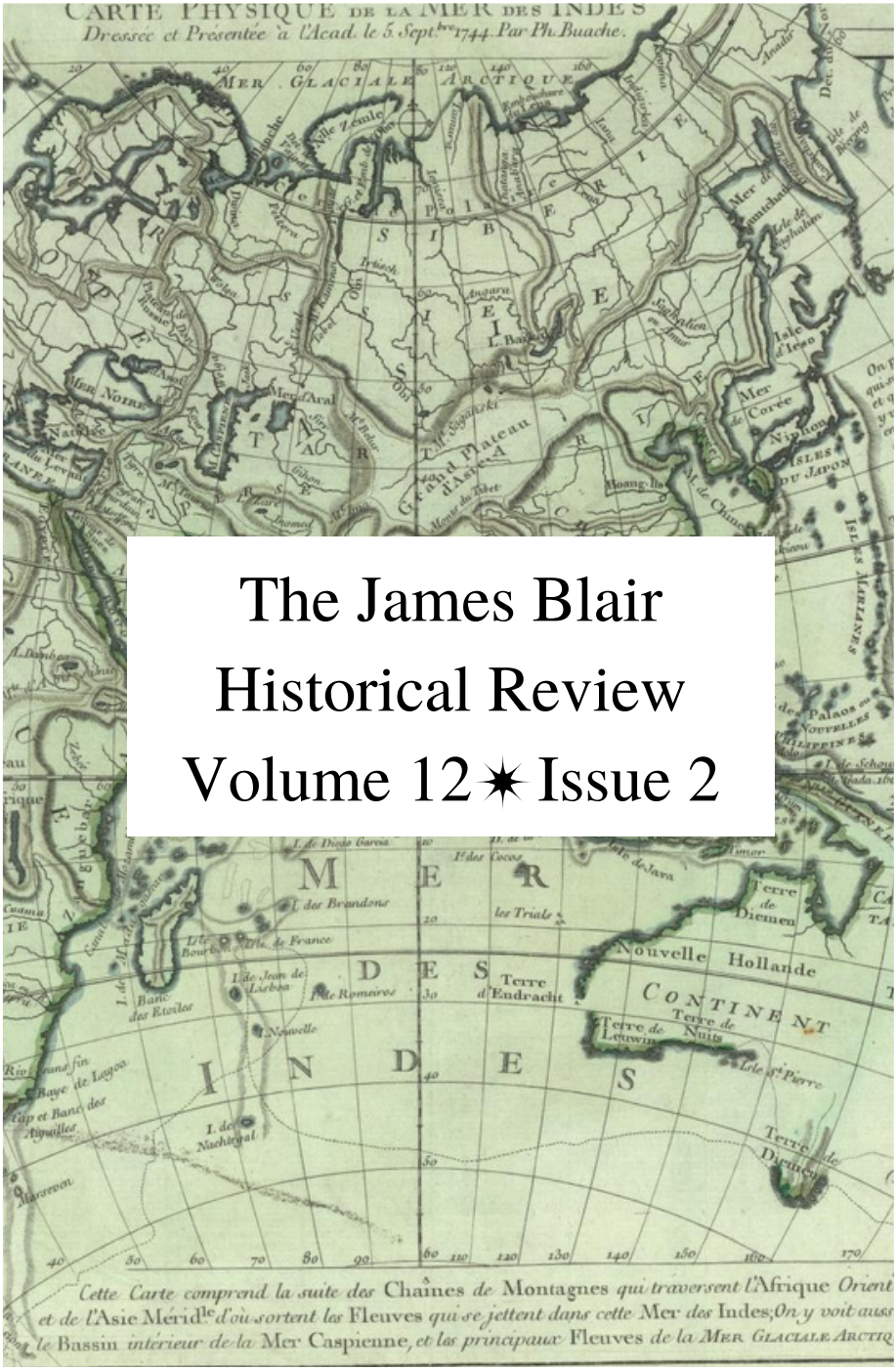

The James Blair Historical Review

Volume 12 ✶ Issue 2

Letter From the Editor

Dear Reader,

The Editorial Board of the *James Blair Historical Review* is pleased to present the latest issue of our journal.

This semester at William & Mary, I took "History of Museums and Historic Preservation" with Dr. David Brown. He assigned a book titled *Anarchist's Guide to Historic House Museums* by Deborah Ryan and Franklin Vagnone, in which the authors describe various ways to make history, storytelling, and preservation more accessible to the general public. They quote Richard M. Josey Jr, the Head of Historic Site Interpretation at the Minnesota Historical Society, who said that "[his] biggest frustration is the lack of comfort with ambiguity associated with historic narrative." I appreciate Josey's honesty in remembering that when discussing almost anything history-related, we might not have all the answers—and we should not be afraid of presenting an incomplete story. This semester, three undergraduate students from across the United States have confronted histories that for so long have not been a part of historiography simply because traditional historians were uncomfortable with not having all the information, or, to use Josey's words, the "ambiguity" of the facts. Each author makes important contributions to their field of scholarship and even though all of the facts are not there, they have created engaging, well-researched, and appealing contributions to the traditional "historic narrative[s]."

Julia Leney's "'Her Little Learning': Women and Black Education in Antebellum Virginia" describes how even though Virginia imposed increasingly limiting laws on Black education in the Antebellum Era,

both free and enslaved Black people sought out learning opportunities. In "Violence, Religion, and Portugal: European Arrival in the Indian Ocean Put in Context," Isaac Bindman analyzes the role of Portuguese exploration in the 16th-century Indian Ocean to explore whether Portuguese arrival marked a change in the systems of political violence and religious cosmopolitanism in the region. "'By His Prudent Might': Chaghadai in the Sources, A Historiographical Study" by Julia Steffe juxtaposes *The Secret History of the Mongols*, a contemporary history of the Mongol empire, with documents from historians Rashid al-Din and Juvaynī to discuss how Chaghadai, Chinggis Khan's second son, played a far more important role in the Mongol Empire than historians have traditionally acknowledged.

Our issue of the *JBHR* would have been impossible without the hard work of all contributors. First and foremost, I congratulate our authors, who have produced incredible articles that have contributed to many aspects of historical scholarship. Thank you for the privilege of publishing your papers. To our peer reviewers, I extend the sincerest gratitude. Our Editorial Board deeply values the time, energy, and work you put in by evaluating the many papers submitted to us this cycle. And to the Editorial Board: Aoife, Grace, Jack, and Sigi, I have enjoyed working with you to continue the success of the journal. Thank you for taking the time to read, discuss, analyze, and edit articles for the JBHR. Aoife, Grace, and Sigi, I am so lucky to have worked with you for the past year and I wish you all the best after graduation. I am also excited to announce that we have two new students joining our Editorial Board: Max and Logan. They are both talented writers, editors, and budding historians, and Jack and I are excited to have them join our team. I also want to take the time to recognize the invaluable advice of our faculty advisor, Professor Ayfer Karakaya-Stump. Finally, a special thanks to W&M's Harrison Ruffin Tyler Department of History as well as the

College's Media Council for their financial support, which is vital to the success of the journal.

I have greatly enjoyed working on the *JBHR* this semester, and I am excited to continue to share scholarship from undergraduate students who have added to our larger historical narrative.

And with that, I am delighted to present the *James Blair Historical Review*'s Spring 2023 edition.

All my best,

Riley Neubauer
JBHR Editor in Chief, 2022-2023

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Cover Photo

Buache, Philippe. Cartographer, and Active 18th Century Engraver Desbruslins. *Physical Map of the Indian Ocean*. 1757. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/2021668725/.

About the Authors

Julia Leney is a senior double majoring in History and French & Francophone Studies and a participant in the NIAHD Certificate program at the College of William & Mary. On campus, she works as an assistant archivist at the W&M Herbarium and is a member of the Spotswood Society. Her research interests include the social histories of nature, gender, and sexuality in early America. She will pursue History and Library Science at the graduate level after graduating in May 2023.

Isaac Bindman is a current junior at Amherst College double majoring in History and German. He studies world history and has a particular interest in diasporic communities. Next year, he will undertake an honors thesis on the question of interactions and comparisons between Indian Jewish communities and British Jews who came to India in the 19th and 20th centuries as part of the British imperial project.

Julia Steffe is a History major and a student of French and Chinese at the University of Maryland, College Park. She is a writer and editor for the University of Maryland's undergraduate history magazine, *Janus*. Her research interests include the Mongol Empire, Chinese history and medieval Japan, with a particular interest in 13th century Mongolian politics and historiography.

Table of Contents

"Her Little Learning": Women and Black Education in Antebellum Virginia

by Julia Leney

"Many laws in Virginia, as elsewhere, have become deadletters. Even in Norfolk itself, as well as generally throughout the State, the particular law infringed unknowingly by me, had long been held as such, and was violated daily and hourly by those who were regarded as leaders in society, in morals and in religion."[1] Spoken as part of Margaret Crittenden Douglass' self-defense during her 1853 trial, this admission unequivocally recognizes the existence and success of nineteenth-century Black educational efforts. Douglass' co-educational school for free Black children emblematizes the cultural moment in which white Virginians realized not only the ineffectuality of their unjust legislation, but also the fact that Black education was both fairly accessible and widely offered by white and Black teachers. Douglass' trial as a catalyst provides a framework for an evaluation of the state of Black learning and literacy from 1804, when strict anti-literacy laws came into effect in Virginia, up until her trial less than ten years before the Civil War.

While Black education in antebellum Virginia was limited by increasing legal restrictions, both free and enslaved people sought and found sources of independent education through literacy and cultural knowledge. Women were especially resourceful in their methods of learning as they navigated enslavement and freedom while upholding period gender ideals, such as pressure placed on mothers and young women to educate children around them, both white and Black. Research reveals not only a gendered tie but a distinct narrative emerging between free and enslaved Black women and white women seeking, receiving, and giving illicit education throughout Virginia. Combining legal and gender history within case studies reveals that nineteenth-century feminine ideals—especially educational aspirations—had extended into Black lives, both enslaved and free. Even without an excess of written

narratives or archival evidence, laws, religious motives, and the chronicles of the elite through journals and newspapers provide a landscape upon which to analyze female involvement. However, historian Beth Barton Schweiger also warns against a reliance on print narratives in examining women's history, especially in an antebellum context: culture is made entirely through creative activities using voice, art, and memories, not only writings limited by the schooling resources available to any one woman.[2]

Historiographically, these sources are of varied content and largely of limited depth. Among available scholarly research on Black women's learning, almost none focus specifically on Virginia. Carter G. Woodson's seminal 1915 work *The Education of the Negro prior to 1861* is an incredibly detailed history of Black education and a useful starting point. While his breadth of primary, secondary, and microhistorical sources provide a thorough introduction, Woodson's language and scope are dated and women's history is not discussed. Filling in this gap, Dr. Mary Carroll Johansen provides the bulk of work available on Black women's schooling in Virginia. Her articles "'Intelligence Though Overlooked': Education for Black Women in the Upper South, 1800-1840" and "'All Useful, Plain Branches of Education:' Educating Non-Elite Women in Antebellum Virginia" both focus specifically on the opportunities available to women of color in Virginia and the surrounding region through emulating white Southern femininity and balancing the pressure to educate progeny with racial and gender stressors. Johansen's work provides a thorough foundation for extant sources such as curricula, public opinion, and statistics calculated during her thesis work, but she acknowledges the need for future development of her ideas.

With Johansen's framework as a sounding board, other sources focusing generally on Black antebellum education become easier to connect and analyze through a lens of gender history. Christopher

Hager's *Word by Word: Emancipation and the Act of Writing* is a recent and comprehensive source that explores literacy and writing efforts across antebellum America. His methodology is useful in considering Black literacy as resistance and how educational experiences and attitudes in Virginia compared and contributed to national attitudes towards education. Hager's broad geographical scope on race and education is enriched by Beth Barton Schweiger's granular analysis of print culture in rural communities through the perspectives of four female diarists in the antebellum Blue Ridge Mountains. Schweiger's *A Literate South: Reading Before Emancipation* offers a gendered angle to examining how underprivileged people, especially those of color, were exposed to literacy and their attitudes surrounding education. Among the myriad of articles available surrounding Black educational efforts, a standout is David Freedman's "African-American Schooling in the South Prior to 1861," a detailed evaluation by state of formal and informal educational opportunities. Freedman asks for a similar stance to be taken through a lens of gender analysis to further research, and his reliance on anecdotes and microhistories allows for a level of accessibility and depth of perspective not present in other works. Case studies of Black learners in conversation with white and Black written narratives help to provide a solid image of the intersection of gender and education in this pretext.

Literature on antebellum Black education wrestles with the problem of defining "education." Rigid modern parameters for formal schooling and literacy are problematic to research on learning in a period where few children, regardless of race or location, had access to organized learning in schools. The ideology of literacy was still developing in tandem with the rise of print culture and new conversations about standardized schooling for the public—conversations from which Black people were largely excluded.[3] Therefore, individual self-reliance, community efforts, and illicit behavior formed the backbone of Black education during the antebellum period in Virginia. Literacy as

resistance is a theme in American history: tales of autonomy reclaimed through language are fundamental to understanding life as an enslaved person. Ralph Ellison's term "free-floating literacy," as explained by Shirley Wilson Logan, is perhaps the most accurate terminology available to characterize Black educational efforts in the antebellum south. The term represents "both externally sponsored literary initiatives and initiatives emerging from within communities of the enslaved, communities where slavery existed, or communities emerging in its aftermath."[4] Such broad conceptual language invites further discussion, but its foundation in learning as a self-mandated occupation encouraged by informal conditions is solid. Logan's explanation also gestures to why Black people wanted—and needed—to learn to speak for themselves as they adjusted to Virginian society before and after manumission and shaped their own traditions.

Literacy is thus not only the act of reading and writing but also the goal of sharing ideas and culture among a community. In the historical context of Black communities, literacy takes the form of oral history, Bible readings, letter writing, and pleas to enslavers, affirming a communal interest in and lens on the world. This development has been entirely organic, not dictated by conventional grammar or writing styles, and it is inherently human. Education even in this nebulous form falls under the scope of human rights. As defined by The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), every human being has the right to "lifelong learning" regardless of privilege, race, or location.[6] Though UNESCO did not exist in the nineteenth century, its definition and interest in addressing systemic racism are consonant with American abolitionist values and the injustices perpetuated by anti-literacy laws. The long-held emphasis on education in abolitionist tradition has trickled down through American civil rights movements over time; in acknowledging education as a human right then and now, Black learners of the period are afforded a level of respect that

many of their white teachers were simply unable to provide. By the time Margaret Douglass established her school for free children in the late 1840s, the enslaved and free Black populations of Virginia had endured increasingly harsh legislation against literacy and learning. The exponential rise in racial tensions and abolitionism meant that Black education was a topic of conversation, disavowed by enslavers and Southern supporters while lauded and illicitly pushed by abolitionists. Both on and off plantations, Black education in the public eye was seen as dangerous, unnecessary and abolitionist. Previous decades, however, illustrate that Margaret Douglass' home state of Virginia had experienced a shift in cultural attitudes. Before 1800, educational efforts were much more widespread; plantation families were occasionally known to teach their enslaved to read in the name of religion, and the Bray School system was at least partially successful throughout the colonies. Legislators expressed disinterest in Black education as early as 1680, when the idea of "certificates" to leave plantations was formally established, but conventions disavowed enslaved writing rather than reading. Dr. Antonio Bly asserts that enslaved education in the eighteenth century was a process of achieving "literacy, but not a body of letters; writing but not automatically penmanship."[7] Picking up bits and pieces of learning of their own volition in combination with limited plantation schooling allowed the enslaved more of a voice than typically imagined by the public. Although remaining comparatively powerless, letters and reading provided enslaved people with opportunities to forge passes for travel, understand the Bible and the contradiction of Christian slavery, and even write letters pleading for help to officials. Visitors to Virginia during the eighteenth century also saw evidence of Black literacy through religion. Reverend Davies, a member of the Society for Promoting the Gospel among the Poor, traveled through Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century and found that many Black people were "eagerly desirous" and "embraced every opportunity" to learn, especially

considering the word of God.[8] Although there is not yet a separate female narrative explored within this context, women received the same environmental exposure to language as men and presumably shared an interest in reading religious texts. The pressure to educate progeny was present even before strict anti-literacy laws, and with the motivation of learning as cultural preservation, this resistance clearly existed even before strict outlawing of literacy began.[9]

Despite this scattered access to literacy and education, enslaved learning was still viewed as a threat by white Virginians. Gabriel's Conspiracy of 1800 marked a change in how white legislators responded to Black education: the conflict sparked a salient fear which catalyzed strict anti-literacy laws. The Richmond-based plot to capture enslavers and burn the city became especially notorious because several of its enslaved leaders, including Gabriel, were able to read and write. Their forged travel passes were seen as a dangerous advantage. Trial testimonies suggest that the literacy of the enslaved rebels was a considerable factor in their punishment.[10] Woodson notes in his discussion of the Conspiracy's consequences that several schools previously established in the region had disappeared between 1798 and 1801, asserting that their closures were a direct consequence of the rebellion. According to Richmond abolitionists, this "very intelligent class of slaves" lost their access to formal schooling because "tyrants" were now comfortable "trampl[ing] upon the rights of colored people even in the violation of the laws of the State."[11] Accordingly, the year 1800 marks the beginning of a definitively negative attitude towards any form of Black education in Virginia.

While "unlawful" Black assembly had been prohibited since 1680, no explicit restriction of Black education existed until after Gabriel's Conspiracy, when the Virginia General Assembly outlawed Black literacy under the guise of outlawing possibly dangerous gatherings.[12] White paranoia after Gabriel's Conspiracy prompted an 1804 provision

that declared "any assemblage of slaves, under whatever pretext, at any meetinghouse, or any other place in the nighttime" to be punishable by twenty lashes.[13] An addendum in 1805 clarified that groups could gather for religious purposes with a white minister and that overseers could no longer require "black orphans, bound out, to be taught reading, writing, and arithmetic." Such a stipulation demonstrates that a rudimentary education for Black children was somewhat common up to 1805. This legislation appears to have been sufficient through 1819, when the Revised Code adjusted its language to prohibit free Black people from associating with the enslaved in "any school-house or schools for teaching reading or writing" with additional stipulations surrounding punishment for any free Black, mixed-race, or white person who engaged in Black educational efforts.[14]

The Revised Code remained untouched in regards to education until the aftermath of Nat Turner's 1831 rebellion, when it was decided that "all meetings of free Negroes or mulattoes at any school house, church, meeting house or other place for teaching them reading or writing, either in the day or the night shall be considered an unlawful assembly…it is further enacted that if any white person for pay shall assemble with any slaves for the purpose of teaching them to read or write, he shall for each offense be fined."[15] As paranoia surrounding literacy as a tool for rebellion and freedom increased, intolerance of Black education grew more feverish. Even if only in theory, both enslaved and free Black people were denied all access to education and preaching from Black ministers.[16] In 1838, the anti-literacy law's strict nature was further codified when a group of free Black people petitioned the state legislature to allow their children to be sent out of state for schooling. Their request was denied, and it was implied that should they be sent away to school in a state less hostile to Black education, the children would be forcibly prevented from returning home.[17] Continuing into the 1840s, the only known legal exception to the now-extensive anti-

literacy legislation in Virginia comes from the case of Henry Juett Gray: a blind white man who wished to become a teacher and argued that he needed a fully literate servant in order to do so. Gray won the right to educate an enslaved man named Randolph to assist in teaching with the stipulation of the man's sale beyond Virginia if any crime was discovered. Randolph was permitted an education strictly in order to labor for a white man, and only under threat of punishment for any "improper use" of his knowledge.[18]

Free Black Virginians wielded increasing literacy and education, both traditionally and vocationally. As their numbers grew, their intelligence became an increasing threat to white Virginians, who took both legal and extralegal action against vocational and academic professionals all over the state. In an 1831 petition to the Culpeper County Legislature, one hundred and thirteen people, presumably all white, signed a statement requesting the prohibition of Black vocational learning, whether free or enslaved: "it must be known to many of your body, that the Mechanick trades and arts are fast falling into the hands of the black population…we your memorialists pray your honorable body to pass a law for the encouragement and protection of the white mechanic, by prohibiting any slave, free negro or mulatto, being placed as an apprentice in any manner whatsoever to learn a trade or art."[19] White anxiety is tangible in the petition's urgency: vocational knowledge and work are "fast falling" to Black mechanics. Education and prowess are treated like limited resources, a born, racially exclusive privilege to defend rather than a universal privilege to earn. White mechanics feel entitled to "encouragement and protection," claiming a ban on Black presences in skilled spaces will facilitate white prosperity. The insecurity ripe in the racist logic of this petition is an earnest acknowledgement of the capacity of Black minds for skillful trade and deep knowledge. As an accidental affirmation of the increasing strength in educated Black numbers, the words of these petitioning mechanics crystallize the realization that white

Virginians were beginning to have after Nat Turner's Rebellion: education was inevitable and everywhere.

Legislation in the 1840s tracks an increase in the practical understanding that Black men and women were still finding ways to educate themselves. This is evidenced by the passing of an 1848 adjustment to the Virginia Criminal Code, when the punishment for a Black person engaging in schooling was increased from twenty to thirty-nine whipping lashes, and any white teacher was liable to receive six months of jail time and a one hundred dollar fine. These harsh repercussions for breaking the law demonstrate a concrete shift in legislation throughout the half-century preceding Margaret Douglass' case from an understanding of literacy as a potentially useful tool for the enslaved in their work to a strictly dangerous advantage for rebellion. Bible literacy, both orally and through reading, also gained new status as a threat after Nat Turner and others used religious rhetoric as justification for their freedom rather than affirmation of their submission, as was historically encouraged by enslavers. Thus, even the most traditional avenue of education—that of Sunday school and Bible study—had been extinguished in legislature and public opinion by 1850.[20]

Although firmly entrenched in law, anti-literacy efforts were often recognized as unsuccessful. Legislature only prohibited formal schooling, so some enslavers felt comfortable providing basic education at their leisure and Sunday schools often continued to operate. By 1850, print and writing was commonplace in most Southern communities, and the prohibition of Black exposure to literacy was consequently impossible to enforce. Besides Bibles and cheap spelling books for children, road signs, broadsides, advertisements, and even store receipts were reading fodder readily available for practice.[21] The realities of Black literacy in the South reveal an abundance of cracks in the racist narrative that all Black education was both harmful to white people and unnecessary for Black people—namely the idea that literacy was too

advanced for their race and thus an unneeded resource. In fact, some went so far as to imply that anti-literacy laws were a show of white cowardice because they put too much weight on prospective Black intelligence and learning potential.[22] However, this acknowledgement of Black literacy as a persistent and unwelcome presence in Virginia's cultural environment reveals that legislators were aware that Black people were not only capable of learning, but that Black Virginians were considerably more educated than was publicly acknowledged. Black education as such testifies to the truth that education is necessary for independent survival, making it an implicit human right. Even white Virginians were unwilling to endorse formal Black schooling—let alone permission to read—demonstrated their understanding of the ultimate need for widespread literacy through their support of the American Colonization Society.

White Virginian interest in the ACS movement to repatriate freed Black people to Liberia was strong. Mass deportation was seen by white supporters as an easy solution to the growing problem of the free Black community that was rapidly becoming a significant portion of the population and as a way to pacify abolitionists. In designing their plans, white thinkers and writers were in fact forced to admit the need for Black education. Literacy was seen as necessary to thrive independently, and for this reason a movement to educate some Black people before their departure began. Ferdinando Fairfax's "Plan for Liberating the Negroes Within the United States," written in 1790 from Fredericksburg, Virginia, is an early example of this effort: "to forward their progress in the useful arts, and to quality them for the business of legislation; a considerable number of those who are intended to be sent over after the first settlement, should be properly educated and instructed."[23] Even before literacy was formally banned, Virginians were aware that Black people both needed and deserved an education to survive. Government refusal to provide that education inadvertently demonstrates the

connection between the growing power of literacy and early humanitarian efforts. The Liberian cause gained support over the first half of the nineteenth century, especially among women and white teachers. Margaret Mercer, an abolitionist woman who ran a school for Black children in Loudoun County, Virginia, had longstanding ties with the American Colonization Society and sent six of her freed slaves to Liberia. She believed deeply in the cause of education for all children and ran multiple schools throughout her life, both before and during the period of banned education. As her memoirist Caspar Morris notes, her "determination to transport to Liberia all her slaves…originated in an honest, deeply-rooted opinion that their happiness would be promoted by the change, founded on the observation of instances, in which some, emancipated without that preparatory training necessary to qualify them to provide for themselves."[24] Mercer's perspective, justified in terms of religion and humanitarianism, is perhaps typical for the white female teacher of the period. Well-educated with a career that faced living proof of Black aptitude, individuality, and power, Mercer understood that education was categorically requisite to independence.

Despite some female teachers like Margaret Mercer seeking out Black students, white incognizance of free-floating educational experiences and the true gravity of literacy is clear. Even Mercer, a staunch abolitionist, thought it appropriate to encourage her enslaved people to be transported to Liberia instead of committing to an education at home in Virginia. Within the described circumstance of available opportunities for free and enslaved, hidden education became the norm: both "hidden" as in clandestine and hidden as in overlooked by the public. Both definitions are representative, although the former typically applies to the enslaved and the latter to the free. The history of Black education in Virginia is in full continuity with the long-explored historical affirmation of literacy as resistance. Historian Ben Schiller argues that the white response to Black education both predated and caused the strength of the connection

between reading, writing and freedom while revealing the hypocrisy of religious fervor often touted by enslavers. The difference between critical literacy, or the use of language to critique and reshape their world, and practical literacy, defined as the simple ability to read and write, is that critical literacy is what should be viewed as resistance. Practical literacy was decidedly easier to attain, much more common among enslaved women, and was essentially a benign route to navigating life in bondage despite registering as a threat to enslavers.[25] Practical literacy as a means of resisting enslavement was perpetuated by the gendered labor of enslaved women, who in peripherally experiencing the normative standards of nineteenth-century femininity, faced gendered social pressure to educate their communities.

Learning on the typical Virginia plantation was left to the cunning of the enslaved and supplemented by an occasional interest in teaching from enslaver families. Yet anecdotes and narratives of the enslaved demonstrate the commonality of basic literacy and a firm interest in obtaining an education across gender and age lines. Spelling out loud, reading papers left out in the house, and practicing communally at night were all typical solutions to the lack of a formal school. Susan Broaddus, a formerly enslaved woman from Massaponax, Virginia, described how she began to learn to spell through oral communication with an enslaver in an undated interview: “den ole Missus ask which ones he gonna sell an’ tell him quick to spell it. Den he spell out G-A-B-E, and R-U-F-U-S. ‘Course I stood dere without battin’ an eye, an’ makin’ believe I didn’t even hear him, but I was packin’ dem letters up in my haid all de time.”[27] This excerpt demonstrates both Susan’s motivation towards education–to anticipate and face the threats to her community–and the ignorance of her enslavers towards Black capacity for learning. White doubts about Black female aptitude meant that enslavers were more likely to share confidential information or leave reading materials in plain sight.[28] By underestimating her ability, Broaddux’s enslavers

may have in fact provided her more chances for clandestine learning. Another example of Black female determination towards education on plantations comes from Thomas L. Johnson's 1909 autobiography, where he describes his mother's resourcefulness and desire to educate him to the best of her ability:

> My poor mother…taught me what she knew. The whole of her education consisted in a knowledge of the Alphabet, and how to count a hundred. She first taught me the Lord's Prayer. And as soon as I was old enough, she explained to me the difference between the condition of the coloured and white people, and told me that if I would learn how to read and write, some day I might be able to get my freedom; but all that would have to be kept a secret.[29]

Johnson's mother's conviction, more than her own learning, informed her decision to educate her son and demonstrates an understanding of the importance of literacy despite her enslavers depriving her community and attempting to enforce ignorance and submission. Her interest in Johnson's path to critical literacy went so far as to hire a man to teach him letters while their enslaver was away on business, showing the reward of critical language from the massive risk she took.[30] Methods of skirting around prohibitions against enslaved education were varied yet plentiful thanks to maternal figures and female participation. Formal schooling, though theoretically unavailable to enslaved people, may have occurred unbeknownst to enslavers due to the efforts of free Black educators and Northern abolitionists. A once-enslaved woman named Elizabeth Sparks of Seaford, Virginia, alluded to the presence of a free-Black-run school during forbidden meetings in her autobiography: "Once in a while they was free n— come fum somewhah. They could come see yer if yer was their folk. N— used to go way off in the quarters an' slip an' have meetin'...the children used to teach me to read."[31] While the point of Elizabeth's story is to emphasize contact between free and

enslaved Black people on or near plantations, her allusion to schooling efforts made in secret connects the nature of Black cultural education and community literacy to more widespread freedom efforts. Accordingly, her story also hints that one goal of free kin traveling to see their family was to educate them. Because secrecy is so important in Elizabeth's anecdote, it can be inferred that any schooling occurring on this specific plantation was forbidden and unknown: her enslavers likely believed that their supremacy was working successfully alongside Virginian legislation. Elizabeth's experience of children "teaching" her expands the notion that education was accessible to Black people at any point in life, instead of simply being a tool to escape or rebel. Her participation in these meetings helps to develop understanding of the value of informal schooling, contributing to the idea of "free-floating literacy" and female participation in educational efforts.

Perhaps the most compelling anecdote available, Betty Brown's story as told by Anne Rose Page's *Sketches of old Virginia family servants* provides a perspective on white knowledge of enslaved teachers. She expresses continual surprise at the intelligence and ubiquity of education among enslaved individuals. Her status as a woman visiting the Nelson household perhaps suggests a more thorough exposure to education efforts as she was able to observe Betty. As one of Thomas Nelson's widow's slaves, Betty was permitted to share her literacy with the children of the household and community, likely both white and Black. This permission was almost certainly given by Nelson's widow as the head of household after his death, signifying a white female interest in spreading literacy. "I have only one more thing to tell you of Aunt Betty. She fulfilled the command to give liberally of such things as she had. Her little learning was used for the benefit of all the young of her class, to whom she had access. She had a regular school for all who would come to her, and while learning them to read, I doubt not she often told them the story of redeeming love."[32] "Aunt Betty" and her mysterious

literacy and well-informed nature were possibly the foundation of the entirety of the education of Yorktown's Black population at this time. She recognized the gift she could give white and Black children, as a nanny and a teacher, and did so through demonstrating–and impressively, maintaining–autonomy and initiative against the conventions of her enslavers. By routinely hosting "all who would come to her" the existence of her school implies that she was the main access point to Black literacy in Yorktown, or at least the only Black teacher recognized by white townspeople. Students who "would" come to her perhaps had gained permission from both their parents and their enslavers and were willing, "regular" participants. Interested schoolchildren in Aunt Betty's school alludes to families prioritizing education when raising their children as well as common acknowledgement of the school by local enslavers.

Existing in the margins between enslaved and free educational efforts were clandestine schools such as that of Christopher McPherson, a free man who began a school in Richmond in 1811. As a precursor to later stricter efforts, McPherson's school sparked great controversy in the city and ultimately resulted in his sentencing to an asylum for the so-called insanity of his idea. McPherson had chosen to hire a white schoolmaster to teach "the English language grammatically, Writing, Arithmetic, Geography, Astronomy, &c." to free and enslaved people in the area. Enslaved people could only attend with their enslaver's permission, but this notation implies that enslaved people did receive an education at McPherson's school before it was shut down.[33] Regardless of the unfortunate consequences of McPherson's attempt, his situation is a clear example of free Black interest in expanding both open and clandestine education for their enslaved community members. McPherson's school is an early example of what children and adults were meant to learn as the nineteenth century developed–yet his curriculum, developed from his male perspective and potentially intended for a majority-male class, does

not advertise religious instruction. Important to note is the lack of gendered advertising for the school, perhaps indicating that he intended to teach female children and adults a curriculum reflecting traditional male education. McPherson's exclusion of Bible study in his program directly contrasts with the curricula and motivations of female Virginian teachers like Margaret Mercer and Margaret Douglass; there is currently not available evidence to suggest that a woman could have acceptably taught a school not firmly based in theology and virtue.

The contents of these schools and ambitions of their white and Black teachers are largely mysterious, but conclusions can be easily drawn through examining existing curricula from the Chesapeake region for girls and boys. Despite such nebulous statistics, historian Mary Carroll Johansen postulates an idea of what Black children could have learned in formal school settings and how gender affected their education. Margaret Douglass' work was entirely based in religion; she focused her teaching on the Bible, proficient basic literacy, and the beginnings of life skills needed for later subservience. In contrast, many earlier schools provided more thorough and traditionally gendered education, with subjects including grammar and religion but also mathematics, French, and basic vocational skills such as spinning for girls. Johansen estimates that out of more than nine hundred schools across Maryland, Virginia and the District of Columbia, there were dozens supporting biracial classrooms and at least forty-six dedicated to free Black students between 1800 and 1840.[34] Her dissertation includes an evaluation of female-only schools by subject, with common basic topics already mentioned but also occasional schools engaging in physics, chemistry, bookkeeping, geometry, and mythology. There is a clear theme of feminine educational ideals present within Johansen's analysis, and the elite nature of schools which included more advanced science and mathematics show that true higher education for both Black and white women was still very much nascent. While most of these schools were not located in Virginia, there

is no doubt that their existence was public and in fact advertised regionally as students applied.[35] Female-only schools were also present within this count, and an interest in Black girls' education to further nineteenth-century feminine ideals throughout the South perhaps stems from the notion of Black girls as easier to "rescue" and develop as fully civilized. The educational systems imposed on Black female students were intended to extend, not change, existing social strata; the idea was that Virginian poor girls, both white and Black, could be saved from the immorality and "viciousness" of their mothers' lacking virtue and negative influence by pious white female teachers.[36] Imparting these traditional expectations onto young Black women also reflects a step towards cultural assimilation of free Black people into white society: by educating them to a white standard and creating an intention of prosperous, feminine futures, female students throughout the region were symbols of the free Black rise into educational prominence, whether seen in a positive or negative light.

Situated within this diverse array of educational opportunities and tales of growing illicit literacy, Margaret Douglass made her case as a pro-slavery, pro-education teacher in 1853. Her school was a landmark point of recognition that educating Black people was a prescient reality throughout Virginia, consequently giving her school great notoriety. Douglass and her daughter taught free Black children from her home in Norfolk for around three years before being reported to the police. She began the school after offering to tutor the children of a free shopkeeper. Her student body grew rapidly, and she was impressed by their progress. She seems to have developed a close connection with many of her students and took care to impart her religious convictions to them by prioritizing teaching grammar, writing, and the Bible. During her trial, Douglass even went so far as to admit that "in many cases the difference could scarcely be perceived between[the Black children] and white children."[37] Although Douglass' methodology was standard, her case

was sensational nationwide because of its revelations about widespread illegal Black education. Douglass' own admission that her Black and white pupils were equal in aptitude chafed against the white supremacist logic used to justify bans on Black education. While the context of her quote leaves uncertain whether Douglass was proud, troubled, or uncertain what to make of the fact that her Black students were as apt as their white classmates, her emphasis to the public that Black and white students were not only similar, but commensurate, is unmistakable.

Adamant about not educating the enslaved but arguing for free Black learning, Douglass attempted to negotiate an ideological space between abolitionism and fervent support of chattel slavery. The hypocrisy and neglect of Virginian anti-literacy laws brought to light by her defense in court triggered a reactionary wave that essentially condemned the laws and their application. Multiple figures involved with the trial, Douglass points out, including the judge and some jury members, were in fact members of the Sunday school that had hosted her students. Ultimately, the counsel present at the trial admitted "that nearly all of the negroes attending the Sunday-schools could read, gave rise to a violent suspicion that many of the ladies and gentlemen of our city, moving in the higher circles of society, had been guilty of as flagrant a violation of the law, as could be imputed to Mrs. Douglass and her daughter."[38] Douglass' detailed accusations concerning the elite's knowledge of Black educational efforts were a catalyst for the beginning of the dismissal of anti-literacy practices as the Civil War approached. As racial tensions and relations between the North and South grew increasingly hostile, enslavers and pro-slavery Virginians saw their cause slipping. Literacy had grown difficult to control with the rise in available print material and enslaved agency became a greater white concern than free Black people reading newspapers. Essentially, the scale of control over Black people, free or enslaved, had to shift in priority in order to survive at all. Douglass' thought processes as presented in her trial are representative

of the gradual crumbling of both legislative efforts and the public diligence against Black literacy in the 1850s and 1860s.

In contrast, Mary Peake's teaching of Black students occurred nearly simultaneously from a reversed perspective of race and class, demonstrating a uniting thread in Virginian efforts to further Black knowledge and literacy. Mary Peake was a woman of color born in 1823 to a mixed free family in Norfolk. Well educated at one of the schools noted by Johansen before her Virginian residence prevented the end of her schooling in the 1830s, she received "a good English education" hallmarked by feminine skills such as dressmaking and spent much time in devotion to God.[39] As part of a religious mission, she was stationed at Fortress Monroe near Chesapeake, Virginia before and during the Civil War, where she ran a school for Black children. Her biographer, Reverend Lewis C. Lockwood, describes her courage and passion for educating all people, enslaved and free:

> Up to the time of the burning of Hampton, she was engaged in instructing children and adults, through her shrewdness and the divine protection eluding the vigilance of conservators of the slave law, or, if temporarily interfered with, again commencing and prosecuting her labors of love with cautious fearlessness, and this in the midst of the infirmities attending a feeble constitution. [40]

No court case or controversy marks Peake's story, but her status as a Black teacher engaging in illicit education efforts before her Civil-War era school is a remarkable example of the risks willingly taken by free Black men and women to educate others. Her background as a wealthy, educated woman also paints her as a Black representative of period femininity, allowing her to impart contemporary social ideals onto her students as she taught them about forging their own place in the world.

Separated by a decade and a few dozen miles, Mary Peake and Margaret Douglass both engaged in educating Black children during the

eve of the Civil War while facing legal persecution and extralegal threats. Their motivations were both founded in religion, and their methods and curricula were likely quite similar. As educators ensconced in Southern feminine ideals, both women would have felt pressure of varying degrees to abide by gender expectations as they taught white students, let alone when engaging with Black children. Peake's perspective as a Black woman herself makes her narrative even more valuable when placed into conversation with that of Douglass. Her willingness to work with enslaved learners despite the great risk involved adds to a continuity of female strength in the history of Black education: she expanded the work of women like Betty Brown and the knowledge of women like Elizabeth Sparks by ensuring that the people around her could obtain both practical and critical literacy. In contrast, Douglass' approach to educating Black children was limited to those already free and rarely ventured beyond minimal grammar and religious content, despite her recognition of their intelligence. Thus, despite her limited legacy Douglass provides a base framework for understanding the impact of both white and Black women, free and enslaved, on Black education. Her pro-slavery stance, representative of the Virginian public majority during the 1850s, certainly hampered her contributions surrounding Black education itself, yet her boldness during her trial remains an incredibly public turning point in the evolution of the so-called anti-literate reality of Black antebellum Virginia.

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Violence, Religion, and Portugal: European Arrival in the Indian Ocean Put in Context

by Isaac Bindman

In historical discussions of the Indian Ocean before the year 1500 C.E., such as by leading historians Michael Pearson or K.N. Chaudhuri, the broader region is seen as uniquely perfected. The descriptions are often of a peaceful and tolerant arena, in which trade occurred unencumbered by violence, or at least not violence of a large-scale or political nature. The natural extension of this vision of the Indian Ocean is that it was interrupted or even destroyed by the arrival of the Portuguese, beginning with Vasco da Gama in 1498. The Portuguese are characterized as having ruined the peaceful world of the Indian Ocean by bringing large-scale political violence, as well as profound religious intolerance. While on the surface this conception of the pre-modern and early modern Indian Ocean World might sound appealingly critical of early European imperial ambitions, this narrative still upholds a Eurocentric structure by suggesting that the Portuguese were the true catalysts of change. Said differently, this version of events implies on some level that the Indian Ocean World would not have changed without the Portuguese, or that it only took a few decades of interactions by a more minor European power for an enormous system of exchange to be turned on its head.

The broad and central question therefore becomes, did Portuguese arrival in the Indian Ocean truly represent overhauls in the previous systems of political violence, religious cosmopolitanism, and to some extent economics in the sixteenth century? The sub-questions to be considered are: what comprised the nature of inter-religious interactions and systems of political violence in the Indian Ocean before Portuguese arrival? What were the Portuguese actions and feelings towards religious minorities in Portugal before the sixteenth century, and how did they relate to later Portuguese actions in the Indian Ocean? Lastly, how were

violent actions of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century Indian Ocean tied to economic motives versus religious ones? This paper uses the examination of primary and secondary sources on and from the pre-modern Indian Ocean to show how the Indian Ocean region before Portuguese arrival was very much familiar with political violence but also had a relatively high tolerance for religious minorities, such as Muslims and Christians. The next subtopic is the history of discrimination against Jews and Muslims in Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and how these frameworks were imported to a large extent by the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, representing a true discontinuity for the region. Through the analysis of secondary sources as well as a number of sixteenth century primary sources from the Portuguese, as well as from locals of the Indian Ocean, the essay will demonstrate that political violence enacted by the Portuguese was not new to the area, but the combination of this violence with Portuguese religious prejudice did, in fact, represent a meaningful discontinuity of motivation.

The belief that the Indian Ocean was overwhelmingly peaceful before Portuguese arrival can be found in a large number of secondary sources on the time and region, one notable example of which is K.N. Chaudhuri's *Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean*.[1] Chaudhuri defines this work as an economic history of the Indian Ocean from the pre-modern through the early modern, as well as a response of sorts from an Asian perspective to Fernand Bruadel's famous and vast work on the Mediterranean.[2] In Chaudhuri's third chapter on Portuguese in the sixteenth century, he imagines a peaceful pre modern Indian Ocean, writing that, "Indeed, the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean abruptly ended the system of peaceful oceanic navigation that was such a marked feature of the region."[3] The phrase "system of peaceful oceanic navigation" clearly demonstrates the idea of a non-violent, pre-modern Indian Ocean. The word "abruptly" in reference to changes

from Portuguese arrival also shows the oft-repeated idea that discontinuities from the Portuguese in the region were stark and relatively immediate. While it should be said that Chaudhuri's chapter mentions setbacks faced by the Portuguese during this period, his work largely conforms to the idea that Portuguese were major catalysts for change in the sixteenth century Indian Ocean.[4]

Another important secondary work that advances this general idea of violence as a product of European arrival is *The Indian Ocean* by Michael Pearson.[5] Throughout his book, Pearson repeatedly tries to downplay the effect of the Portuguese and other Europeans on the Indian Ocean World, saying that the region was not passive or brought into history by outside forces.[6] However, in a later passage which deals with Portuguese's impact, Pearson does not refrain from denying violence in the Indian Ocean before 1500 C.E, but he still states, "It is not too much of an exaggeration to say that the Portuguese introduced politically controlled violence into the Indian Ocean."[7] He downplays examples of the conflicts of the Srivijayan kingdom and the Chola Kingdom in the eleventh century (which will be discussed later), as well as suggests that port cities did not frequently engage in violence for economic purposes.[8] The nearly twenty years between the publications of Chaudhuri's work and Pearson's should therefore signifies a softening of the historical opinion that political violence arrived into the Indian Ocean with the Portuguese, rather than a rethinking or dismantling of that view.

A temple inscription dated to 1027 clarifies the nature of the war between Chola and Srivijaya kingdoms in the eleventh century.[9] This inscription is called the Tirukkadaiyur Inscription of Rajendra I, and it is on Amritaghateshvara Temple in Southern India, in the territory of what was once the Chola Empire, a polity of Tamil people which ruled over much of the Southern and Central Indian subcontinent from about the ninth century to the thirteenth century C.E.. The inscription describes,

in Tamil, the Chola ruler Rajendra I 's attack and conquest of parts of the Srivijayan Kingdom in ca. 1026 in what is now the Indonesian island of Sumatra. The inscription is one of many such inscriptions from the broader period found in South India and describing South East Asia. The source begins by describing "the lord Sri-Rajendracholadeva, who – conquered with[his] great and warlike army."[10] This statement clearly says that Rajendra I, who ruled from 1012 to 1044 C.E., led a large army in this campaign. This demonstrates the inaccuracy of the idea that the Indian Ocean World was peaceful before European intervention.

This text demonstrates that violence was a part of the Indian Ocean landscape before European arrival, and that this violence was acted out by major kingdoms, in this case the Chola Empire, and not simply by small, piratical bands. The source goes on to list all of the conquests of Rajendra, the first of which is "Srivijayam overflown with a large heap of treasures, which[that king] had rightfully accumulated."[11] This statement, in partnership with later expressions of the "great splendour" of the Srivijayan kingdom, demonstrate how economic factors were at least in part a motivation for this campaign.[12] While the source does not make a direct claim for the cause of the conflict, having a "large heap of treasures" be listed as the first conquest in a list of many, shows that economics acted as a meaningful motivation. This idea therefore subverts the notion of the pre-modern Indian Ocean World as one where polities played a secondary or more passive role in trade, because the text highlights wealth as a prominent reward for political conquest. Lastly, the phrase "rightfully accumulated" in reference to the wealth of the Srivijayan king is interesting and unusual as a descriptor for a military opponent. This phrase fits into the broader trend throughout the text of a sort of admiration for the Srivijayans.

Another example includes the description of Ilankasokam, a location in the Srivijayan kingdom on the Malay Peninsula, as "undaunted in

fierce battles."[13] A clear purpose of these positive descriptions of the Srivijayan land is to elevate Rajendra's accomplishments; for example, it is more impressive to have conquered a powerful and admirable place than to have conquered a weak and poor one. However, these compliments of sorts suggest a conflict derived not from ideology, but from trade. An account of an ideologically fought war would likely include insults or criticisms of the opposing side as a sort of justification, but this inscription gives the precise opposite sort of account. The fact that this inscription lies on a site of worship, a temple, suggests that at least these political and military achievements were used to uplift or strengthen the religion of the area, or the state's connection to it. Even still, the inscription does not actively put down other religious groups, and therefore religion or other types of ideology should not be seen as primary causes for this conflict. This inscription is enlightening as it challenges the narrative that states in the pre-modern Indian Ocean were not largely interested in the maritime trade of the time, and this trade remained largely peaceful. The source suggests that pre-modern conflicts lacked the ideological dimensions that become more apparent in the early modern to modern period.

While Pearson recognizes both the Srivijayan and Chola use of maritime violence, he holds onto his belief that only the Portuguese introduced this type of violence by stating that these previous powers did not have "very effective navies."[14] Whether a polity had a powerful navy and whether a polity was a power in a maritime realm are related, but not identical questions. As explained by historian Hermann Kulke, the Cholas had in the century prior to this invasion conquered, "the flourishing ports on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts," as well as "Sri Lanka and the Maldives as important trading centres in the Indian Ocean."[15] This series of conquests of "important trading centres in the Indian Ocean," which included a number of islands, demonstrates Chola maritime power, whatever the technical abilities of their navy may have

been. In fact, some of these "flourishing ports on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts" are the same or neighboring ones to the ones that the Portuguese will less successfully attempt to conquer in the sixteenth century, such as those in the current state of Kerala. While the historical context has shifted by that point, Pearson's argument that previous Indian Ocean states lacked real maritime power due to their navies' supposed abilities is misguided.

There is another source from the twelfth century, a letter written by the Jewish trader Madmun B. Hasan from the port of Aden to fellow Jewish trader Abraham Ben Yiju on the Malabar Coast of India, which demonstrates the misconceptions around the idea of a peaceful Indian Ocean.[16] This letter was found in Fustat, Cairo, Egypt in what is known as the Cairo Geniza, a site of a huge collection of diverse documents from many different centuries relating to the local Jewish community. The letter describes the event of a recent attack on the port of Aden, in today's Yemen, by a naval force from the island of Kis. An important statement in the beginning of the letter states that this attack was sent by, "the son of al-Amid, the ruler of Kis."[17] This phrase, especially the word "ruler" is important because it marks Kis as a true polity, and not just a site of ragtag piratical activity, as is often believed. In fact, in her study of so-called "pirate" states, including Kis, scholar R.E. Margariti mentions a source from the eleventh century that "claims that the Amir of Kish had successfully diverted ships of overseas trade away from Siraf to his island through a combination of naval intervention and occupation of Siraf and through bribery of Seljuk governors."[18] The phrases of "naval intervention" and "occupation" clearly undercut Pearson's idea that previous powers in the Indian Ocean did not act out maritime military power. Pearson also makes specific mention of pirates in the same paragraph, writing that "piracy was very widespread indeed, and took a heavy toll on merchant shipping."[19] What Pearson does not recognize is that definitions of piracy are fluid

and contingent, and polities like Kis show that entities often defined as pirates could be, in fact, state actors. This contingent definition of piracy therefore makes clear that political violence could not have started with the Portuguese centuries later. The letter is also intriguing because it gives a cause for this conflict, namely that this son of al-Amid "demanded a part of Aden, which was refused."[20] This "part" can either be interpreted as a physical/geographic piece of the city, or simply a piece of the city's revenue from trade.

As Aden's most critical function at this time period was a commercial port, either understanding of the word "part" suggests an economic motive of some kind. This economic motive is important because it shows how polities in the Indian Ocean of this era actively pursued economic opportunities, as opposed to the previously understood notion that states were mostly interested in trade at the less-involved, nonviolent level, such as taxes and customs. Lastly, when describing this conflict, Hasan writes on multiple occasions, "God did not give them[the expeditionary forces of Kis] victory."[21] This statement is critical as it shows how witnesses to this conflict saw it in a religious framework, in this case a Jewish framework. However, the rulers of Aden at the time, as well these forces of Kis, were Muslim. Despite the frequent invocations of religion in this letter, these religious differences between the Jewish author and recipient and the other Muslim actors are not brought up. Therefore, the letter provides an example of the pre-modern Indian Ocean World as a place of conflict and of religious differences, but a place where these two notions were not intertwined. Hence the violence was based more on economic, not religious or ideological factors. Therefore, despite this letter pushing back against previously held notions of the Indian Ocean World as a peaceful place without polities interested in maritime trade, it does support the idea of the pre-modern Indian Ocean as cosmopolitan and tolerant.

Inscriptions and copper plates from medieval South India also speak

to the idea of the pre-modern Indian Ocean as a place of religious tolerance. One copper plate, as analyzed by scholar Y. Subbarayalu, records a charter in old Malayalam from 849 C.E. granting a Syrian Christian church at Kottayam and its residents certain taxation privileges as well as certain duties such as "the right to keep the measuring instruments."[22] There are a number of takeaways from this inscription. First, these Christians were required to perform duties for the broader community, specifically economic ones, and any tolerance they received was in part derived from tasks they performed, not just cultural cosmopolitanism on the behalf of their non-Christian neighbors. However, the task of "keeping the measuring instruments," demands a large amount of trust, showing that this Syrian Christian community were not outsiders on the fringes of society, but some of its more valued members. Somewhat ironically, the Portuguese would later come into conflict with the descendants of this Syrian Christian community in South India to the point to which it could be argued that this community was granted more privileges by its non-Christian rulers than by the Portuguese Christians. in. This example, along with similar plates such as the one found at Cochin from 1000 C.E. which granted broadly rights and privileges to the local Jewish community, show how pre-modern South Asia was a region in which authorities tolerated and supported religious minorities.[23]

Noboru Karashima's study of merchants guilds in South Asia from the ninth century onwards adds one additional layer to the notion of religious tolerance in relation to political authorities. Karashima explains how in Tamil Nadu during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Chola rulers controlled and taxed merchants' guilds like the *ainnurruvar*, a guild which at least to some extent at this point incorporated West Asian merchants of Jewish, Muslim, or Christian backgrounds.[24] During the eleventh and twelfth centuries when the Chola Empire was successfully expanding militarily, Karashima says, "the state itself afforded generous

aid to temples for their construction, worship service, and repair."[25] While the role of these merchants guilds or religious minorities under Chola rule should not be seen as perfect, as they had only limited political autonomy, this example demonstrates how the period of violent Chola expansion correlated with state support of religious expression, including in certain cases minority religions.[26] A more explicit example of this phenomenon comes in Pius Malekandathil's book *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean* in which the author discusses the role of Christians in South Asia before the Portuguese arrival.[27] In this chapter, he mentions the later Chera kingdom, a southern Indian kingdom in power from about the eighth to the twelfth century C.E.. On the Chera relationship to Christians and Jews, Malekandathil writes, "The Chera rulers and their feudatories promoted maritime trade by conferring privileges on the foreign merchants, both Christians and Jews, in their attempts to generate wealth for the purpose of strengthening their hands and for countering the southern attacks initially from the Pandyas, and later from the Cholas."[28] This example relating to the Cheras, who were the enemies of the Cholas and also were not Jewish or Christian, demonstrates perhaps more clearly how political violence indirectly caused religious tolerance of certain minority groups, though for economic purposes. However, more broadly speaking, this correlation between political violence and religious tolerance is in stark contrast to what the Portuguese will later practice in the region.

Despite the well-known *Reconquista* ("reconquest") of the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim rule, Portugal remained tolerant of Muslims and Jews into the late fifteenth century. This process is relevant because it demonstrates how the Portuguese kingdom saw itself as essentially a Christian one, and that its formation was in opposition to Muslim rule. However, Jews and Muslims were not immediately expelled or otherwise legally discriminated against in Portugal until the late fifteenth century.

As historian Antonio Jose Saraiva explains in his book, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and its New Christians 1536-1765*, "The free practice of Judaism (and of Islam) was not merely recognized, but guaranteed by law."[29] Jews were not only tolerated, but flourished in Portugal before the sixteenth century, with Saraiva also mentioning that Jews held immense wealth and administrative power, much of which was a hold over from the community's relatively elite status under Muslim rule.[30] However, as M.N. Pearson notes in the first chapter of his book, *The New Cambridge History of India: The Portuguese in India,* the relative tolerance of non-Christians in Portugal ended when Portuguese princes sought to marry the daughters of Spanish princesses for purposes of political gain.[31] The Spanish crown stated that the adoption of forced conversion or expulsion of religious minorities as a condition of the marriages, and the Portuguese conceded when King Manuel I (reigned 1495-1521 C.E.) expelled or demanded the conversion of all non-Christians in 1496.[32] Vasco da Gama's arrival in India in 1498[33] must therefore be seen in the context of a Portuguese kingdom that had just turned around its previous stance towards minority religious groups and banned minority religions outright.[34] As Saraiva makes clear, while certain aspects of Portuguese policies of intolerance at the end of the fifteenth century could be seen as less extreme or hostile when compared to their Iberian neighbors, the laws after 1496 should be seen as what they were: a legal eradication of Judaism and Islam in Portugal.[35]

A final point on the status of religious minorities in Portugal he expansion of religious tolerance in Portugal as a result of the growing overseas Empire. Saraiva makes the compelling argument that the vast amounts of wealth that were derived from The expansion of the Portuguese Empire, including into the Indian Ocean, strengthened not only the Portuguese Crown, but also a class of bourgeois merchants disproportionately made up of "New Christians," or recently converted

Jews.[36] The aristocratic and royal elites saw the rise of this new class as a threat to the social order, and utilized their newfound power as well as previously dormant anti-semitism to begin the Portuguese Inquisition in 1536.[37] While it is only one factor in the formation of this brutal and intolerant institution, the wealth generated via conflict and trade with non-Christians in the Indian Ocean played a role in furthering intolerance in Portugal. This phenomenon is the precise reverse of the phenomena that the Portuguese will enact in the Indian Ocean. Where religious intolerance was a consequence of wealth creation in Portugal, it was a motivation tied to economic gain in the Indian Ocean.

The Portuguese perceived the diverse peoples they encountered in the Indian Ocean largely through the lens of trade routes and their own intolerant beliefs. A useful primary source from the Portuguese perspective to begin with is the *Livro de Duarte Barbosa (The Book of Duarte Barbosa)*.[38] This text was written in ca. 1516 by Duarte Barbosa, a Portuguese scribe who worked on the west coast of India in the early sixteenth century. More specifically he worked in a Portuguese trading station, meaning that much of his account is focused on economic movement and trade. His text describes the diverse local communities of the region, including the various Muslim groups who worked and lived in the region. Barbosa's book therefore provides an interesting and relatively new European perspective on the complex Indian Ocean trade world of the era, which unfortunately includes many European prejudices. An important early observation of Barbosa is about the breadth of the Indian Ocean trade network. He states that Muslim traders, "sailed for[the] Red Sea, Aden and Mecca…to Cairo, and from Cairo to Alexandria and then to Venice."[39] The number of geographic sites mentioned in this statement shows how the Portuguese entered into a maritime arena in which they were, at least initially, one small player, not dominant overlords. With the exception of Venice, Muslim rulers controlled all of the locations listed, proving that Portuguese control

would not be able to assert itself easily. The fact that a Portuguese man like Barbosa would state this is the ultimate counterargument to the Eurocentric idea that all previous hierarchies or networks were flipped in favor of the Portuguese upon their entrance into the Indian Ocean. More specifically, the fact that only one European place, the final destination of Venice, was mentioned on this list, shows how Europeans were not only not overlords, but were in fact peripheral to this important network of exchange in the early years of their interactions in the Indian Ocean. They were a perhaps a final destination on a long series of exchanges, not a central focal point.

Barbosa's description of local Muslims and non-Muslims also displays his distaste for religious groups other than his own.[40] When describing indigenous Muslims, the Mappilas, he writes, "If they have sons or daughters by these [wives or concubines indigenous to the Malabar coast] they make them Moors, and often times the mother as well, and thus this evil generation continues to increase in Malabar."[41] The terms "Heathen" as well as "evil" in reference to different local communities clearly demonstrate Portuguese prejudice and bigotry towards local peoples, in this case Hindus and Mappila Muslims respectively. More specifically, the quote on Muslim family expansion shows that the Portuguese saw the local Muslim community as lesser than themselves, but also on some level as threatening. With the Muslim community being seen as such, and local non-Muslims described as "Heathens," Barbosa created a religious and racial hierarchy in which essentially all local Malabari people were considered inferior and unfavorable. More specifically, the term "Heathen" denotes negative connotations, showing Barbosa's disdain for local non-Muslims, and it also has the meaning of people who are outside of the dominant religious group, or "pagans" more generally. Therefore, while both "Heathen" and "evil" demonstrate the Portuguese dislike of Malabari people, the term "heathen" in reference to non-Muslims has an additional dimension that

suggests these peoples are not only unwanted, but are also outsiders or in some way unknown.

The idea of Indian non-Muslims as a relatively unknown quantity for the Portuguese in comparison to Muslims would make sense, considering that Muslims had been allowed to live in Portugal until less than twenty years before this source was written, as previously discussed. The local Muslims being given a stronger negative term than non-Muslims therefore supports the idea that the Portuguese imported their own frameworks on different religions from Portugal, because the Muslims are categorized as enemies but not as outsiders. While the diverse region of the Indian Ocean had long recognized and categorized groups along religious lines, the vehemence and negativity of these Portuguese descriptions of local religious groups were relatively new. Therefore, this source helps provide clearer understandings of continuities and discontinuities in the region after Portuguese arrival. Namely, the Portuguese were not initially able to place themselves in control over the vast and complex trade networks of the Indian Ocean, but their prejudiced ideology towards those of different religions breaks with the more cosmopolitan framework previously held in the region.

Another critical aspect of Barbosa's account is his focus on matters relating to commerce, as his position at a trading station would imply. There are numerous mentions showing the prominence of Muslim traders on the Malabar coast throughout his book. One example is, "[The Muslim traders] took on board goods for every place, and every monsoon ten and fifteen of these ships sailed for[the] Red Sea, Aden and Mecca, where they sold their goods at a profit."[42] As the Portuguese were highly motivated by the potential of wealth from Indian Ocean trade, they saw these Muslim merchants as competitors. While Barbosa and other Portuguese sources' language and descriptions relating to Malabari Muslims demonstrate a type of disdain which is clearly grounded in religious and racial bias, it should not be forgotten that much

of this animosity was also based on economic competition. Acceptance of religious minorities in the Indian Ocean before Portuguese arrival had economic dimensions, and the Portuguese broke this phenomenon by combining religious bigotry with motivations for economic gain.

The historian Sebastian Prange, in his book, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and Faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast*, also deals with the combination of religious discrimination and commercial rivalry in interactions between the Portuguese and Malabar Muslims in the sixteenth century.[43] When discussing a source which mentions da Gama's suspicion and criticism of Malabar Muslims at the beginning of the sixteenth century, Prange writes that this Portuguese negativity towards Muslims is, "hardly surprising in light of the commercial rivalry between the parties and the deep-rooted historic animosity between the Portuguese crown and Muslim states."[44] This quote shows that tensions between Muslims and the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean were derived from religious prejudice but was also connected to "commercial rivalry." The phrase "historic animosity" supports the idea that the context around oppression of religious minorities in Portugal is relevant to Portuguese actions in the Indian Ocean, and that to some extent this anti-Muslim sentiment was imported by the Portuguese to the region.

A telling example of these ideas is provided by Prange in the same section. He explains how da Gama at Calicut "demanded that all Muslims be expelled from the town."[45] The non-Muslim Zamorin ruler of the town rejected da Gama's claim, and cited the great financial benefits Calicut had received as a result of Muslim merchants. The Zamorin ruler also stated that Muslims in Calicut were "natives, not foreigners."[46] Prange then writes, "The Portuguese responded to this refusal with a bombardment of the town, which the Zamorin and the Muslim suffered in unity."[47] First, the fact that da Gama called for Muslims to be "expelled" specifically provides evidence for the idea that the Portuguese imported policies towards religious minorities from

Portugal to the Indian Ocean, as expulsion was one of the main actions taken against Portuguese Muslims less than a decade before this event at Calicut. Secondly, the fact that the non-Muslim Zamorin of Calicut rejected this demand from da Gama by in part saying that Muslims were "natives, not foreigners" points at the relative religious tolerance of the Indian Ocean World,. However, the fact that the Zamorin also mentioned the economic benefit to the city derived from its Muslim merchant community shows that this tolerance and defense of the Muslim community should not only be seen as part of a welcoming culture, but that the Zamorin gained from this tolerance in a practical, financial way. Therefore, again, just as Portuguese intolerance of Muslims in the Indian Ocean had an economic dimension, so did the Zamorin relative tolerance of Muslims.

Considering the Portuguese bombarded the city as a result of this refusal shows two further points. The first is that while the Portuguese did distinguish between non-Muslims and Muslims in the Indian Ocean and the Indian Subcontinent in particular, their attack on both on Muslims and non-Muslims shows that they saw neither group in high regard. Further, the attack resulting from a denial of a policy of religious intolerance shows how the Portuguese combined political violence and religious intolerance in their dealings in the sixteenth century Indian Ocean. As previously posited through examples like the conflicts between the Cholas and the Srivijayans, politically-based violence was not new to the Indian Ocean as some have claimed. However, to connect religious intolerance, which was in part imported from the context in Portugal, with this type of violence represents a meaningful discontinuity with the previous situation in the Indian Ocean.

The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires, an early sixteenth-century Portuguese account of the Indian Ocean, supports these ideas by giving examples of Portuguese military action motivated in part by religious difference.[48] On Pires' account of Goa, which the Portuguese had just

conquered at the time, he writes about relations with local Muslims there. Pires wrote, "Great festivals used to be celebrated here in honour of the profane Mohammed, and these have now been changed to the name of Jesus Christ. The city of Goa is as strong as Rhodes. It has four fortresses, very richly constructed, in the necessary places, to injure the name of Mohammed."[49] The use of the word "profane" in reference the Islamic prophet Muhammed, as well as saying that the fortifications of Goa exist "to injure the name of Mohammed" obviously show the strong anti-Muslim sentiment amongst the Portuguese. While economic competition certainly played a role in the conflicts between the Portuguese and Muslims of the Indian Ocean, this quotation clearly shows a profound anti-Muslim prejudice also helped to shape Portuguese actions at this time. Also, the mention that the city had "four fortresses" which were "very richly constructed" for the purposes of combatting Muslim forces, shows again how the Portuguese connected large-scale, polity-sponsored violence with religious prejudice against Muslims in the Indian Ocean.

In the same section of the account, Pires also looks at non-Muslims of Goa, including a discussion of the elite Brahman caste. Pires writes of the Goan Brahmans, "They are clever, prudent, learned in their religion. A Brahman would not become a Mohammedan [even] if he were made a king."[50] These statements are compelling as they differ greatly from Pires' descriptions of local Muslims by being quite positive, a sentiment clearly shown in the words, "clever," "prudent," and "learned." This complimentary tone shows how the Portuguese saw distinctions between different religious groups in the Indian Ocean, and how their treatment of these groups varied greatly.The fact that Pires compliments the Brahmans by distinguishing them from Muslims confirms Portuguese anti-Muslim sentiment. The history of the Reconquista factors into Pires' view of Brahmans and Muslims, because he insults Muslims, Portugal's historical adversaries, but withholds negative judgment on Brahmans, a

previously unknown group in Portuguese history.

A source from the sixteenth century Malabar Coast from the Muslim perspective helps to expand the understanding of these conflicts with the Portuguese. This source in particular is the *Tuhfat al-Mujahidin fi-ba'd akhbar al Burtughaliyyin* or *Gift of the Mujahidin: Some Accounts of the Portuguese*, a text written in Arabic in 1583 by Zayn al-Din al-Malibari, a local Muslim jurist.[51] In this work he discusses the injustices he perceived as a result of Portuguese action and influence, as well as Muslim relations with local non-Muslim/Hindu political leaders. In a broader discussion of Malabari practices and customs, al-Maliabri writes, "They [Malibari non-Muslims] do not subject to harm anyone of them who converts to Islam; instead, they respect him as they do other Muslims, even if he is from one of their lowliest groups."[52] This quote, especially the phrase, "they respect him as they do other Muslims," shows how non-Muslim rulers on the Indian Subcontinent broadly were tolerant or accepting of Muslims, displaying how the active and violent anti-Muslim action perpetrated by the Portuguese represented a true discontinuity as a result of their arrival into the Indian Ocean. In his introduction to the text, historian Enseng Ho explains how much of the text refers to Portuguese discrimination against Muslims in the sixteenth century Malibar, but also that al-Malibari "presents arguments from Islamic law to oblige Muslims to fight the Portuguese."[53] This idea is crucial as it shows that the Portuguese imported violence induced by religious intolerance into the Indian Ocean, but was later enacted by other actors against the Portuguese themselves. Operating in the Portuguese framework of a connection between collective, organized violence and religious prejudice, Muslims of the sixteenth century Indian Ocean were not passive victims, but also active participants. The point is not to suggest that Muslims of this time and region were "as bad" as the Portuguese, but that Portuguese systems of violence spread and included multiple actors outside of the Portuguese themselves.

The Saint Thomas community, a Syrian Christian group on the southern end of the Indian subcontinent, presented an anomaly to Portuguese imperial conceptions of religion. As a result of this group's isolation from mainstream European Christianity, their practices differed greatly from those of the Portuguese, something which caused tension. The writings of Alexis de Menezes, the Portuguese archbishop of Goa, demonstrates the tensions between the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese as well as the tensions that arose from these differences.[54] In an earlier chapter of this Jornada, Menezes explains in a critical fashion how a St. Thomas prelate called Mar Simon attempted to become a Bishop of Malabar. After describing Mar Simon's failure to achieve this position, Menezes writes, "From this one can see the miserable state of those Christians who were subjects of ignorant people and schismatics."[55] Menezes' language in this passage when referencing the situation of the St. Thomas Christians, particularly the phrases "miserable state," as well as "ignorant people and schismatics" as descriptors for their leaders, shows how Menezes and the Portuguese saw the St. Thomas Christians as misguided or inferior Christians to themselves, and that they were in need of help or guidance. While these differences between the St. Thomas Christians and the Portuguese did not lead to the large-scale violence that the Portuguese acted upon Malabari Muslims, the critiques of the validity of these Christians' faith do still represent an importation of the religious context of Portugal at the time. "The Portuguese treatment of formerly Jewish 'New Christians' mirrors the Portuguese treatment of St Thomas Christians."

A deeper discussion of economics is required to truly examine the continuities and discontinuities of Portuguese arrival into the Indian Ocean. A telling and critical example comes from another work by Sebastian Prange, an article called "A Trade of No Dishonor: Piracy, Commerce, and Community in the Western Indian Ocean, Twelfth to Sixteenth Century."[56] In a broader discussion of the fluid and

complicated nature of piracy in the pre-modern Indian Ocean, Prange cites the famous traveler and scholar Ibn Battuta on his experience of a system of tribute practiced by a state on the Southwestern coast of the Indian Subcontinent. Prange then argues for the similarity of this earlier system to the later Portuguese *cartaz* practice, writing, "both systems forced ships to call at specific ports in order to tax them; both claimed a legal underpinning; and both were ultimately founded in the threat of maritime violence."[57] Firstly, the example of an earlier Indian Ocean system of violence continues to reject the idea of the Indian Ocean as a peaceful arena. More importantly, while Prange is not suggesting that the Portuguese *cartaz* system was identical to this earlier South Asian tribute practice, his comparison is effective because he shows how the early Portuguese actions in the region did not reverse previous frameworks or represent stark discontinuities. While one could compellingly argue that the Portuguese actions like the *cartaz* system, an organized system by which Europeans extracted wealth from Asians, were the basis for the later European imperial dominance of the region and global capitalism more broadly, one need not rush to these later developments. While one can suggest that these Portuguese economic frameworks were later critical for the formation of the modern world, these changes were not abrupt and in many ways, as in this example, can be seen more appropriately as slow, slightly shifting continuities, and not as stark upheavals.

Broadly speaking, the general historical consensus on the pre-modern Indian Ocean World and the Portuguese impact on this world in the sixteenth century is overly simplistic. In the Western historical conception, the early modern period and the end of the Medieval Era occurred around the time of the Portuguese entrance into the Indian Ocean. As a result of this temporal categorization, there is the urge to see this moment as one of great and sharp change, or even as an opportunity to anachronistically over-project later developments such as European

colonialism onto this time and place. However, numerous sources from the late Medieval and early modern periods suggest that in many ways, the Portuguese entrance into the Indian Ocean did not create as many immediate discontinuities as previously imagined. The clearest example is that of political violence, which was believed to have been only minor or even absent from the region before the sixteenth century. The wars between the Srivijayans and the Cholas, the attacks of the so-called "pirate state" of Kis on Aden, among numerous other examples, show that this conception does not faithfully represent the environment of the Indian Ocean World. However, one major and quite immediate discontinuity created by the Portuguese is religious intolerance and less economics, as Prange's examination of precedents to the *cartaz* system and Duarte Barbosa's source show in different ways. While the pre-modern Indian Ocean World was not completely harmious, it was a place where religious minorities could broadly find protections and rights, even if these privileges were derived for economic reasons. While the Portuguese actions towards different religious groups of the Indian Ocean were generally clashing, their intolerance requires qualifications. Specifically, they treated religious groups differently; as they enacted the most violence against Muslims, whereas their conflicts with St. Thomas Christians were more doctrinal and less violent in nature. Non-Muslims, the ancestors of those who now see themselves as Hindus, were simultaneously demeaned and admired in different sources, though Portuguese violent conflict against this group should not be ignored. Lastly, just as the Portuguese impact on the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century is better understood in the context of the region before their arrival, and as an importation of frameworks against non-Catholics derived from the specific, Portuguese context leading up to the sixteenth century.

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"By His Prudent Might": Chaghadai in the Sources, A Historiographical Study[1]

by Julia Steffe

Chinggis Khan's second son Chaghadai (1183–1242) is most noted in primary and scholarly sources for his belligerent character, his infamous rivalry with his elder brother Jochi, and his strict adherence to the Mongol legal code (*yasa or jasaq*).[2] By contrast, Chaghadai's militaristic and administrative contributions during his younger brother Ögedei's (r. 1229–1242) reign have rarely been analyzed, and indicate a far greater degree of imperial influence and authority than is commonly stated. As historian Stefan Kamola has argued, Persian accounts of Chaghadai and his descendants must be considered in the context of a pro-Toluid bias, and may have sought to suppress Chaghadai's importance and influence.[3] This paper will examine the plausibility of Toluid erasure where Chaghadai is concerned, and discuss the nature of his role and authority in the Mongol court during Ögedei's reign as depicted in the epic chronicle, *The Secret History of the Mongols*. Several passages in *The Secret History* indicate Chaghadai's tremendous influence, his role as an advisor and the legal force of his words. Chaghadai's preeminence and familial authority are demonstrated by his central role in Ögedei's enthronement, his contributions in planning three pivotal military campaigns in the 1230s, and his influence in sanctioning and deciding several administrative policies.

The Golden Lineage (*Altan Urugh*)

Chinggis Khan (b. 1162) and his senior wife Börte Fujin had nine children. Their daughters, Qojin (b. 1179 or 1180), Checheyigen (1187), Alaqa (1189), Tümelün (1192), and Al Altan (1196) brought other influential steppe families into the Mongol fold through strategic marriages and contributed greatly to the formation and administration of

the empire.[4] Börte's four sons, Jochi (c.1181-1225), Chaghadai (1183-1242), Ögedei (1186-1241) and Tolui (1194-1233) participated extensively in their father's campaigns and earned reputations as capable commanders.[5] The complex nature of steppe succession meant that brothers, uncles, legitimate sons, or a widow acting as a regent could succeed a deceased ruler.[6] However, Chinggis Khan chose to invest the rulership of the empire only in his four sons by Börte, as opposed to his brothers or other potential claimants. Early in their marriage, Börte had been abducted by a Merkit tribesman, and her eldest son Jochi was born shortly after her rescue by Chinggis (then known as Temüjin) and his allies.[7]Although Chinggis unwaveringly acknowledged Jochi as his son, the lingering uncertainty surrounding his paternity greatly impacted the Mongol succession.[8]

According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, shortly before the Kwarazmian invasions in 1218, Chinggis held an assembly (*quriltai*) to formally decide on a successor.[9] As the eldest son, Jochi had the best claim, but the issue was muddied by the persistent rumors of his illegitimate birth.[10] As told by *The Secret History*, Chaghadai's scathing denouncement of Jochi as a "Merkit bastard" erupted in a brawl which effectively eliminated the claims of both elder brothers.[11] The political succession was decided in favor of the affable and generous Ögedei, the third son, while Jochi and Chaghadai were allotted large, semi-autonomous appanages under the aegis of their younger brother Ögedei, The Great Khan.[12] The youngest son, Tolui, in the Mongol custom of ultimogeniture, inherited his father's original lands in Mongolia proper and served as the regent in the interregnum after Chinggis' death in 1227.[13]

Ögedei's twelve year reign (1229–1241) oversaw enormous military expansion, administrative innovation, and cultural and mercantile exchange.[14] However, his death in 1241 due to alcoholism left a power vacuum and an unstable Ögedeid succession.[15] Chaghadai, Chinggis'

last surviving son and the senior prince of the family, supported Ögedei's widow Töregene as regent for her eldest son, Güyük.[16] Chaghadai's death in early 1242, and Güyük's in 1248, provided a choice opportunity for other branches of the family to carry out their own ambitions.[17] In 1251, Tolui's eldest son Möngke (r. 1251-1259) overthrew the Ögedeids with the assistance of his mother, Sorqoqtani Beki, and his Jochid cousins, seizing the Great Khanate for the Toluid line.[18] In order to consolidate his power and eliminate opposition, Möngke carried out a series of purges, resulting in the executions of hundreds of Ögedeid descendants and their Chaghadaid allies.[19] The Great Khanate remained in Tolui's line for the remainder of the empire's existence, thus enabling the Toluid family and their supporters to revise and manipulate the historical record in order to justify the 1251 coup and bolster their own political interests.

The Persian Sources and the Toluids

Rashid al-Din's *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, or Compendium of Chronicles, remains a vital primary source on the Mongols, encompassing the conquests and providing descriptions of the careers and genealogies of Chinggis Khan and his successors.[20] A notable historian and powerful Ilkhanid vizier, Rashid al-Din drew principally from the Persian historian Juvaynī, who also served the Toluids, as well as the *Altan Debter*, a lost Mongolian chronicle.[21] Rashid al-Din's patron was the Ilkhan Ghazan (r.1295-1304), a grandson of Tolui.[22] Ghazan commissioned the *Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh*, originally called the *Tārikh-i Mubārak Ghāzānī*, in 1302 but died before its completion.[23] Rashid al-Din instead presented the work, eventually combined with a history of the world, to Ghazan's brother and successor Öljeitu (r.1304-16).[24]

Elements of the work, in particular Rashid al-Din's multiple revisions of Chaghadai's family tree, were undoubtedly influenced by the author's pro-Toluid affinities.[25] The efforts of the Persian historians to portray

the Toluid coup as justified, and the Toluids as legitimate claimants, necessitated the delegitimization of other branches of the family as unsuited for the throne. As scholars Ayalon and Jackson observe, if "[the lines of Ögedei and Chaghadai] had been victorious, a very different picture of the personalities and rights involved would have come down to us."[26] Kamola has argued that Rashid al-Din's multiple revisions of the Chaghadaid family tree are suggestive of both an expanding body of genealogical knowledge and the cultivation of a pro-Toluid historical record at the expense of the Chaghadaids.[27] Rashid al-Din's presentation of Chaghadai and his heirs is thus inextricable from the cultivation of a Toluid-centric narrative, which negatively colors how we view the Chaghadaids and their founder.

The Disgraced Princes: Muji-Jebe and Büri

Rashid al-Din's pro-Toluid bias is evident in the relegation of several of Chaghadai's sons and grandsons to junior family lines.[28] The demotions of certain Chaghadaid princes were likely prompted by the Toluid desire to obscure their executions, or those of their offspring, at the hands of the Toluid-Jochid usurpers. This falsification of the genealogical record coincides with the suppression of Chaghadai's own imperial influence and the impugnation of his character in the Persian sources.

Two anecdotes regarding Chaghadai and his immediate descendants are of particular interest. The first concerns Chaghadai's eldest son, Muji-Jebe. Although Rashid al-Din's initial text stated that Yesülün Khatun, Chaghadai's chief wife, was the mother of all his children, a later revision claims that Muji-Jebe was the product of rape.[29] In the section devoted to Chaghadai's sons, Rashid al-Din writes, "[Muji-Jebe's] mother was a servant girl in Yesülün Khatun's camp…Chaghatai dragged her off and made her pregnant. For this reason…he did not attach great importance to Muji-Jebe, and he was given fewer troops and

less territory."[30] Rashid al-Din thus establishes Muji-Jebe's illegitimacy as well as his sordid origins, which he further underlines by claiming that Chaghadai allotted Muji-Jebe a smaller territorial dispensation. As Kamola suggests, the later addition of the story may have been motivated by the fates of Negüder and Ahmad, Muji-Jebe's sons.[31] Negüder rebelled against the Toluid Ilkhan Abaqa in 1268 and was banished, while Ahmad fought and was executed by Baraq, his Chaghadaid cousin supported by the Toluid Kublai Khan.[32] It is indeed difficult to separate the violent tale of Muji-Jebe's conception from the later disgraces and executions of his sons on Toluid orders. In addition to delegitimizing the princes, the inclusion of the "rape story" effectively maligns Chaghadai's own character, and by association the suitability of his descendants for rulership.

Significantly, Rashid al-Din repeats the story with only a few thinly veiled modifications. Concerning Chaghadai's second and favorite son Mutukan (d.1221), Rashid al-Din claims, "one day Mutukan…took[a captive woman] who was very beautiful off into a corner and lay with her. When it occurred to him that she might become pregnant, he ordered her kept apart from her husband. Büri was born of her."[33] The matter of Büri's parentage remains inconsistent in the sources. Rashid al-Din describes Büri as the illegitimate third son of Mutukan, while Juvaynī mentions Büri only in the retinue of Chaghadai's sons and grandsons who attended Ögedei's formal election as Great Khan in 1228.[34] However, non-Toluid sources name Büri as a senior son of Chaghadai, not Mutukan. The papal envoy John of Plano Carpini, writing before the Persian historians in 1246 and therefore unaffected by their political concerns, lists Büri as one of Chaghadai's sons.[35] Furthermore, in *The Secret History*, Chaghadai himself refers to Büri as "the eldest of my sons."[36] Crucially, Büri is also depicted as one of the four commanding princes in the major Kievan Rus' campaign of 1236–1242, along with Batu, Güyük and Möngke, the senior sons from the other

three familial branches.[37] In view of the Rus' campaign's great importance, this would be a surprising position if Büri were only a junior, and likely adolescent, grandson. Considering Büri's attested prominent role in the Rus' campaign and Chaghadai's words in *The Secret History*, it is more plausible that Büri was indeed a senior son of Chaghadai, and his illegitimate birth Rashid al-Din's own invention.

When viewed in the context of Rashid al-Din's other politically-minded revisions of the Chaghadaid family tree, the identification of Büri as Chaghadai's grandson must be thrown further into question. Still more suspicious are the direct parallels between Muji-Jebe and Büri's illegitimate births and the alleged assaults and low stations of their mothers. As in the case of Muji-Jebe's sons, Rashid al-Din's attempt to delegitimize Büri stems from the necessity of justifying his execution by Batu, Jochi's son and heir. Of Büri's death, Rashid al-Din writes, "Once when[Büri] was drinking he cursed Batu because of a grudge he harbored towards him…Batu[later] killed him."[38] Rashid al-Din's unflattering depiction of Büri as drunk and insulting further implies that his execution was merited. Framing Büri's death as one of vengeance exacted upon an insubordinate and illegitimate junior prince absolves the Jochids of a far more serious crime: the murder of a senior Chaghadaid prince, one with a strong claim to his father's appanage. As Chaghadai's eldest surviving son, Büri's position and his close ties with the Ögedeids would have presented a serious threat to the Toluid-Jochid coalition.[39] Rashid al-Din's framing of the conflict as a petty grudge, one started by Büri, deflects accusations of political motivation on the part of the Jochid Batu, and suppresses the obvious connection between Büri's execution and the purges of Chaghadai's and Ögedei's other children and grandchildren in the 1251 coup.

Rashid al-Din's two parallel accounts may therefore be interpreted as deliberate obfuscations meant to justify the executions and exile of three Chaghadaid princes, Büri, Ahmad and Negüder, at the hands of the

Toluids and their Jochid allies. By presenting Muji-Jebe and Büri as products of rape, Rashid al-Din lends their alleged illegitimate conceptions a still more dishonorable context. The ignominious nature of the assaults is borne out by Büri's quarrelsome character and the (implied) treacherous natures of Muji-Jebe's sons. Rashid al-Din's often inconsistent and defamatory account of Chaghadai and his heirs thus reflects both the desire to legitimize the earlier 1251 coup and the ongoing necessity of reframing the turbulent politics of Rashid al-Din's own era in a pro-Toluid context.

The equivocal nature of the genealogical record is echoed in Persian depictions of Chaghadai's character and the suppression of his imperial influence. Juvayni aptly describes Chaghadai as a "fierce and mighty khan," and chiefly focuses on his stern character and rigid interpretation of the Mongol legal code to the detriment of his sedentary Muslim subjects.[40] Rashid al-Din is more conciliatory, presenting Chaghadai as "a just, competent ruler," and again emphasizing his strict adherence to the *yasa* law.[41] Rashid al-Din also provides several anecdotes detailing Chaghadai's support and deference to Ögedei's rule.[42] However, Chaghadai's prominent role in the Mongol court and Ögedei's reliance on himas an advisor are largely omitted by the Persian sources. Rashid al-Din acknowledges that Ögodei "sent emissaries to consult with[Chaghadai] on all matters of importance and never took action without his approval," a statement which is corroborated by *The Secret History*, but which fails to suggest the details or the immense importance of the issues upon which Chaghadai advised and decided.[4] The result is a contradictory portrait, one which praises Chaghadai's sense of justice and support of Ögedei but which undermines his character and those of his descendants through the inclusion of the Muji-Jebe and Büri narratives.

As scholar Christopher Atwood has demonstrated, the Persian sources employ a similar strategy where Jochi is concerned, depicting him

"solely as a hunter" and downplaying or omitting his military achievements.[44] Atwood concludes that "the Toluid historians who crafted the standard narrative pictured Jochi in terms that were hardly flattering."[45] For his part, Juvaynī describes Chaghadai's ceremonial role in Ögedei's enthronement but entirely omits his involvement in matters of governance or the planning of major campaigns.[46] Instead, Juvaynī asserts that Chaghadai was "ever engaged in amusements and pleasures and dallying with sweet-faced peri-like maidens."[47] The depictions of Jochi and Chaghadai as committed to amusements and pleasures and therefore, by implication, uninterested in royal and administrative responsibilities, provide an effective means of further undermining the fitness of their descendants for the throne.

As demonstrated in the cases of Muji-Jebe and Büri, Rashid al-Din obscures and repackages the careers and genealogy of important Chaghadaids in order to promote a pro-Toluid agenda and historical narrative. To that end, the Persian sources also engage in subtly slandering the characters of Jochi and Chaghadai and in suppressing key details and the extent of Chaghadai's power and imperial influence. The suppression of Chaghadai's role in the Mongol court was primarily beneficial to Toluid interests, whose claims of legitimacy rested in part on Tolui's alleged superiority as a commander over his older brothers, and whose legacy was contingent upon crafting a sympathetic historiographical narrative.[48]

The Secret History

In order to reconstruct and interpret Chaghadai's imperial role during Ögedei's reign, it is necessary to turn to *The Secret History of the Mongols.* As the only primary Mongol source, *The Secret History* serves as a useful corrective and comparison with the later Persian sources. Other essential perspectives include the Latin sources, John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck. John of Plano Carpini, the papal envoy

who attended the coronation of Ögedei's son Güyük in 1246, provides an important and contrasting depiction of Güyük's character and the Ögedeid court shortly before the Toluid-Jochid coup.[49] The Franciscan friar William of Rubruck, who visited Great Khan Möngke in 1253, echoes the pro-Toluid narrative on the 1251 coup and the personages involved, likely because this account was the prevailing one in Möngke's court.[50] The Chinese sources, particularly the *Yuanshi*, also deserve consultation, but were beyond the scope of this paper.[51]

The Secret History is not without its biases and inaccuracies. The text interweaves elements of a historical chronicle, political record, model of governance and a poetic epic. However, the text reveals how the Mongols themselves perceived Chaghadai and his pronouncements and chose to enshrine his words alongside those of his brother, the Great Khan Ögedei. Chaghadai is depicted as a forceful and powerful figure whose influence encompasses integral matters of Mongol succession in addition to the planning of campaigns and the deciding of administrative policy during Ögedei's reign.

Ögedei's Nomination and Enthronement

In *The Secret History*, Chaghadai's role in Ögedei's nomination and enthronement is portrayed as central and legitimizing. During the deciding of the succession in 1218, Chaghadai directly challenges Jochi's claim, demanding of his father, "When you say, 'Jochi, speak up!' do you mean that you will appoint[him] as your successor? How can we let ourselves be ruled by this bastard offspring of the Merkit?"[52] Chaghadai then nominates Ögedei, declaring, "Ögedei among us is steady and reliable. Let us agree upon[him]."[53] The Persian historians present a different narrative. Juvaynī depicts the succession as peacefully settled during the Tangut campaign of 1226, while Rashid al-Din's account entirely omits Jochi's and Chaghadai's participation or any question of their claims.[54] Both Juvaynī and Rashid al-Din suggest that

Ögedei's nomination was the result of foresight on the part of Chinggis himself, rather than the compromise solution portrayed in The Secret History, with Chinggis choosing individual paths for each of his sons. Rashid al-Din depicts Chinggis as deciding between Tolui and Ögedei, further emphasizing Tolui's princely qualities.[55] *The Secret History*'s emphasis on Chaghadai's role in the succession, the existence of his own claim to the Great Khanate, and most significantly his nomination of Ögedei, directly contradict his exclusion in the Persian sources.

However, the sources are unanimous in confirming Chaghadai's support of Ögedei and his adherence to their father's will during the assembly which formally elected Ögedei in the summer of 1228.[56] *The Secret History* portrays Chaghadai as the primary figure in Ögedei's election and enthronement amidst the assemblage of Mongol nobility, stating that "Elder brother Ča'adai installed his younger brother as *qan*."[57] As the eldest surviving son of Chinggis Khan, Chaghadai's role in Ögedei's enthronement is depicted as particularly legitimizing. According to de Rachewiltz, "the whole issue of Ögedei's election is a very complex one, bound up as it is with Mongol inheritance customs, Chinggis' will and the thorny question of rivalry between the family of Ögedei and that of Tolui."[58] Interestingly, the Chinese sources suggest that as the regent, Tolui may have delayed proceedings and proferred his own claim, although this assertion is not present in either *The Secret History* or the Persian sources, potentially due to Toluid revisions after the 1251 coup.[59] Although Rashid al-Din presents Tolui as a staunch supporter of Ögedei, he also states that Chaghadai "made great efforts to have Ögedei enthroned and kept insisting until they elevated him to the rule in accordance with their father's command."[60] The phrasing implies that Chaghadai's repeated insistence and "great efforts" were necessary to begin with, while omitting anything that might suggest Tolui's own ambitions. If Ögedei were unanimously agreed upon, such insistence would, in theory, not have been necessary. Rashid al-Din's

statement, “Of all the brothers, only Chaghadai was friendly with both Ögedei and Tolui,”[61] further suggests tension between the Ögedeid and Toluid families. Indeed, Ögödei’s election may not have been the seamless transition of power that is often depicted, requiring greater efforts on the part of his supporters, of whom Chaghadai was the principal voice.

In *The Secret History*, Chaghadai decisively and irrevocably impacts the succession of the empire, both through his denouncement of Jochi and his suggestion of Ögedei as a compromise, a distinct contrast to the pro-Toluid Persian sources. Chaghadai’s role in his younger brother’s election and enthronement are likewise portrayed as key. Finally, tension and rivalry between the Ögedeid and Toluid families, likely suppressed after the 1251 coup, may have necessitated Chaghadai's continued insistence on the fulfillment of their father’s will.

Chaghadai’s Influence and Authority

In *The Secret History*, Chaghadai appears as a far more powerful and influential figure than is commonly held, particularly in the pro-Toluid sources. Ögedei consults him frequently on important matters, including significant military campaigns and administrative decisions. Chaghadai’s imperial role as depicted in *The Secret History* seems to be twofold: he is consulted as a prominent and respected advisor, and he appears to have spoken with some kind of legal authority. This authority is expressed in two ways: one, in approving the Great Khan’s proposals and second, in issuing his own decisions, which are requested, confirmed, and followed by his brother. However, the extent of Chaghadai’s authority and princely autonomy, particularly in relation to Ögedei himself, is uncertain and warrants further examination.

In addition to his central role in Ögedei’s enthronement, the scope of Chaghadai’s influence in *The Secret History* includes the following. Chaghadai sanctions and advises on three major military campaigns: the

general Chormaqan's continued 1230 pursuit of the Khwarazmian prince Jalal al-Din, the third and final invasion of the Jin empire of North China in 1232, and the enormous 1236 Kieven Rus' invasions. Chaghadai's preeminence as an advisor and legal authority is reflected in the significance and scale of these campaigns as well as the importance of the personages involved. Furthermore, Ögedei consults Chaghadai in the same capacities on several administrative measures, including the expansion of the postal jam system, the regulation of taxes and the construction of wells. This demonstrates that Chaghadai's influence and authority was not limited to military matters, but extended to the administering of the empire and the maintaining of the imperial establishment.

According to *The Secret History*, Ögedei's first act as Great Qa'an, after the transference of his father's keshig and the domain of the center to himself, was to take counsel with Chaghadai.[62] This resulted in two commanders, Oqotur and Mönggetü, being sent in support of the general Chormaqan during his siege of Baghdad. As de Rachewiltz notes, *The Secret History*'s account is almost certainly anachronistic, as Chormaqan's attack of Baghdad did not occur until 1238, and Oqotur and Mönggetü were not dispatched until 1236.[63] However, an expedition in pursuit of the Kwarazmian prince Jalal al-Din Manguberti was carried out by Chormaqan in 1230, and it may have been upon this expedition[64] which Chaghadai advised. Jalal al-Din was the last heir of the defeated Kwarazmian empire and after his house's destruction had persistently eluded capture, first taking refuge in the Delhi Sultanate of India.[65] Returning to Iran in 1224, he carried out a series of successful invasions in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus which consolidated his power as sultan, threatening Mongol incursions into those same territories and a resurgence of Kwarazmian power.[66] In 1230, Ögedei dispatched Chormaqan, a famed and experienced general (*noyan*) who had also served his father, at the head of 30,000 troops to Persia to deal with the

threat.[67] Chormaqan's involvement alone reflects the magnitude of the 1230 Persian campaign and indicates the centrality of Chaghadai's role as an advisor. Chaghadai was clearly consulted upon matters vital to the empire's survival and expansion, and is singled out by *The Secret History* as Ögedei's principal advisor.

Ögedei again consults his brother concerning the third campaign against the Jin empire (1231-1234). Both Chaghadai and Ögedei, alongside their elder brother Jochi, had participated in their father's initial invasions of the Jin from 1211-1214.[68] The Mongols were forced to withdraw from North China in 1214 due to internal strife, but the campaign resumed in 1218 under command of the general Muqali, who again withdrew in 1223.[69] Ögedei's third and final invasion was intended to complete the destruction of the Jin empire and the imperial family, in which objective it succeeded in 1234.[70] In *The Secret History*, Ögedei requests Chaghadai's approval to initiate operations. He says, "if elder brother Chaghadai agrees, since our father has left matters with…the Kitat[Jurchen Jin] people unfinished, I shall now move against[them]."[71] Chaghadai's reply contains both his agreement and military advice, declaring "what obstacles are there? Place a capable man in charge of the main base camp and set forth. I shall send out troops from here."[72] de Rachewiltz notes, "it was again Chaghadai who sanctioned Ogedei's proposal to proceed, a fact which is not mentioned in the Chinese and Persian sources."[73] Chaghadai's judgment is presented as the deciding factor in the campaign's initiation. Moreover, Chaghadai's response is formulated as a directive, which implies a significant degree of authority in issuing and sanctioning military decisions. Ögedei's repeated requests for his council and formal approval suggest a legal force to Chaghadai's pronouncements, which concurs with Chaghadai's oft-cited erudition in the *yasa* legal code and customary law.[74]

Finally, Chaghadai is depicted as the primary figure in planning the

enormous Kievan Rus' campaign (1236-1242). Chaghadai provides intelligence on the warlike nature of the enemy, and is again presented as the pivotal voice in deciding the command of the armies. He elucidates the campaign's potential difficulties, stating "the enemy people beyond consist of many states. There at the end of the world, they are hard people. When they become angry,[they] would rather die by their own swords. I am told they have sharp swords."[75] It can be surmised that Chaghadai's long military experience and intelligence networks were considered valuable resources in the planning of major campaigns.[76]

Chaghadai also advises on the structure of command and on the necessity of enlarging the army, stating "if the troops who set forth are numerous, they shall go to fight looking superior and mighty."[77] Ögedei again confirms Chaghadai's order, declaring, "By these words and by the zeal and strength of our elder brother Chaghadai, let us send out the eldest of the sons."[78] de Rachewiltz remarks, "It is to be noted that Ögödei accepted his decisions as final and binding."[79] Although Ögedei certainly conferred with other generals, officials and family members, *The Secret History* only records his consultations with Chaghadai. This suggests that Chaghadai's specific approval was considered particularly legitimizing in imperial matters, and may be explained by his position as the eldest surviving son of Chinggis Khan, and the apparent legal connotation of his words. In *The Secret History,* Chaghadai therefore functions as both an important advisor and as a legal and familial authority with the power to sanction the Great Khan's proposals, issue judgments on imperial measures and incorporate his own military policies.

According to *The Secret History*, Chaghadai's influence and authority extended to the administration of the empire. The brothers exchange several messages on expanding the *jam* messenger system, specifically on the providing of poststation masters and posthorse keepers.[80] Ögedei consults Chaghadai further on the provision of milch mares,

grainkeepers and the regulation of taxes, namely the proposed levy of "one sheep a year out of every flock of one hundred," from each flock owner to the imperial establishment.[81] Chaghadai also approves Ögedei's decision to construct protected wells in the Čöl (Gobi desert) for the sustenance of travelers and animals.[82] Ögedei again confirms Chaghadai's authority in sanctioning his proposals, stating, "let elder brother Chaghadai decide. If these measures under discussion are appropriate and he approves them, let the decision come from[him]."[83] Chaghadai again replies with his approval and the observation, "of all the measures, the one concerning the establishment of post stations is the most appropriate that has been proposed."[84] As in military matters, Chaghadai's authorization provides legality in the enactment of administrative policies. The mention of the "appropriateness" of the proposals suggests that Chaghadai's authorization ensured the adherence of new regulations with Mongol legality and custom.

The Secret History is singular among the sources in that it details the specific issues upon which Chaghadai advised and demonstrates critical aspects of his function in the Mongol court. The consultations between the brothers concern matters of profound importance, no less than the running of the empire and the deciding of imperial and military policy. In both military and administrative matters, Chaghadai's approval confirms the legitimacy of Ögedei's proposals, while the binding nature of his decisions suggest that his words possessed legal force. The devotion of several passages to Chaghadai's involvement seems intended to emphasize the scope and essential nature of his influence as well as the magnanimous style of Ögedei's rule.

To Conclude

The 1251 Toluid coup and usurpation of the Great Khanate indelibly and negatively influenced the depictions of the other three Chinggisid

branches in later historical narratives. The Persian sources consistently reveal their pro-Toluid biases in the unfavorable and delegitimizing depictions of Chaghadai and his descendants. In particular, Rashid al-Din's libelous narratives involving Chaghadai's heirs serve to justify the executions of Büri and Muji-Jebe's sons at the hands of the Toluid-Jochid coalition while obscuring Büri's probable identity as a senior son of Chaghadai. These falsifications are consistent with the Persian sources' subtler impugnation and suppression of Chaghadai's character and imperial influence.

The Secret History of the Mongols presents an entirely different account of Chaghadai and his role in the early empire, one which elucidates and confirms his significance and authority in the Mongol court during Ögedei's reign. Chaghadai's role in his younger brother's nomination and enthronement is depicted as central and legitimizing. While the Persian sources second Chaghadai's prominent role in Ögedei's accession, they omit his participation in the assembly which nominated Ögedei and the existence of Chaghadai's own claim to the Great Khanate. Most significantly, *The Secret History* details Chaghadai's extensive participation in the planning, sanctioning and deciding of major military campaigns and key administrative issues, demonstrating his role as a principal advisor to his brother and the legal authority with which he spoke.

Depending on the date of *The Secret History*'s composition, the fact that Chaghadai's words, whether recorded or embellished, survived Toluid revisions of the text further signals his great importance and that his judgments were potentially viewed as valuable resources for future generations of rulers.[85] That Ögedei, despite being Chaghadai's political superior, thought it necessary to obtain his brother's written and spoken approval indicates that Chaghadai's position and authority were unique amongst the Mongol nobility during Ögedei's reign, and his proclamations and council were afforded great weight. I would argue that

Chaghadai's influence was not solely ceremonial or expository, but also consisted of tangible authority and legal significance, the exact parameters of which, if they formally existed, remain undefined and deserving of further study.

Endnotes

[1] Title from F.W. Cleaves, "Aqa Minu," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 24 (1962 - 1963), p. 70.

[2] See 'Aṭā'-Malik 'Alā' al-Dīn Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, tr. J. A. Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958, rprt. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), p. 271; For his belligerence, see Michal Biran, "Chaghatay Khān", in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam, III*, Edited by: Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, Everett Rowson. For his rivalry with Jochi, see Anonymous, *The Secret History of the Mongols: A Mongolian Epic Chronicle of the Thirteenth Century*, ed. and tr. Igor de Rachewiltz (Leiden: Brill, 2006), §254.

[3] Stefan Kamola. "Untangling the Chaghadaids: Why We Should and Should Not Trust Rashid Al-Din." *Central Asiatic Journal* 62, (2021), p. 70-71.

[4] Anne Broadbridge, *Women and the Making of the Mongol Empire* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2018), 57.

[5] Broadbridge, *Women*, 67. Also René Grousset, trans. Naomi Walford. *The Empire of the Steppes, a History of Central Asia*. Rutgers University, 1970. p, 253-255.

[6] Broadbridge, *Women*, p. 30.

[7] Broadbridge, *Women*, 62-63.

[8] Broadbridge, *Women*, 62.

[9] *The Secret History*, §254.

[10] For a discussion on Mongol political primogeniture and the allocation of appanages to Jochi and Chaghadai, see Lhamsuren Munkh-Erdene, "Mongol State Formation and Imperial Transformation," in *The Mongol World*. ed. May, T., & Hope, M. Routledge, (2022), p.727-729.

[11] *Secret History*, §254.

[12] Munkh-Erdene, "Mongol State Formation," p. 727. Jochi received

the Kazakh steppe, southern Siberia, the lower Volga, the Qipchaq steppe, and North Caucasia. Chaghadai's appanage encompassed much of the conquered former Qara Khitai and Kwarazmian territories, stretching from Uighuria to the Oxus. Thomas Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire, Apportioned Lands Under the Mongols" in *Nomads in the Sedentary World* (1st ed.) ed. Khazanov, A.M., & Wink, A. Routledge. (2001), p. 173. Also Michal Biran, "The Mongols in Central Asia from Chinggis Khan's Invasion to the Rise of Temür: "The Ögödeid and Chaghadaid Realms" in *The Cambridge History of Inner Asia: The Chinggisid Age*. ed. Cosmo, Frank, Golden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2009), p. 47.

[13] Thomas Allsen, "Sharing out the Empire," p. 173.

[14] Timothy May, "The Reign of Ögödei." *The Mongol Empire*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. p. 94-121.

[15] Tolui was also a noted alcoholic and had died in 1233, most likely after a bout of drinking. *The Secret History*, however, frames his death as a sacrifice. *Secret History*, §272. Citation: Thomas Allsen, "Ögedei and Alcohol." *Mongolian Studies*, 2007, Vol. 29, p. 6.

[16] Michael Hope. *Power, Politics, and Tradition in the Mongol Empire and the Īlkhānate of Iran*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, (2016), p. 62.

[17] Unlike his younger brothers, Chaghadai did not die of alcoholism. His illness is described as a terminal "sore" disease by Juvayni. Juvaynī, *History of the World-Conqueror*, p. 271.

[18] Jackson, Peter. "The Dissolution of the Mongol Empire," Central Asiatic Journal , 1978, 22, (1978), p. 186.

[19] This entailed the executions of several of Chaghadai's and Ögedei's sons, grandsons, daughters-in-law, retainers and their families. Jackson, "Dissolution," 189.

[20] *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols*, tr. and annotated Wheeler M.

Thackston (Harvard University: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998-1999).
[21] Morgan, D.O. "The Great Yāsā of Chingiz Khān' and Mongol Law in the Īlkhānate." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, University of London, 49, (1986), p. 169
[22] Kamola, "Untangling the Chaghadaids," 70.
[23] Ibid, 70.
[24] Ibid, 70.
[25] Ibid, 71.
[26] Jackson, "Dissolution," 189.
[27] Kamola, "Untangling the Chaghadaids," 71.
[28] Baiju, originally described as Chaghadai's fifth son, was listed as a son of Mutukan in al-Din's second revision. Chaghadai's seventh son Qatagi was also downgraded as a grandson. Kamola, "Untangling the Chaghadaids," 75.
[29] Like Börte, Yesülün was of the Qongirrat clan, which frequently provided queens for the Mongol khans. She and her sister Togen, Chaghadai's second wife, were daughters of Börte's cousin Qata. Broadbridge, *Women* p. 117.
[30] *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jami'u't-tawarikh: Compendium of Chronicles: A History of the Mongols*, tr. and annotated Wheeler M. Thackston (Harvard University: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1998-1999), p. 367.
[31] Kamola, "Untangling the Chaghadaids," 74-75.
[32] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi'*, tr. Thackston, p. 368.
[33] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi'*, tr. Thackston, p. 368.
[34] In al-Din's third revision, Büri is listed as Mutukan's second son. Kamola, "Untangling the Chaghadaids," 84. Also see Juvaynī, *History of the World-Conqueror*, p. 249.
[35] John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols in The Mongol*

Mission: narratives and letters of the Franciscan missionaries in China and Mongolia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, tr. a nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. Christopher Dawson (New York: Sheed and Ward), 1955, p, 26.

[36] Chaghadai means that Büri is his eldest surviving legitimate son. Mutukan had died c. 1221 at the Siege of Bamiyan during the Kwarazmian campaign, while Chaghadai's second son Belgeshi died shortly afterward, aged 13. See Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 368 and p. 371. Citation: *Secret History,* §270.

[37] *Secret History[*SH], §270.

[38] In the SH, Güyük and Büri declare their equal standing to Batu and insult him over seniority. William of Rubruck describes the quarrel as motivated by territorial disputes. Either conflict is more logical if Büri were a senior Chaghadaid prince with a legitimate claim to his father’s ulus. See *The Secret History*, §275. Also see William of Rubruck, *The Journey of William of Rubruck* in *The Mongol Mission*, tr. a nun of Stanbrook Abbey, ed. Christopher Dawson, p. 135. Citation from Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 369.

[39] Scholars disagree as to the nature of Büri’s relationship to Chaghadai. de Rachewiltz interprets Chaghadai’s use of the term *kö’üt* (son) as a case of “*sensu lato*” and identifies Büri as a grandson. de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 992. However, Jackson suggests that Büri’s execution by Batu may have resulted in the obscuring of his senior rank as Chaghadai's son. Jackson, “Dissolution,” 199.

[40] ‘Aṭā’-Malik ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Juvaynī, *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushā*, tr. J. A. Boyle, *History of the World-Conqueror*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958, rprt. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), p. 271.

[41] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 374.

[42] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 375.

[43] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 375. See *Secret History*, §270, §271, §279 and §280.

[44] Christopher Atwood,"Jochi and the Early Western Campaigns." *How Mongolia Matters: War, Law and Society*. ed. Rossabi. Brill. p. 55. For Jochi's alleged disobedience of Chinggis Qan's command to conquer the Qipchaq Steppe and the Caucases, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*', tr. Thackston, p. 359.
[45] Atwood, "Jochi," p. 55.
[46] Although Juvaini depicts Chaghadai as participating in the second Jin campaign along with his younger brothers, he does not mention his involvement in planning or sanctioning it. Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror*, p. 187.
[47] Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror*, p. 272.
[48] For Rashid al-Din's glowing portrayal of Tolui's character and abilities, see Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*', tr. Thackston, p. 384-386. Also see Tolui's speech in *Secret History*, §272. "I have cleft…"
[49] John of Plano Carpini, *History of the Mongols*, p. 63-69.
[50] William of Rubruck, *Journey*, 147-148.
[51] Jackson, "Dissolution," p. 190.
[52] *Secret History*, §254. Koko Čos' rebuke of Chaghadai, and his assertion that "It was you, among the sons, for whom your father the Qan had cherished hopes[as his heir]" also deserves further scrutiny. See *Secret History*, §254.
[53] *Secret History*, §255.
[54] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*', tr. Thackston, p. 303. The date of the succession's settlement remains debated. The SH portrays the succession as occurring shortly before the Kwarazmian campaign in 1218 (*Secret History*, §254. Atwood suggests that it occurred shortly after the mishandled siege of Urgench in 1221 and corresponded with Jochi's removal as the original heir, (Atwood, "Jochi," p. 54). Broadbridge concurs with the Persian historians' dating of 1226, shortly after Jochi's death (1225) and before that of Chinggis Qan (1226), (Broadbridge, *Women*, p. 131).

[55]Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 303-304. Also see Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror*, 40.
[56] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 375, Juvaynī, *World-Conqueror*, p. 239, *Secret History*, §269.
[57] Secret History, §269.
[58] de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 984.
[59] Jackson, “Dissolution,” p. 197.
[60] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 375.
[61] Rashīd al-Dīn, *Jāmi*‘, tr. Thackston, p. 375.
[62] *Secret History*, §270.
[63] de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 989.
[64] de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 989. Chaghadai likely advised on both the 1230 and 1236 campaigns.
[65] Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 260.
[66] Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 260.
[67] Jalal al-Din fled and was pursued, eventually dying in the mountains of Diyarbakir. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes*, 261.
[68] Michal Biran, “Chaghatay Khān”
[69] David Wright, “The Mongol Conquest of The Jin Empire, 1211-1234” in *The Mongol World*. ed. May, T., & Hope, M. Routledge, (2022), p. 258.
[70] David Wright, “The Mongol Conquest,” p. 264.
[71] *Secret History*, §271.
[72] *Secret History*, §271.
[73] de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 992.
[74] During his lifetime, Chaghadai was noted as an expert in Mongol law and custom (*jasaq* and *yosun*). Chaghadai’s role in administering the *jasaq* remains uncertain, perhaps in part due to longstanding debate over the nature and contents of the *jasaq* itself. Juvaini suggests that Chaghadai was appointed by his father appointed to guard and administer the Mongol legal and customary code, (Juvaynī, *World-*

Conqueror, p. 40), but scholars differ on what this may have entailed. Morgan suggests that Chaghadai was regarded as an "expositor of custom" while Biran suggests his possible judicial capacity and refers to Chaghadai's "erudition in ritual." (Morgan, "Great Yasa" p. 170 and Biran, "The Mongols," p. 63). However, the nature and extent of Chaghadai's authority concerning the *yasa*, as well as any ritualistic connotations, remain unclear.

[75] *Secret History*, §270. Hope. *Power, Politics, and Tradition*, 58.

[76] For a summary of Chaghadai's military career, see Michal Biran, "Chaghatay Khān."

[77] *Secret History*, §270.

[78] That is, in command of the armies in support of Subodei. These were Batu, Büri, Güyük and Möngke, although several other sons also participated. *Secret History*, §270. Also de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 991.

[79] de Rachewiltz, Commentary, p. 991.

[80] *Secret History*, §279.

[81] *Secret History*, §280. A requisition which de Rachewiltz suggests was "a lighter burden compared to[possible] previous exactions."

[82] Secret History, §279. It is interesting that Ögedei's summation of his "four good deeds" (the destruction of the Jin, the jam system, the digging of wells, and the establishment of scouts and garrison troops) concern policies and projects which Chaghadai advised on and sanctioned. See Secret History, §281.

[83] Secret History, §279.

[84] Secret History, §279.

[85] de Rachewiltz suggests an initial composition date of 1228 during the quriltai which elected Ögedei, with later additions in the 1240s. de Rachewiltz, "Introduction," pp. xxix-xxxiv. However, Christopher Atwood has argued for its composition in the 1250s, during the reign of Möngke. Atwood, "The Date of the 'Secret History of the Mongols'

Reconsidered," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 37 (2007): 1-48.