7–22; Christine Chivallon, “Beyond Gilroy’s Black Atlantic: The Experience of African Diaspora”, *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 3:11 (2002), pp. 359–382; Dale W. Tomich, “Atlantic History and World Economy: Concepts and Constructions”, *Proto Sociology: An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research*, 20 (2004), pp. 102–121.

71. Brent D. Shaw, “‘A WOLF BY THE EARS’: M.I. Finley’s *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* in Historical Context”, in Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, expanded edn, Brent D. Shaw (ed.) (Princeton, NJ, 1998), pp. 3–74 (latest edn, with an excellent introduction).

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

73. David Brion Davis, “The Ancient Foundations of Modern Slavery”, in *idem*, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York, 2006), pp. 27–47, 30–32.

74. Leonhard Schumacher, *Sklaverei in der Antike. Alltag und Schicksal der Unfreien* (Munich, 2001), p. 59.

75. Herman J. Nieboer, *Slavery as an Industrial System: Ethnological Researches* (The Hague, 1900; 2nd expanded edn 1910; repr. New York, 1971); Claude Meillassoux, *Anthropologie de*

explicit models (Georges Scelle,⁷⁶ and Charles Verlinden⁷⁷). Werner Scheidel has repeatedly indicated the characteristics of “slave economies” as distinct from Finley’s concept of “slave society”, and discussed various models of relationship between societies and slaveries.⁷⁸ In some cases, models of slavery start from a large number of enslaved individuals and their fundamental importance for the economy, social structures, and social processes, in part also for the mentality and social psychology of most societies in world history. In the most important new global-historical approach, Joseph C. Miller has attempted to combine all the aspects of slavery (the capture, trade and transport of slaves, as well as the different sectors of slavery) under the concept of “slaving”, also in order to dynamize the extreme structuralizing of the concepts of “slavery systems” or Finley’s “slave societies” and “societies with slaves”.⁷⁹ Miller presents tables on epochs of slaving, stretching from prehistory into the future, and appends to these three global-historical tables on “novelties in the Atlantic”, designed to emphasize what was specific about Atlantic slavery.⁸⁰

Of particular weight for a world and global history of slavery is Moses I. Finley’s attempt, which as I said, I greatly respect, to elaborate the

l’esclavage – le ventre de fer et le argent (Paris, 1986), p. 20. Meillassoux’s work is intended as a theoretical (and thus very systematic) essay on the institution of slavery, on the basis of the author’s knowledge of the historical Sudan and West Africa in general. Paul E. Lovejoy has spoken of slavery in Africa as “a marginal feature of society”, “slavery as an institution”, and “slavery as a mode of production”, in the sense of the graduated dependence of different African societies on slavery. The African forms of slavery would in his view have been “transformed” under the pressure of the European slave trade (“transformation thesis”). By and large, there was supposedly in Africa, where enslavement took place, slavery as an institution, in America slavery as a system. See Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*. Albert Wirz speaks of plantation slavery, lineage, and domestic slavery; see A. Wirz, *Sklaverei und kapitalistisches Weltsystem* (Frankfurt, 1984), pp. 14 ff.; S. Fenoaltea, “Slavery and Supervision in Comparative Perspective: A Model”, *Journal of Economic History*, 44 (1984), pp. 635–668; Martin A. Klein, “Introduction: Modern European Expansion and Traditional Servitude in Africa and Asia”, in *idem, Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia* (Madison, WI, 1993), pp. 3–36; Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman (eds), *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe* (Durham, NC [etc.], 1992); Thornton, *Africa and the Africans, passim*. Thornton’s speciality is the historical Congo and the Atlantic dimension of the African diaspora; David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge, 1999).

76. Georges Scelle, *La traite négrière aux Indes de Castille: Contrats et traités d’assiento*, 2 vols (Paris, 1905–1906).

77. Charles Verlinden, *L’Esclavage dans l’Europe medieval*, 2 vols (Bruges, 1955 and Gand, 1977).

78. Walter Scheidel, “The Comparative Economics of Slavery in the Greco-Roman World”, in Enrico Dal Lago and Constantina Katsari (eds), *Slave Systems: Ancient and Modern* (Cambridge [etc.], 2008), pp. 105–126.

79. Joseph C. Miller, “Slaving as Historical Process: Examples from the Ancient Mediterranean and the Modern Atlantic”, in Dal Lago and Katsari, *Slave Systems*, pp. 70–102.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–102.

absoluteness of antique slavery vis-à-vis other forms of forced and involuntary labour.⁸¹ Many of Finley's arguments still deserve consideration today, as Brent D. Shaw also stresses in his introduction to Finley's works. One thing, however, is missing: it is always historians of classical antiquity who emphasize the idea of the exceptionality of their object of investigation. Two of Finley's most important arguments are that of the "individuality" of enslavement and that of the inadequate reproduction of slave groups. The reality of the individuality of enslavement as a common basis of all conceivable types of slavery and unfree labour still requires further discussion and analysis – particularly in terms of world history. My own position is rather that of an actual similarity of basic characteristics of coerced and unfree labour as defined on the basis of slaveries (and of their historic individualities in particular contexts), above all because only this concept makes it possible for us to conceptualize in an integrative way the types and forms of slaveries in world and global history – from the perspective of the twenty-first century.

The "individuality" of antique slavery, in view of the mass enslavement of women, children, and prisoners of war in kin-slaveries and worldwide with the rise of other slaveries "without the name of slavery", and in cultures with different norms, is rather a product on the one hand of the process of the sharper characterization of antique slave status in Roman law, and on the other hand of the reconstruction of Roman law in the thirteenth century against the background of the Italian slave trade (Genoa and Venice), above all along the line "from the Mongols to the Mamelukes", but also of the global spread of Roman law with the European expansion and the "new" Atlantic slavery from c.1300–1650. One position seems to be clearer and clearer with ongoing research: the "new" Atlantic slavery raids in Africa, the peripheral Iberians, and later other Europeans, used the forces of transculturation/creolization and a technological complex around their ocean-going ships to overtake and control the Middle Passage.⁸²

The African and Atlantic slave trade, however, as well as Atlantic slaveries in modern times, are at the same time far more. In the rise of the "creole space" (the Atlantic, ocean shores and coastal zones, but also used for places around the Indian Ocean), as well as of trans-local and trans-imperial spaces of slavery, "before the nation", as it were, and also in the fate of those affected, we see the founding violence, zones of influence, the spirit of the time, underlying structures, languages, and the beginnings of globalizations; slaveries, and especially the "new" Atlantic slavery and globalization, also show the "meaning" of early colonial expansions. It is

81. M.I. Finley, "The Emergence of a Slave Society", in *idem*, *Ancient Slavery*, pp. 135–160, 137–145.

82. Tobias Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300–1589* (Cambridge [etc.], 2011).

with the slave trade and slaveries that the diasporas of African people in the Atlantic world (and beyond) arose. The “creole space”⁸³ of Atlantization and early capital formation was marked by the most varied creole languages, displaying a common feature of “African” basic structures and European vocabulary.

The most important Atlantic bearers of the culture of the trade in humans and the Atlantization of Africa, Europe, and the Americas were Atlantic creoles even “beyond the Atlantic” (by and large, in the first generation, descendants of European fathers and indigenous mothers, whose families were generally in charge). In the early period of Atlantization (1300–1580), Atlantic creoles (*tangomaõs* and *lançados*) played a leading role in trade in humans, particularly including the early transport of slaves to America after 1493. They had to deal very soon with the counter-reactions of monopolization and company formation, as well as marginalization and attempts at exclusion on the part of all other profiteers in the slave and human trade, including Europe-, Africa- and America-based sovereigns, monopolists, and wholesale banker-merchants (shipowners and *armadores*). For this reason, they often found themselves alongside former slaves, pirates, corsairs, and other anti-monopolists, or in general enemies of state regulations (*cimarronaje* as Caribbean-Atlantic culture).⁸⁴ In the wake of the formation of the Anglo-Atlantic and a deliberate policy of Christianization and Europeanization (generally also with national exclusiveness), Atlantic creoles were often, though not always, pressed into service functions in relation to the European-Christian and “white”-dominated slave trade. Despite this, they remained, even en masse, bearers of a still scarcely researched Atlantic culture, and bearers of networks between America and Africa.

As opposed to the enslaved, who undoubtedly also included a number of Atlantic creoles (Ira Berlin), slave traders or their employees habitually moved between continents on the sea (or on rivers into the continental mass), i.e. back and forward, not just as slaves from Africa to America.⁸⁵ The spread of maize, manioc (yucca and cassava), European cattle, horses, herd and guard animals (in particular, cattle, mules, horses, and dogs), groundnuts and tobacco, as well as Atlantic epidemics, formed an irregular biological background to these diasporas. The spread of yucca/manioc and of preservable tapioca flour characterized the early slave empire of Brazil-Congo-Angola. Alcohol and tobacco were a particular consumption vice of

83. Angela Bartens, *Der kreolische Raum: Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Helsinki, 1996).

84. Jane G. Landers, “Cimarrón Ethnicity and Cultural Adaptation in the Spanish Domains of the Circum-Caribbean, 1503–1763”, in Lovejoy, *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, pp. 30–54.

85. Michael Zeuske, “Mongos und Negereros: Atlantische Sklavenhändler im 19. Jahrhundert und der iberische Sklavenhandel 1808/1820–1873”, *Periplus. Jahrbuch für außereuropäische Geschichte*, 20 (2010), and Christine Hatzky and Ulrike Schmieder (eds), *Sklaverei und Postemanzipationsgesellschaften in Afrika und in der Karibik*, (Münster, 2010), pp. 57–116.

the slave trade and the enslaved, but also goods for exchange in the slave and human trade. The extent to which opium and cocaine also played a role alongside alcohol and tobacco remains to be studied.

The capture of slaves, the slave trade, and slaveries were part of an early human capitalism, which from the start of the modern age in the narrower sense (c.1870) drew Africa into active capitalist development, but a development that in the Christian Atlantic states was deliberately marginalized (racist arguments about civilization and Christianity), and only by the fixing of capital value in money, along with European manufactured goods, became the instrument of early European trading capitalism in Europe and in the European colonies, summarized in the term *rescate* and broadly traceable in the history of the word *razzia* (trade/theft/enslavement).⁸⁶ The trading routes of early mercantile capitalism were often mainly the routes of slave ships and slave caravans; the real rise in value took place on the marginalized Atlantic lines of the Middle Passage between Africa and the Americas. And both Atlantic slavery and the slaveries on the shores of the Indian Ocean and in the maritime lands of South-East Asia offer the most important and largest historical foundation for all forms of unfree labour in modern times.

THE DOMINANCE OF “GREAT SLAVERIES”

A basic problem of the structure of slavery and slave-trade research with a global-history orientation is its fixation on “great” slaveries. The reason for this is evidently that these “great” slaveries, meaning from a European perspective above all Roman slavery, produced a great corpus in terms of texts, legal discourses, essays, and historiographies, and still continue to produce these – studies of antiquity are among the strongest legitimization of European and neo-European superiority. With the other “great” hegemonic slavery: i.e. the Islamic-Persian-Egyptian-Indian, which produced a similar wealth of texts and historiographies, the European or North American perspective already has a harder time as well as with the “great slaveries” in Africa.⁸⁷

Studies on the long-run history of the most varied local “small” slaveries “without the name of slavery” (but with a large number of specific names

86. Germán Peralta Rivera, *Los mecanismos del comercio negrero* (Lima, 1990).

87. Gabriel Baer, “Slavery in Nineteenth Century Egypt”, *Journal of African History (JAfrH)*, 8 (1967), pp. 417–441; Paul E. Lovejoy, “Plantations in the Economy of the Sokoto Caliphate”, *JAfrH*, 19 (1978), pp. 341–368; *idem*, “The Characteristics of Plantations in the Nineteenth-Century Sokoto Caliphate (Islamic West Africa)”, *American Historical Review*, 84 (1979), pp. 1267–1292; Frederick Cooper, *From Slaves to Squatters: Plantation Labor and Agriculture in Zanzibar and Coastal Kenya 1890–1925* (New Haven, CT, 1980); *idem*, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (Portsmouth, NH, 1997); Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*; Stephanie Beswick and Jay Spaulding (eds), *African Systems of Slavery* (Trenton, NJ, 2010).

and legal conceptualizations), or of slaveries based on kinship, raiding or sacrifice, can be found in the realm of ethnology and non-European anthropology; also in the local historiographies of many colonial areas and expansion processes (including Europe, for example, Carolingian and Viking expansion), pre-colonial regions and zones of contact between Europeans, their successors, and non-Europeans.⁸⁸

If there are beginnings of research into “prehistoric” forms of slavery or slaveries outside antique Greece and Rome (Gronenborn, Peschel, Heinen, Sommer, and Taylor),⁸⁹ most of these are overlaid by hegemonic slaveries, and have been conceptualized as “special forms” (like the slavery of the helots, a kind of slavery *Sonderweg*), quite markedly in the case of Finley’s “individuality” of antique Mediterranean slavery; “overwritten”, as media theory would put it. In this way, the history of slavery is repeatedly canonized in a kind of formation theory after the model “ancient-East-antiquity– (more recently) Islam–American-plantation-slavery–abolition–end”. The problem of a global perspective on slaveries and human trafficking in the twenty-first century is that today visible “great” slaveries in the tradition of “hegemonic” slaveries or legal ownership over human bodies no longer exist. The most interesting cases of different forms of slaveries (colonate, *Leibeigenschaft*, Viking and other Scandinavian slaveries, slaveries of the Mongols, Russians, or Chinese, or the

88. As representative of these: Walter Rodney, “African Slavery and Other Forms of Social Oppression on the Upper Guinea Coast in the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade”, *Journal of African History*, 7 (1966), pp. 431–443; António Carreira, *O tráfico de escravos nos rios de Guiné e Ilhas de Cabo Verde (1810–1850): Subsídios para o seu estudo* (Lisbon, 1981); Robertson and Klein, *Women and Slavery in Africa*; Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (eds), *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, WI, 1977); Suzanne Miers and Richard Roberts (eds), *The End of Slavery in Africa* (Madison, WI, 1988); Suzanne Miers and Martin A. Klein, *Slavery and Colonial Rule in Africa* (London, 1998), also published as a special issue of *Slavery & Abolition*, 19:2 (1998); Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*; John K. Thornton, “Slavery and African Social Structure”, in *idem*, *Africa and the Africans*, pp. 72–97; *idem*, “Africa: The Source”, in Mariners’ Museum, *Captive Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Making of the Americas* (Washington DC [etc.], 2002), pp. 35–51; James F. Brooks, *Captives & Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2002); Pauline T. Strong, “Transforming Outsiders: Captivity, Adoption, and Slavery Reconsidered”, in Philipp J. Deloria and Neil Salisbury (eds), *A Companion to American Indian History* (Malden, MA, 2004), pp. 339–356.

89. Detlef Gronenborn, “Zum (möglichen) Nachweis von Sklaven/Unfreien in prähistorischen Gesellschaften Mitteleuropas”, pp. 1–42, and Heinz Heinen, “Sklaverei im nördlichen Schwarzmeerraum: zum Stand der Forschung”, pp. 487–503, both in Heinz Bellen and Heinz Heinen (eds), *Fünfzig Jahre Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei an der Mainzer Akademie 1950–2000. Miscellanea zum Jubiläum* (Stuttgart, 2001); Karl Peschel, “Archäologisches zur Frage der Unfreiheit bei den Kelten während der vorrömischen Eisenzeit”, *Ethnographisch-Archäologische Zeitschrift*, 31 (1990), pp. 370–417; Timothy Taylor, “Believing the Ancients: Quantitative and Qualitative Dimensions of Slavery and the Slave Trade in Later Prehistoric Eurasia”, *World Archaeology*, 33 (2001), pp. 27–43.

slavery of gypsies in Romania) and slave trades are debated today in medieval Eurasian history, far from this formation theory and in a comparative perspective with African forms of slavery.⁹⁰

All the “prehistoric”, “small” slaveries belong to the major genus of kin- and age-group slaveries. Without the types of kin-slavery and transitional forms to larger slaveries (as with the Phoenicians and Etruscans),⁹¹ it is impossible to understand slavery outside the realm in which the concept of slavery in the “Roman” tradition applies; neither pre-colonial slaveries and the slave trades in Africa⁹² and in the Americas “without Europeans” nor elsewhere on the globe, including the dynamics of early slave exchange between Africans and Europeans, or Europeans and indigenous peoples, in the Americas. The sources of the Atlantic slave trade and the “great” slaveries formed on this basis lie in the “small” slaveries and the dynamic raiding slaveries of Africa, and, despite royal prohibition, also in the “small” slaveries on the peripheries of the European colonial empires in the Americas.⁹³

Kin slaveries also existed within the “great” plantation slaveries, as Gilberto Freyre has impressively shown from the example of Brazil (this despite his conceptual errors). In other plantation societies, too, slave-owners and their employees had children with slave women. And in terms of perspective, it is particularly important to point out that present-day forms of slavery can no longer be grasped in terms of the concepts of “great” slaveries, but only those concepts of “small” slavery and concealed debt slaveries. Today, in 2012, far more slaves (and human trafficking in different kinds) exist than at any time in the past (estimates reaching from 27 million to as much as 270 million). The problem of the literature dealing with today’s forms of slavery and trade in humans is, that, with few exceptions (for example Kevin Bales),⁹⁴ it is too much focused on

90. Joseph E. Inikori, “Slaves or Serfs? A Comparative Study of Slavery and Serfdom in Europe and Africa”, in Okpewho, Davies, and Mazrui, *African Diaspora*; Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communication and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge, 2001); *idem*, “New Light on the ‘Dark Ages’: How the Slave Trade Fuelled the Carolingian Economy”, *Past and Present*, 177 (2002), pp. 17–54; Joachim Hennings, “Strong Rulers – Weak Economy? Rome, the Carolingians and the Archaeology of Slavery in the First Millennium AD”, in Jennifer Davis and Michael McCormick (eds), *The Long Morning of Medieval Europe: New Directions in Early Medieval Studies* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 33–53; Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History* (Budapest, 2004).

91. Michael Sommer, *Die Phönizier. Handelsherren zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 249–264.

92. Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge, 1990); *idem* (ed.), *Slave Trades, 1500–1800: Globalisation of Forced Labour* (Aldershot, 1996).

93. Michael Zeuske, “Sklaven und Kin-Sklavereien”, *Amerindian Research. Zeitschrift für indianische Kulturen von Alaska bis Feuerland*, 5:2 (no. 16) (2010), pp. 92–104.

94. Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy* (Berkeley, CA, 2004); *idem*, *The Slave Next Door: Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today* (Berkeley, CA, 2009).

prostitution, transnational crime, or illegal migration, and separated from history in the very long run (*longue durée*), particularly that of these “small” forms of slavery and pawn-slaveryes.

GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY ON SLAVERY

Research on Atlantic slavery and other types of slavery in Germany can be described as an alternation between brilliance and silence. The brilliance was in the past, the silence is today.⁹⁵ There is scarcely anything theoretical any more. Some of the earliest works of synthesis on the slave trade came from the pens of German historians (especially Römer, Sell, Sprengel, Hüne, and Häbler).⁹⁶ The most important liberal manifesto against slavery in the nineteenth century was Alexander von Humboldt’s *Essay über die Insel Cuba*.⁹⁷ Karl Marx had at least certain theoretical ideas about slavery (his misunderstanding of slavery as

95. This is of course meant relatively. See, for example: Heinz Heinen (ed.), *Menschenraub, Menschenhandel und Sklaverei in antiker und moderner Perspektive. Ergebnisse des Mitarbeitertreffens des Akademievorhabens Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei (Mainz, 10 October 2006)* (Stuttgart, 2008); Elisabeth Hermann-Otto, “Die antike Sklaverei und ihre Rezeption”, in *idem, Sklaverei und Freilassung in der griechisch-römischen Welt* (Hildesheim, 2009), pp. 43–50; Heinz Heinen (ed.), *Antike Sklaverei: Rückblick und Ausblick. Neue Beiträge zur Forschungsgeschichte und zur Erschließung der archäologischen Zeugnisse* (Stuttgart, 2010); see also the chapter “Die hässlichen Seiten des Lebens – Diskriminierung, Gewalt und Verbrechen”, in Eberhard Schmitt (ed.), *Dokumente zur Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, 5 vols (Munich, 1986–1988); I–IV, and V: Eberhard Schmitt and Thomas Beck (eds) *Das Leben in den Kolonien* (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 396–477.

96. Ludwig Ferdinand Römer, *Die Handlung verschiedener Völker auf der Küsten Guinea und in Westindien* (Copenhagen, 1758); *idem, Nachrichten von der Küste Guinea. Mit einer Vorrede v. D. Erich Pontoppidan, aus dem Dänischen übersetzt* (Copenhagen [etc.], 1769); Matthias Christian Sprengel, *Vom Ursprung des Negerhandels, ein Antrittsprogramm* (Halle, 1779); Johann Jakob Sell, *Versuch einer Geschichte des Negerclavenhandels* (Halle, 1791); Albert Hüne, *Vollständige historisch-philosophische Darstellung aller Veränderungen des Negerclavenhandels von dessen Ursprunge an bis zu seiner gänzlichen Aufhebung*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1820); Johann Andreas Riemer, *Missionsreise nach Surinam und Berbice zu einer am Surinamflusse im dritten Grad der Linie wohnenden Freynegegnation. Nebst einigen Nachrichten über die Missionsanstalten der Bruderunität zu Paramaribo (Mit Kupffern)* (Zittau [etc.], 1801); Konrad Häbler, “Die Anfänge der Sklaverei in Amerika”, *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 4 (1896), pp. 176–223.

97. Alexander von Humboldt, *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*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1826); *idem, Cuba-Werk. Hrsg. u. komm. von Hanno Beck in Verbindung mit W.-D. Grün et al.* (Darmstadt, 1992), Alexander von Humboldt Studienausgabe. Sieben Bände. Bd. III (= Humboldt, *Cuba-Werk*); see also my essay on Humboldt: M. Zeuske, “Humboldt, Historismus, Humboldtianisierung”, part 1, *Humboldt im Netz (HiN), International Review for Humboldtian Studies*, 2:3 (2001), www.unipotsdam.de/u/romanistik/humboldt/hin/hin3.htm; part 2, *HiN*, 3:4 (2002), www.unipotsdam.de/u/romanistik/humboldt/hin/hin_4.htm.

“an anomaly in capitalism”),⁹⁸ and on the connection between “primitive” accumulation, English industrial capitalism, the slave trade, and slavery. It is clear today that accumulation is (up to now) eternal and that slavery is indeed capitalism.⁹⁹ It is also increasingly clear that the Islamic territories and Africa also had a centrality because of their dynamic slaving, and it was peripheral spaces in the economic system (seen from north-western Europe), as in modern times the Americas (especially the USA, but also Brazil, Mexico, Cuba, Venezuela, Colombia and many other places) whose world-historical importance profited from the slave trade, slavery, forced migration, implanted resources, natural conditions and racism.¹⁰⁰

In the German language there is today no modern scientific synthesis on Atlantic slavery, and little genuine research. Important works stem from the Africa historians Heinrich Loth, Albert Wirz, Helmut Bley, and Jan-Georg Deutsch,¹⁰¹ as well as from world-history oriented historians such as Wolfgang Reinhard¹⁰² und Jürgen Osterhammel,¹⁰³ historians of Latin America have dealt with the slave trade and slavery more in essays.¹⁰⁴

98. Karl Marx, *Grundrisse* (London, 1973), p. 463; Wilhelm Backhaus, *Marx, Engels und die Sklaverei: zur ökonomischen Problematik der Unfreiheit* (Düsseldorf, 1974); Claude Meillassoux, *Antropología de la esclavitud* (Mexico City, 1990), pp. 20–23; M. Zeuske, “Skaven in der deutschen Geschichtsschreibung”, in *idem* (ed.), *Nach der Sklaverei. Grundprobleme amerikanischer Postemanzipationsgesellschaften* (Leipzig, 1997), = *COMPARATIV. Leipziger Beiträge zur Universalgeschichte und zur vergleichenden Gesellschaftsforschung*, 7:1 (1997), pp. 7–17.

99. Marcel van der Linden, “Eine einfache und dennoch schwer zu beantwortende Frage: Warum gab (und gibt) es Sklaverei im Kapitalismus?”, in M. Kabadayi, M. Erdem, and Tobias Reichardt, *Unfreie Arbeit. Ökonomische und kulturgeschichtliche Perspektiven* (Hildesheim [etc.], 2007), pp. 260–279; Roth and Van der Linden, “Karl Marx und das Problem der Sklavenarbeit”, pp. 581–586.

100. Margarete Grandner and Andrea Komlosy (eds), *Vom Weltgeist beseelt. Globalgeschichte 1700–1815* (Vienna, 2004); David Eltis, Frank Lewis, and Kenneth Sokoloff (eds), *Slavery in the Development of the Americas* (Cambridge, 2004).

101. Jan-Georg Deutsch, “Sklaverei als historischer Prozeß”, in *idem* and Albert Wirz (eds), *Geschichte in Afrika. Einführung in Probleme und Debatten* (Berlin, 1997), pp. 53–74.

102. Wolfgang Reinhard, “Frühneuzeitliche Negersklaverei und ihre Bedeutung für Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft”, *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, 37 (1986), pp. 660–672. Reinhard’s major works on the history of colonialism include further details on slavery.

103. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Sklaverei und die Zivilisation des Westens* (Munich, 2000).

104. Heinrich Loth, *Sklaverei: die Geschichte des Sklavenhandels zwischen Afrika und Amerika* (Wuppertal, 1981); *idem*, *Das Sklavenschiff: die Geschichte des Sklavenhandels Afrika, Westindien, Amerika* (Berlin, 1984); Wirz, *Sklaverei und kapitalistisches Weltssystem*, also *idem*, “Transatlantischer Sklavenhandel, Industrielle Revolution und die Unterentwicklung Afrikas”, *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 8 (1982), pp. 518–557; Helmut Bley et al. (eds), *Sklaverei in Afrika: afrikanische Gesellschaften im Zusammenhang von europäischer und interner Sklaverei und Sklavenhandel* (Pfaffenweiler, 1991); Horst Pietschmann, “Der atlantische Sklavenhandel bis zum Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts – Eine Problemskizze”, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 107 (1987), pp. 122–133; Hans-Jürgen Puhle (ed.), *Sklaverei in der modernen Geschichte, Geschichte und Gesellschaft. Zeitschrift für Historische Sozialwissenschaft*, 16:2 (1990); Wolfgang Reinhard, *Parasit oder Partner?: europäische Wirtschaft und neue Welt 1500–1800* (Münster [etc.], 1998).

Loth published an analysis of the slave trade. Albert Wirz's book is a survey in the style of Wallerstein, focused on the British and Anglo-American realm. A preferable source work is that of Peter Martin on Africans in the history and consciousness of Germans. Wolfgang Binder and Rüdiger Zoller have published the proceedings of congresses on slavery in the Americas.¹⁰⁵ The synthesis *History of African Americans*,¹⁰⁶ published in 1999 by Norbert Finzsch and fellow authors, places US slavery above all in the context of the "race and racism debate".

CONCLUSION

The view represented by the author, however (on the basis of field and archival work), that the history of "slavery" today should be not so much a history of the institution of slavery, but rather and especially a trans-cultural history of actors, in the first place of slaves of both sexes (because there is least research on these), as well as of individual slave-owners, slave traders, and their ancillaries between the micro and macro history of different spaces (above all seas, oceans, islands and coasts), has not prevailed. In global history, analysis of slavery should be replaced by the history of slaveries, or of actors in these slaveries, in the tradition of "small" and kin slaveries, which extend up to the present.¹⁰⁷ The syntheses published around 2008 for the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade by Britain and America were rather hasty anniversary-oriented essays, without any basis in research (with the exception of the Atlantic sections in *Schwarzes Amerika*),¹⁰⁸ a fact that may be due not

105. Binder, *Slavery in the Americas*; Rüdiger Zoller (ed.), *Amerikaner wider Willen: Beiträge zur Sklaverei in Lateinamerika und ihre Folgen* (Frankfurt, 1994); Peter Martin, *Schwarze Teufel, edle Mohren. Afrikaner in Geschichte und Bewußtsein der Deutschen* (Hamburg, 2001).

106. Norbert Finzsch, James O. Horton, and Lois Horton, *Von Benin nach Baltimore. Die Geschichte der African Americans* (Hamburg, 1999).

107. M. Zeuske (with Rebecca J. Scott), "Le 'droit d'avoir des droits'. Les revendications des ex-esclaves à Cuba (1872–1909)", *Annales HSS*, 3 (2004), pp. 521–545; *idem*, "Comparing or Interlinking? Economic Comparisons of Early Nineteenth-Century Slave Systems in the Americas in Historical Perspective", in Dal Lago and Katsari, *Slave Systems*, pp. 148–183; *idem*, "Unfreiheit abhängiger Landbevölkerung im atlantischen Raum und in den Amerikas, 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert – Prolegomena, Typologien der Anfänge, Bedingungen und lange Linien", in Elisabeth Hermann-Otto (ed.), *Unfreie und abhängige Landbevölkerung* (Hildesheim [etc.], 2008), pp. 71–157; *idem* and Laviña, "Failures of Atlantization", in Tomich and Zeuske, *The Second Slavery*; Michael Zeuske and Orlando García Martínez, "La Amistad de Cuba. Ramón Ferrer, contrabando de esclavos, captividad y modernidad atlántica", *Caribbean Studies*, 37 (2009), pp. 97–170; M. Zeuske, *Globalgeschichte der Sklaverei. Menschen als Kapital gestern und heute* (Munich, 2012, in preparation).

108. Jochen Meissner, Ulrich Mücke, and Klaus Weber, *Schwarzes Amerika. Eine Geschichte der Sklaverei* (Munich, 2008); see also Klaus Weber, "Deutschland, der Atlantische Sklavenhandel und die Plantagenwirtschaft der Neuen Welt", *Journal of Modern European History*, 7 (2009), pp. 37–67.

least to a mistaken publication policy (and ignorance) on the part of publishers, particularly clearly expressed in a so-called *Weltgeschichte der Sklaverei* (Munich, 2009), which is more like a Christian-globalist pamphlet directed against what the author terms “Islamic slavery”.

The history of slaves is, still more than the history of the economic macro-structure of the “Atlantic slave trade”, or of the violent institution of “slavery” or the great ideology “racism”, a transcultural subject, but one partialized nationally or regionally by scientific traditions, perspectives, and the professionalization of historiographies; paradigmatically, this partialization is expressed in the context of a “nation” in Colombia or in still quasi-colonially structured spaces, such as the Caribbean, or in the slavery historiography of Venezuela, which is marked very strongly by Hubert Aimes (1907), Cuban historiography (Fernando Ortiz), as well as the Venezuelan “nationalization of Marxism” (Miguel Acosta Saignes).¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the rise of a new historical problem consciousness for the history of slaves and slavery can be studied from the rise of these historiographies.

Translation: David Fernbach

109. Alfonso Múnera, “Balance historiográfico de la esclavitud en Colombia”, in *idem*, *Fronteras imaginadas. La construcción de las razas y de la geografía en el siglo XIX colombiano* (Bogotá, 2005), pp. 193–225; Maya Restrepo and Luz Adriana, *Brujería y reconstrucción de identidades entre los africanos y sus descendientes en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVII* (Bogotá, 2005); Michael Zeuske, *Schwarze Karibik. Sklaven, Sklavereikulturen und Emanzipation* (Zurich, n.d. [2004]); Alberto Abello Vives and Bassi Arévalo, “Un Caribe por fuera de la ruta de la Plantación”, in A. Abello Vives (ed.), *Un Caribe sin plantación. Memorias de la cátedra del Caribe colombiano* (San Andrés, 2006), pp. 11–43; “Historiografía y Esclavitud en Venezuela, 1937–2003”, in Dora Dávila Mendoza, *La sociedad esclava en la provincia de Venezuela, 1790–1800* (Caracas, 2009), pp. 17–60.