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Enslaved from Goa to Lisbon

Preliminary study of a quantitative analysis

Camille Le Brettevillois

In the city of Lisbon in January 1613, António Tinoco, an indio escravo ('Indian enslaved man'), appeared alongside with Luzia da Costa, an escrava ('enslaved woman') in front of the ecclesiastical court. They made the official request to marry each other without proclaiming the bans of marriage, in order to hide their union from their masters who were trying to prevent it. To support their request and prove they were good Christians, António and Luzia brought witnesses and made their own declaration. The statement of António particularly interests us for the purpose of this article. The young man affirmed he was coming from a region in present-day Myanmar and recalled very well how, from the Bay of Bengal, he has been transported to Goa, in India, before ending up to Portugal.[1]

António was not an exception among the many other enslaved people deported to Lisbon and Portugal. The academic literature and the sources count several other testimonies of people born in the Indian Ocean world being enslaved by Portuguese colonial powers.[2] For the city of Lisbon, sources such as requests of marriage or trials of the Inquisi-

1 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, *Câmara Eclesiástica de Lisboa, Sumários matrimoniais*, mç. 544-3, processo 213.

2 Richard B. Allen, *European slave trading in the Indian Ocean, 1500-1850* (Athens, Ohio 2014); Clare Anderson, *Subaltern lives: biographies of colonialism in the Indian Ocean world, 1790-1920* (Cambridge 2012); Indrani Chatterjee, 'Renewed and Connected Histories: Slavery and the Historiography of South Asia', in: *I.* Chatterjee and R. Eaton, *Slavery and South Asian History* 19 (2006) 1-43; Pedro Machado, *Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean, c. 1750-1850* (Cambridge 2014); Henri Médard et al., *Traites et esclavages en Afrique orientale et dans l'océan Indien* (Paris 2013); Matthias van Rossum et al., *Testimonies of enslavement: sources on slavery from the Indian Ocean world* (London 2022); Alicia Schrikker & Nira Wickramasinghe, *Being a slave: histories and legacies of European slavery in the Indian Ocean* (Leiden 2020); Tatiana Seijas, 'The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish Manila: 1580-1640', *Itinerario* 32:1 (March 2008) 19-38; The *Database Exploring Slave Trade in Asia (ESTA)*, International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam 2016-2026).

tion testifies of their presence on the Portuguese soil. This article presents the preliminary findings of an on-going PhD research about the mobilities and sociabilities of enslaved people across the Portuguese colonial empire. This research focuses specifically on the enslaved people coming from the Indian Ocean world during the 17th century and is part of the collective research project called 'Voices of Resistance'.[3]

The article aims to demonstrate that documents such as the trial of António Tinoco and Luzia da Costa would offer a new perspective on lives of enslaved people within the Portuguese colonial empire. By presenting the work done on a sample of documents, the article wants to show that the combination of quantitative and qualitative study is possible and would contribute to a micro-global history approach.[4]

To do so, the article first engages with different parts of the academic literature by combining the historiographies of slave-trade in the Indian Ocean and in the Iberian worlds. It results in exposing how practices of enslavement in India and Portugal merged and impacted, among others, the same affected populations during the early-modern period. Alongside the existing literature, the article presents the preliminary results of a quantitative analysis on marriage requests made by enslaved people in Lisbon during the decade of the 1620s. The nature of the information found in the sample of data highlights in particular how enslaved people were incorporated in a large-scale mobility. Finally, the article points at the gaps that need to be filled in order to produce a solid estimation on the enslaved population coming from the Indian Ocean.



3 This PhD project is funded on the ERC project 'Voices of Resistance', convention n.101125333.

4 About micro-global history, *cf.* Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Decentering History: Local Stories and Cultural Crossings in a Global World', *History and Theory* 50 (2011) 188–202; Romain Bertrand and Guillaume Calafat, 'Global microhistory: a case to follow', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 73:1 (2018) 3-17; Gaurav C. Garg, 'Between Global History and Microhistory: rethinking histories of "Small Spaces" and Cities', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 66:1 (2024) 32-56; Francesca Trivellato, 'Is There a Future for Italian Microhistory in the Age of Global History?', *California Italian Studies* 2:1 (2011).

The Estado da Índia: the eastern part of the Portuguese empire

The Portuguese overseas expansion started at the beginning of the 15th century with the conquest of Ceuta in North Africa according to Portuguese traditional historiography. By the end of the 15th century, the Portuguese set foot on the subcontinent of India, with two expeditions led by Vasco de Gama.[5] In 1505, the crown of Portugal decided to create the *Estado da Índia* and to place its capital in Cochin before moving it, five years later, to Goa. This organizational structure remained in place until 1961 with the annexation (or liberation) of Goa by the Indian Union.[6] At its apogee during the mid-17th century, the *Estado da Índia* extended from the city of Ormuz in present-day Iran to Nagasaki in Japan. Between these two cities, the Portuguese controlled several locations in the east and west coast of the Indian sub-continent (see annex 1), in the Indonesian archipelago (Malacca, Ternate, Tidore among others), in China with the city of Macao, and in East Africa with Mozambique.

The region of Goa, and more generally the Malabar coast, ensured a strategic position for the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The western coast of India was a complex zone of sovereignty, with many political actors. At the end of the 15th century, the Goan region was mainly controlled by the Bahmani sultanate. By the beginning of the 16th century Goa became a commercial crossroad between other trading cities such as Ormuz and Bijapur.[7] The western coast of India was an important passage of various resources (i.e. horses from the Arabian Peninsula, spices from

5 The first expedition of Vasco de Gama took place between 1497 and 1498. The second one was between 1502 and 1503.

6 *Estado da Índia,* which could be translated literally as 'the State of India' does not refer to a proper state, but to several possessions, cities, trading posts and fortresses placed under the administrative and political control of Portuguese. *Cf.* the website of the *Governo Federal do Brasil* and its glossary of the Luso Brazilian history.

7 Jorge Manuel Flores, *Nas margens do Hindustão: o Estado da Índia e a expansão mogol ca. 1570-1640* (Coimbra 2015); Pius Malekandathil, 'City in space & Metaphor. A study of the port-city of Goa, 1510-1700', in: Idem ed., *The Mughals, the Portuguese and the Indian Ocean* (Chennai 2013) 60-61; Ângela Barreto Xavier, *A invenção de Goa: poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa 2008).

the Indonesian archipelago, textiles...).[8] The main strategy for the emerging powers in the region (Europeans but also Indo-Persians) was to try penetrating the already existing trade networks to take profit of it.



Annex 1 – Map of Asia, in the Taboa geraes de toda navigação, 1630.[9]

Goa – Hub of slave-trading

'Goa' can both refer to the city currently known as Velho Goa (*Pornnem Gõy* or *Adlem Gõy* in Konkani) and to a set of territories conquered by the Portuguese. This set of territories is distinguished in two parts: 1) the *Velhas Conquistas* – 'Old Conquests' – which refers to the territories conquered throughout the 16th century; 2) the *Novas Conquistas* – 'New Conquests' – referring to the territories conquered during the 18th century (see annex 2 below). This article focuses only on the *Velhas Conquistas*, these being: Bardez, Tiswadi, Mormugão and Salcete. In this article, the mention of 'Goa' refers to the city.

8 Malekandathil, 'City in Space & Metaphor', 61.

9 J. Teixeira Albernaz, J. de Attayde and F. de Seixas y Lovera. *Taboa geraes de toda navegação, 1630*. Library of the Congress. Geography and Map Division (Washington D.C, USA).



Annex 2 –Velhas and Novas Conquistas: Goa under Portuguese control[10]

The early times of Portuguese Goa were characterised by the establishment of the *casados*, or city-dwellers, and by an investment in private trade encouraged by the crown. The main goals were: 1) to ensure the establishment of a Portuguese population by changing the economic activity of soldiers into a merchant activity and allowing them to marry local women to consolidate Portuguese presence; 2) to relieve the government of the task of procurement of cargo by letting it be managed by private traders. As Pius Malekandathil summarized, 'the crown chalked out a policy in which the entrepreneurial skills of Goan merchants were increasing-

10 P.M. Correia, *Novas e Velhas Conquistas (creme e rosa)*, Goa (2009) (CorreiaPM, CC BY-SA 3.0 *via Wikimedia Commons*).

ly incorporated for the purpose of obtaining commodities, particularly the South-East Asian spices, needed for Indo-European trade.'[11]

Quickly, other economical actors joined the *casados*. Goa, in addition to being the main economical entrance for Europeans into the Asian trading market, also served as the main entry for Christian missionaries sent on a proselyte mission. Promptly, the different Christian institutions established there started to invest, and many monastic houses became owners of vast cultivable lands. As an example, in 1606, the convent of Santa Monica de Goa owned many shops in the region of Bassein, as well as many villages in the region of Goa. This large patrimony was acquired from the ladies who entered the convent.[12] As a result, these political and economical strategies made Goa one of the most profitable markets in Asia during the 16th century.

While they took the lead on important trading routes, that did not mean the Portuguese erased the presence of Muslim and Hindu merchants and their economical practices. As an example, the Gaud Saraswat Brahmin community, an Hindu community from Konkan, was already actively involved in trading in South Goa during the 15th and 16th centuries.[13] During the 17th century, the weakening of the Portuguese in the region (due to epidemics and continuous wars against Muslim and other European forces) allowed a revitalization of the Konkani merchant communities as leading merchants, especially around the 1630-40s.[14]

Arabic, Portuguese and local merchants had interests in human trafficking for mainly economic and demographic reasons. It is important to understand that practices of enslavement predated the arrival of the Portuguese on the Malabar coast. Local customs of Goa compiled in the Portuguese sources showed that practices of coerced labour and enslave-

11 Malekandathil, 'City in Space & Metaphor', 61.

12 Ibidem, 65.

13 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco de Gama,* (Cambridge 1998); About Indian merchants and economic interconnections, *cf.* Pedro Machado, 'A Forgotten Corner of the Indian Ocean: Gujarati Merchants, Portuguese India and the Mozambique Slave-Trade, c. 1730–1830', *Structure of Slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia* (Routledge 2003).

14 Malekhandathil, 'City in Space & Metaphor', 72; Xavier, *A invenção de Goa*.

ment were already existing and linked to the caste-system and/or social position of individuals seen as 'outsiders'.

On their side, the Portuguese and the Christian missionaries brought with them a conception of slavery based on Christian ideology, implemented with other concepts like 'purity of blood' (*limpeza de sangue* in Portuguese; *limpieza de sangre* in Spanish) supported by scientific and theological texts from the 14th and 15th centuries.[15] Historians like Ananya Chakravarti argue that local concepts of enslavement merged with European conceptions of slavery, resulting in a complete transformation of migratory fluxes and practices of enslavement on the western coast of India.[16]

The case of the enslaved man Gabriel is now becoming a classic example among historians: Gabriel was a Beta Israël man[17], enslaved in Ethiopia as a child during the mid-sixteenth century. Gabriel lived as a slave in the Arab world, then reached the Malabar coast where he came to the attention of the Portuguese Inquisition of Goa because of his conversion to Islam. His trial, preserved now in the National Archives of Portugal, happened in 1595. Here we can see the implication of several coercive powers (Arab sultanates, Arab merchants, and the Portuguese Inquisition) and how enslaved people tried to navigate through them. In the trial Gabriel was labelled as "*de casta abexim*" ("of the abexim cast"). Abexim caste referred to people from Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia and Eritrea) or their descendants.

15 About the Western-Christian conception of slavery, *cf.* Raphaël Carraso & al., eds., *La pureté du sang en Espagne: du lignage à la "race"* (Paris 2011); Elsa Dorlin, *La matrice de la race : généalogie sexuelle et coloniale de la Nation française* (Paris 2009); Peter Garnsey, *Conceptions de l'esclavage : d'Aristote à Saint Augustin* (Paris 2004); Camille Le Brettevillois, *Mariages d'esclaves dans la Société d'Ancien Régime. Le cas de Lisbonne au début du XVIIe siècle* (Master thesis) (Nantes 2021); Sandrine Victor, *Les fils de Canaan : l'esclavage au Moyen Âge* (Paris 2019).

16 Ananya Chakravarti, 'Slavery, mobility and the identity on the western coast of India, 16th – 18th centuries', *Comparative studies in society and history* (2024) 15.

17 Beta Israel is the term used to qualify the Ethiopian Jewish community, who has been regularly targeted during the early-modern period to be enslaved and sold by Arabic Muslim merchants.

Historians like Matteo Salvadore or Ananya Chakravarti mentioned the story of Gabriel as an important testimony of enslaved mobility within different regimes of enslavement, territories and identities. This spatial and social navigation highlights the agency of enslaved people across the Arabian sea, as well as the tensions between this agency and the constant exercise of coercive powers.[18]

Like Gabriel, many enslaved people lived in Goa. The demographics of the enslaved population in the so-called 'Rome of the East' are, however, not clearly established. Charles R. Boxer estimated the number of free Portuguese residents at 1800 people in c.1540. In addition to this estimation, he quoted sources mentioning that every free citizen of Goa had at least 12 to 15 enslaved women at their services, referring here by 'citizen' to Portuguese *casados* and/or citizens born from mixed unions. Andreas Hofbauer, on his side, argued that the population of African enslaved people never exceeded 10% of the total population, but does not give any information concerning enslaved populations from Asia and Europe.[19]

António Tinoco: from Goa to Lisbon

Goa is the city in which António, the enslaved man we mentionned in the introduction, was brought as a child. He had spent most of his life there and yet, he ended up in Lisbon, thousands of kilometres away from Goa. As said earlier, António was not an exception. The document in which he requests his marriage with Luzia da Costa already tells us he was not the only enslaved man coming from Goa to Lisbon: to prove he was a single

18 Ananya Chakravarti, 'Mapping "Gabriel": Space, Identity and Slavery in the Late Sixteenth-Century Indian Ocean', *Past & Present* 243:1 (2019) 5-34.; Ananya Chakravarti, 'Slavery, mobility and the identity on the western coast of India, 16th – 18th centuries', *Comparative studies in society and history* 66:4 (2024) 886-887; Matteo Salvadore, 'Between the Red Sea Slave Trade and the Goa Inquisition: The Odyssey of Gabriel, a Sixteenth-Century Ethiopian Jew', *Journal of World History* 31:2 (2020) 327-360.

19 Charles R. Boxer, 'The Municipal Council of Goa' in: Idem ed., *Portuguese society in the tropis, the municipal council of Goa, Macao, Bahia and Luanda, 1510-1800* (Madison, Wisconsin 1965) 28; Andreas Hofbauer, 'Escravidão africana na Índia portuguesa: Goa nos séculos XVI e XVII'. *História Unisinos*, 27:1 (2023) 142; Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India, 1510-1842* (Bombay 1992).

man (thus able to marry a single woman), António summoned two witnesses, Sylvestre and João. The two men, recorded as *índios forros* ('manumitted Indian men', or former enslaved people who have been freed) in the summary, explained they both knew António from Goa, and that they went to Lisbon aboard the same ship.

> Silvestre de Meneses, *índio forro*, […] [who is] thirty years of age, testified that he swears on the Holy Gospels that he knows António the *índio* from the city of Goa, [that he knows him] for fifteen or sixteen years, [who was] at this time seven or eight years old and always lived there[.] And there he is single and free, and generally keen of that sort of things, and he [the witness] knows that because they came [to Lisbon] on the same ship and did not said anything more and signed. […]
>
> João Ferreira, *índio forro*, […] [who is] thirty-three years old testified that he swears on the Holy Gospels that he knows António the *índio* from the city of Goa for seventeen years[.] And there, on his land, he is single and free and generally keen of that sort of things, and he [the witness] knows that because they came [to Lisbon] on the same ship and did not said anything more and signed […].[20]

20 "Silvestre de Meneses índio forro [...] de idade de trinta anos testemunha que jurou sobre os santos evangelhos disse que conhece a António índio da cidade de Goa há quinze ou desasseis anos sendo a esse tempo de sete ou oito anos e sempre aí resídio e lá he solteiro e livre tido e avido por esse geralmente e o sabe por virem ambos em uma nau e mais não disse nem do costume e assinou [...] João Ferreira índio forro [...] de idade de trinta e três anos testemunha que jurou sobre os santos evangelhos disse que conhece a António índio da cidade de Goa há desasseis anos e lá na sua terra he solteiro e livre tido e avido por esse geralmente e o sabe por virem ambos em uma nau e mais não disse nem do costume e assinou [...]."

The label '*índio forro*' put next to their names indicates that the religious authorities identified them as manumitted men. It is possible that when they travelled with António, they were still enslaved and have been manumitted in Portugal afterwards.

The corpus of archives containing this marriage trial is extremely vast. Preserved in the National Archives of Portugal in Lisbon, the *Sumários Matrimoniais* contains requests of marriage to the court of the archbishop of Lisbon between 1612 and 1971.[21] During the early-modern period, the spouses making those requests needed to certify the validity of the marriage by proving the absence of any impediment (consanguinity, being already married etc.) and by proving they were good Christians. To this end, they could bring with them witnesses to testify of their sincere intentions.

Marriage in catholic societies was considered a sacrament. This religious act had spiritual, juridical and financial impacts on the daily lives. In a word: it was a strategic act for many actors of the secular society. Regarding the enslaved population, marriage was a proof of their integration within the Christian community as well as way to increase their chances to get away from a total control of the slaveowners on their lives and the ones of their offspring.[22] To give an example: the Portuguese law regarding the children of enslaved people was based on the Roman law

21 Information available on the national website of the Archives of Portugal, digitarq.archivos.pt.

22 On catholic marriage and marriage of enslaved people, *cf.* Vitor Vitor Alves, 'Mariage et transmission du patrimoine dans une paroisse du centre du Portugal au XVIIIe siècle', *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 110:1 (1998) 357–368; Jean-Claude Bologne, *Histoire du mariage en Occident*, Pluriel Histoire coll. fondée par Georges Liébert et dir. par Joël Roman (Hachette littératures, 2005); Jean Gaudemet, *Le mariage en Occident : les mœurs et le droit*, Histoire (Le Cerf) (les Éditions du Cerf, 1987); Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Un Catholicisme Colonial: Le Mariage Des Indiens et Des Esclaves Au Brésil, XVIe-XVIIIe Siècle* (PUF, 2019); Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Páscoa et ses deux maris : une esclave entre Angola, Brésil et Portugal au XVIIe siècle* (PUF, 2019); Vincent Gourdon and François-Joseph Ruggiu, 'Mariages, unions informelles, métissages : au cœur des sociétés coloniales', *Annales de demographie historique* 135:1 (2018) 11–20; Le Brettevillois, 'Mariages d'esclaves dans la Société d'Ancien Régime'.

of the *partus sequitur ventrem*, which affirmed that the child born from an enslaved woman shall take the legal status of its mother. In that sense it would have been strategic for enslaved men to find a way to marry a free woman in order ensure the freedom of their children.[23]

The on-going research has identified that between the years 1621 and 1626, a total of 3995 requests (both free and unfree populations included) were made to the ecclesiastical court. This can give an idea of the sheer size of the archive collection. The analysis of this sample also reveals that 3,5% of those requests were made by enslaved people. 1% of them involved at least one enslaved person coming from the Indian Ocean.

	Total of documents (1621-1626)	Statistics
Requests of marriage (all)	3995	100%
Requests of marriage made by enslaved people	139	3,48%
Requests of marriage made by enslaved people originally from the Indian Ocean	43	1,08%

Annex 3 - Percentage of enslaved applicants for marriage between 1621 and 1626.[24]

23 Clara Gouraud, 'Une enfance qui libère ? Stratégies d'émancipation des mères d'ingénus au temps de la loi du Ventre libre. São Paulo, 1871-1888', *Problèmes d'Amérique latine* 108:1 (2018) 57–72; Le Brettevillois, 'Mariages d'esclaves dans la Société d'Ancien Régime'; Stuart M. McManus, 'Partus Sequitur Ventrem in Theory and Practice: Slavery and Reproduction in Early Modern Portuguese Asia', *Gender & History* 32:3 (2020) 542–61; Claude Meillassoux, 'De l'incapacité des hommes à accoucher, et ce qu'il en advient', *Quel genre d'homme?: Construction sociale de la masculinité, relations de genre et développement* (Genève 2000) 99-120.

24 Regarding the number of cases involving enslaved people, this number is based on the status of the petitioners only. The witnesses in the court cases were not taken in account in this preliminary analysis. This also suggests that more enslaved people may have been involved as witnesses in the court cases.

This also means that on the 139 cases involving enslaved people, at least 30% of them involved people coming from the Indian Ocean, which almost corresponds to a third of the couples studied here. Even though those results are based on a small sample of trials, it would be interesting to cross them with the literature on the demography of Lisbon.

The historian Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues estimated the total population of Lisbon to approximately 143 600 inhabitants in 1620. She and other historians based their work on the records of the parishes of the city for the 16th-17th centuries as well as on surveys realised during the 16th century.[25] However, Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues emphasized the necessity to remain cautious about the exactitude of those numbers: they are indeed debated. Didier Lahon, for example, estimated the Lisboan population around 120,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the 17th century.[26] We must also take in account the population who only passed through the walls of the city temporarily: Lisbon became increasingly cosmopolitan throughout the 17th century, with the important presence of Africans, Arabs, Asians etc. These people were captives, enslaved but also free travellers.

Between 1440 and 1640, Lisbon became the gateway for 300,000 to 350,000 enslaved people who were deported in the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of Europe.[27] In the 2000s the consensus in the historical field was that, in the middle of the 16th century, enslaved people in Lisbon rep-

25 Le Brettevillois, 'Mariages d'esclaves dans la Société d'Ancien Régime', 53; Teresa Ferreira Rodrigues, *História da população portuguesa: das longas permanências à conquista da modernidade* (Porto 2009) 581; Manuel C. Teixeira, 'A história urbana em Portugal. Desenvolvimentos recentes', *Análise Social* 28:121 (1993) 371-390.

26 Didier Lahon, *Esclavage et confréries noires au Portugal durant l'Ancien Régime (1441-1830)* (Paris 2001) 72.

27 *Cf.* the travel-log of Giambattista Confalonieri (1561-1648), ambassador of the pope in Lisbon between 1595-1596 quoted in António de Alemeida Mendes, 'Esclavage et race au Portugal : une expérience de longue durée', in: Cottias & al., *Esclavage et subjectivités : dans l'Atlantique luso-brésilien et français (XVIIe-XXe siècles)* (Marseille 2016) 10; António de Almeida Mendes, 'Africaines Esclaves Au Portugal : Dynamiques d'exclusion, d'intégration et d'assimilation à l'époque Moderne (XVe -XVe Siècles)', *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme*, 31:2 (2008) 45-48.

resented at least 10% of the total population.[28] However, this estimation is currently being revised upwards: António de Almeida Mendes estimated that in 1520, around 15-20% of the population of Lisbon was born in Africa or had African parents. Even though coming from the African continent cannot be systematically associated with enslavement, this information may indicate that a bigger part of the population was in a situation of coercion in the Portuguese city.[29]

Regarding the data we presented above, the corpus of the *Sumários Matrimoniais* alone is not sufficient to make alone an estimation of the number of the enslaved population in Lisbon and Portugal (and it is not the main goal of this research). That said, those documents might suggest that the presence of enslaved people coming from the Indian Ocean has been underestimated by the historians of slaveries and slave trades. Filipa Ribeiro da Silva showed that, between 1756 and 1763, the main departure zone of enslaved people towards Lisbon was the *Estado da Índia*, and that the sub-continent of India seems to have been the main source of enslaved labour for the Portuguese city.[30] Other researchers have emphasised in the 2010s the underestimated importance of the slave-trade in the Indian Ocean, and those numbers presented here tends to confirm their statement.[31]

If 30% of enslaved couples in our sample involved a spouse coming from the Indian Ocean, we cannot make the same assumption for the whole enslaved population of Lisbon. It is important to add that a request of marriage required a financial cost from the spouses. Additional costs

28 Lahon, *Esclavage et confréries noires au Portugal*, 67 ; Teixeira (1993).

29 Lahon, *Esclavage et confréries noires au Portugal.*

30 Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, 'La traite des esclaves à Lisbonne durant la première moitié du XVIIIe siècle : estimations, directions, composition et structure', *La maritimisation du monde de la préhistoire à nos jours* (Paris 2016) 318-319.

31 Allen (2014); Paulin Ismard, 'Écrire l›histoire de l›esclavage : Entre approche globale et perspective comparatiste', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 72:1 (2017) 16; Chatterjee (2006); Gwyn Campbell & Alessandro Stanziani (dir.), *Bonded Labour and Debt in the Indian Ocean World* (London 2013); Michael Zeuske, 'Historiography and Research Problems of Slavery and the Slave Trade in a Global-Historical Perspective', *International Review of Social History* 57:1 (2012) 87-111.

might also be required if one of them had to provide a certificate of baptism or written proof they were widowers. We can assume that not every enslaved person willing to get married was able pay the cost of this procedure.

Nonetheless, a corpus such as those marriage trials can bring a very important light to the organisation of part of the enslaved social life. Indeed, in the case the spouse was enslaved or foreigner, they systematically had to specify their place of birth, when they arrived in Portugal, who were their parents and if they eventually ever returned to their motherland. In addition to the declarations of the spouses, the witnesses (who could be manumitted people) had to disclose their identities, age, place of residence and relationships with the petitioners. This delivers us precious information on the social lives of enslaved people and how they used their relationships in a juridical procedure.

Another corpus of archives produced by ecclesiastical authorities reveals the presence of unfree people from the Indian Ocean world in Portugal: the trials of the courts of the Inquisition. In Portugal, five tribunals operated between 1536 and 1821.[32] The on-going research has for now identified 53 trials occurring between 1552 and 1764, all coming from the tribunal of the Inquisition of Lisbon, in which the accused was enslaved and coming from the Indian Ocean.[33] Ten of those court cases happened during the 17th century.

The current state of the research made on the Inquisition in Portugal is not providing any quantitative information on the number of en-



32 Other tribunals operated in the Portuguese colonial empire, in Brazil, parts of North and Western Africa and in the Estado da Índia as well. *Cf.* Monique Marques Nogueira Lima, 'Dos senhores aos inquisidores: escravos africanos sob o poder do Santo Ofício no mundo Luso-brasileiro (séculos XVII e XVIII)' *Revista Eletrônica História em Reflexão* 13:25 (2019) 55-75.; Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *A articulação da periferia: Macau e a inquisição de Goa (c. 1582 - c.1650)* (Lisboa 2016) 367; Tahinan da Cruz Santos, 'Inquisição Portuguesa na África: denunciações do Reino do Congo e Angola no Século XVII' *Revista Cadernos do Clio*, 2:1 (2011).

33 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Inquisição de Lisboa. I would like to thank Filipa Ribeiro da Silva and Cátia Antunes for their help and providing me references of court cases they encountered in their own work.

slaved people who has been targeted by this institution. As it has been showed here for the marriage trials, such a work for sources of the Inquisition would potentially bring more insight on how often enslaved people were suspected by this institution and more globally on the mobility and the daily life of unfree populations. Moreover, the use of a quantitative approach for the study of those kinds of sources remains unusual in the current historiography of slaveries and slave-trade in the Portuguese colonial empire.

Conclusion – Toward a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis

António Tinoco, the young man we are following since the beginning of this article, made a precise declaration allowing us to do the chronology of his terrible journey to Lisbon. António was born around 1591-1592 in the kingdom of Pegu (corresponding more likely to the region of Bago in current-day Myanmar). In c.1595, António was captured and send to Goa. He was 3 or 4 years old then. This year corresponds to the siege of the city of Pegu by the Ayutthaya army, comprising, in particular, by Portuguese mercenaries. It is possible that António was a war captive, enslaved and sold in Goa, where he has been baptized and spent his life until c.1608. He was then sent to Lisbon alongside with Sylvestre and João, the two witnesses of his marriage request.

António was approximately 21 or 22 years old when he made the marriage request with his partner Luzia, in 1613. His declaration testifies the trajectory of a child in a large-scale mobility, resulting of politico-economical strategies occurring in the Bay of Bengal as well as in the whole Indian Ocean and Iberian Peninsula. The existence of other marriage trials involving young people coming from India and the East-Coast of Africa confirms that António was not an isolated case. Other documents and works like those of Filipa Ribeiro da Silva emphasises the presence of unfree people coming from the Indian Ocean world and living in Lisbon.[34]

This preliminary work is an encouraging first step towards a quantitative analysis of the Asian and East-African enslaved population of Lisbon, and more generally within the Portuguese colonial empire. The

34 Silva, 'La traite des esclaves à Lisbonne'.

issue of marriage for enslaved people has underscored the dual dimension of mobility: geographical and social. In that sense this study is consistent with Ananya Chakravarti's work.[35]

This conclusion reveals to the reader precise details about the life of António Tinoco. That information is the result of a qualitative analysis of the information in his court case. Combining a qualitative analysis to the quantitative data appear to be, in that sense, an interesting way to study such a corpus. The PhD research in which this article takes place is attempting to apply this combination to a corpus of marriage trials as well as a corpus of Inquisition trials. By focusing on the study of the relationships of enslaved people with the different witnesses and actors of their trials, this study hopes to be able to emphasize, among other things, the importance for historians to take in account the patterns of large-scale mobilities and their consequences. Linking different locations in which enslavement was an effective seems relevant, expanding the current research and strengthening a micro-global history approach in which this research hopes to contribute.

35 Chakravarti, 'Slavery, mobility and the identity'.