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PUCRS

Introduction: Sandoval's Place in the Debate on Black Slavery

It seems correct to affirm that the debate on slavery in 16th century focused above all on the reception of Aristotle's theory of natural slavery –which should legitimize, given the absence of “dominium” by the indigenous peoples, the subjection of the newly discovered cultures and nations in the New World–, and to a lesser extent on slavery as a condition resulting of allegedly just wars against the Indians. On the wake of intellectuals such as Francisco de Vitoria O.P. (1483-1546) and Bartolomé de Las Casas O.P. (1474-1566), most religious men and intellectuals of the Catholic Church condemned, strictly speaking, both natural slavery of the Indians and civil forms of slavery applied to them as well –though this last condemnation had not only theoretical, but also practical motivations, such as the supposed unaptness of the Indians to enforced labor, as well as the remarkable decrease of indigenous populations in the colonies at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century¹. From the second half of the 16th century onwards, and especially in the 17th century, under the authority of classical, patristic, and medieval sources on the status and the practice of slavery similar to those that the previous generation used for their own accounts, Catholic intellectuals faced theoretical and practical moral questions concerning the slavery of “Africans” or, more generally, “Blacks”² and the moral and juridical correctness of slave

¹ Enriqueta Vila Vilar, “Introducción”, in Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud - De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, introducción, transcripción y traducción de Enriqueta Vila Vilar, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1987, pp. 17-18, reminds us that by the end of the 16th century, “Indios” were basically no longer enslaved, they had to live, according to royal mandates, under different forms of institutions, such as “encomienda”, “repartimiento”, and “peonaje”. Moreover, Philipp II signed monopoly contracts of African slave trade with the Portuguese, who were also in need of labor forces to their South-American colonies, where white or European owners had begun to successfully explore sugar cane plantations.

² That is, all people with black skin color, which for Sandoval are Africans and also, for example, inhabitants of India, the Oceania, and the Philippines. Cfr. also Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, Las Casas, Alonso de Sandoval e a defesa da escravidão negra, *Topoi* 7:12 (2006) 25-59 (here 38). On the Philippines and their in-

trade and its several implications. In this second large context of reflection on the social institution of slavery and on slavery as a –sadly enough– traditional form of human social relationship, we will find several approaches in authors of the 16th-17th century, both repeating patterns of discussion and enriching the debate with new considerations on human nature and rights, as well as on the justice of political and economic systems.

The Jesuit Alonso de Sandoval plays a special role in the history of ideas on Black slavery. His assessment –to be found in his *De instauranda Aethiopia salute* (1627)³– has multiple sides: it is both theological, philosophical, and juridical. He offers –and is in this regard perhaps the best possible example among Latin-America thinkers where we would find a single source for– a set of various reasons that helps our understanding of the emergence and the establishment of Black slavery's ideology⁴ in 16th-17th century or, at least, a set of reasons that allows us to understand the regrettable combination of Catholic thought and acceptance of Black slavery as a social institution in those times.

Sandoval's work is a unique testimony about the Africans. It brings historical and cultural descriptions of Africa, Africans and "Blacks" broadly speaking⁵. But, of course, the main task here is to explore its theological and philosophical aspects concerning slavery as such and Black slavery more specifically. In fact, Sandoval's mission as a Catholic priest was done in Cartagena de Indias, today's Colombia, which was then the main harbor for trading

habitants, cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud - De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, introducción, transcripción y traducción de Enriqueta Vila Vilar, Alianza Editorial, Madrid, 1987, I, vii-ix, pp. 93-100. Sandoval's description of places in Africa focuses on Cape Verde, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Angola, and Congo, as well as St. Thomas (São Tomé e Príncipe) and Mozambique. A map of some "African Cultural Groups" that are important in Sandoval's reports can be found in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., *Treatise on Slavery - Selections from De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, edited and translated, with an introduction, by Nicole Von Germeten, Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis, 2008, p. XXXII.

³ The title of Alonso de Sandoval's work denounces an obvious acquaintance with José de Acosta's treatise *De procuranda Indorum salute*, which is Acosta's central treatise on the doctrinal bases for the Catholic missions among the indigenous peoples of America; José de Acosta, *De procuranda indorum salute. Pacificación y colonización - Educación y evangelización*, latín - castellano, CSIC, Madrid, Vols. 1-2, 1984 and 1987. Cfr. also J. I. Saranyana et alii, *Teología en América Latina. Desde los orígenes a la Guerra de Sucesión (1493-1715)*, Iberoamericana - Vervuert, Madrid - Frankfurt am Main, Vol. I, 1999, pp. 252-265.

⁴ I use the word and the notion of "ideology", here, in a sufficiently general sense; the basic meaning would be a complex set of philosophical, theological, legal, and cultural ideas, that is essentially constructed by a group, class or nation, and helps to understand a given historical and political situation.

⁵ The report of Sandoval –imperfect as it may be– was notorious and original, and it remained for centuries the most complete report on the history and cultures of African continent and nations –beyond the theological and missiological purpose of the work as such. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Introducción", in Alonso de Sandoval, op. cit., p. 37, note 64, mentions some of the historical sources quoted by Sandoval.

Black slaves in the Hispanic colonies⁶. It was an appropriated context to reflect upon the Catholic and Jesuit mission with the Africans, since from 1595 to 1640 about 135.000 slaves dropped in Cartagena⁷, and a similar amount in the Caribbean harbors, such as Veracruz, La Habana, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico, as well as in Santa Maria (coast of today's Venezuela) and Buenos Aires⁸.

Born 1576/1577 in Seville and coming from a well-established and large family –his father, Tristán Sánchez de Sandoval, was awarded, around 1583, the title of counter of the “Real Hacienda” in Lima–, Alonso de Sandoval was educated by the Jesuits in Lima and lived in Cartagena from 1606 to 1652, the only exception being the period 1617-1619, when he stood again with the Jesuits in the “Ciudad de los Reyes”⁹. He held the position of principal of the Jesuit College in Cartagena in 1623¹⁰, but there is no doubt that his main vocation was as a minister and confessor. Quite passionate in his acts, convictions and pastoral care and sometimes both sanguineous and severe in administration and relationships, Alonso de Sandoval gave a *sui generis* dedication to the ministry of the Blacks in Cartagena¹¹. In this ministry, he showed a unique and strict concern for the right administration of the sacraments to the Blacks, especially concerning baptism, the preparation for it by means of due catechesis, and the problem concerning both the need and the avoidance of rebaptism of enslaved Africans, to be decided only after a careful inspection of each case¹². However, it is fair to Sandoval to recognize his

⁶ Cfr. Nicole Von Germeten, “Introduction”, in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., *Treatise on Slavery – Selections from De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, edited and translated, with an introduction, by Nicole Von Germeten, Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis, 2008, pp. IX-XIII.

⁷ Cfr. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, “Introducción”, in Alonso de Sandoval, op. cit., p. 18. Cfr. also Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamerica y el comercio de esclavos*, Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, Sevilla, 1977, pp. 127-238, 239-283. Nearly 9 millions slaves were transported to the New World; of them nearly 4 millions were imported to Brazil, which was also the last independent country to suppress traffic in the Americas, forced by England, as well as slavery as an institution as such; cfr. Décio Freitas, *Esclavidão de índios e negros no Brasil*, Porto Alegre, Escola Superior de Teologia São Lourenço de Brindes, 1980, p. 8.

⁸ Cfr. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, “Introducción”, in Alonso de Sandoval, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

⁹ This was certainly a period of research to the accomplishment of his *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*.

¹⁰ Perhaps in 1624; cfr. Juan Manuel Pacheco, *Los Jesuitas en Colombia*, Editorial “San Juan Eudes”, Bogotá, Vol. 1, 1954, p. 254.

¹¹ Cfr. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, “Introducción”, in Alonso de Sandoval, op. cit., pp. 26-31; Nicole Von Germeten, “Introduction”, in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., op. cit., pp. IX-X, XV-XXI.

¹² These aspects of Sandoval's thought receive an extensive treatment in Book III of *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*; such topics are explored in the essay by Márcio Paulo Cenci, “African Slavery and Salvation in the *De instauranda Aethiopia salute* of Alonso de Sandoval S.J. (1577-1652)”, which composes the present issue of *Patristica & Mediaevalia*.

concern for both spiritual *and* physical care of the "bozales" (as he calls Blacks newly arrived at the Hispanic colonies, or slaves linguistically and culturally still not adapted to European or Iberian civilization¹³), in form of healing of illnesses and fair physical treatment by slave holders. In all that, Sandoval showed a theological and even mystical concern for the mission of the Church regarding the spiritual salvation of all human beings, and, in his view, especially of the Blacks¹⁴, a mission he believed was a special task of evangelization and conversion given to the Company of Jesus, whose best spiritual guides should be seen in the founder Ignatius of Loyola (1491-1556) and in Francis Xavier (1506-1552), who can be taken as Alonso de Sandoval's best religious model¹⁵.

The edition used as a source for this study was the one that originally appeared 1627 in Seville¹⁶. It was published 1987 in Madrid with an introduction, transcription and "translation" into (a more) contemporary Spanish by Enriqueta Vila Vilar¹⁷. Sandoval's own positions about slavery and slave

¹³ Cfr. for example Herbert S. Klein, *Escavidão africana – América Latina e Caribe*, tradução de José Eduardo Mendonça, Editora Brasiliense, São Paulo, 1987, p. 29. Cfr. also Marie-Cécile Bénassy, "I metodi di evangelizzazione degli schiavi neri nell'America spagnuola, in particolare dei bozales", in Luciano Vaccaro (ed.), *L'Europa e l'evangelizzazione del Nuovo Mondo*, Centro Ambrosiano di Documentazione e Studi Religiosi, Milano, 1995, pp.311-327.

¹⁴ In this regard, cfr. Fernando Zolli, "Alonso de Sandoval. La conquista espiritual de los esclavos negros", in Romeo Ballán (ed.), *Misioneros de la primera hora. Grandes evangelizadores del Nuevo Mundo*, Editorial "Sin Fronteras", Lima 1991, pp. 177-186.

¹⁵ This is explicitly developed by Sandoval in Book IV of his *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, which might be viewed as an addition to the original purpose of the book once finished. Book IV is an apology of the missionary work of the Company of Jesus in general and the mission with the Blacks in particular.

¹⁶ Which is today taken as a rare book. Following Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Introducción", in Alonso de Sandoval, op. cit., pp. 38-40, there is a consensus that Sandoval prepared those materials in the period between 1616–1623. One must say that a much larger version was published 1647 by Alonso de Sandoval, that time in Madrid, where the part on which Sandoval most worked upon was Book I, namely enlarging his amount of informations for those "chronicles" of Africa.

¹⁷ Cfr. Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Introducción", in Alonso de Sandoval, op. cit., pp. 40-41, as well as pp. 42-43 (Bibliografía de Sandoval – Obras Inéditas y Obras Impresas). Cfr. also Nicole Von Germeten, "Introduction", in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., op. cit., pp. XXIX-XXX; Margaret M. Olsen, *Slavery and Salvation in Colonial Cartagena de Indias*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2004, pp. 7-9. This is the full information of the main work under concern: "Naturaleza, policia sagrada i profana, costumbres i ritos, disciplina i catecismo evangélico de todos etiofes, por el padre Alonso de Sandoval, natural de Toledo, de la Compañia de Jesús, rector del Colegio de Cartagena de las Indias, en Sevilla por Francisco de Lyra, impresor, año MDCXXII". The title "De instauranda Aethiopum salute" will appear directly on the title of significantly amplified edition of 1647. At any rates, the name through which the book uses to be referred, i.e. "De instauranda Aethiopum salute", appears also in the "Suma del Privilegio", previous to the several "Aprovisiones"; cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, p. 27: "Este libro intitulado *De instauranda Aethiopum Salute* compuesto por el P. Alonso de Sandoval, Rector del Colegio de la Compañia de Jesus, de Cartagena de las Indias; tiene privilegio para que ninguna persona lo pueda impri-

trade are scattered throughout his work, although the more direct discussion, in theological and philosophical areas, is concentrated in specific chapters of Books I and II. The present study focuses (1.) on chapters of Book I regarding Biblical and theological views that help understanding the ideology of approval of Black slavery—where, in fact, among cultural and ethnic informations, and among historical data, we find a mixture of reality and phantasy about Africa and the Blacks—, (2.) on chapters in the same Book regarding the description and justification of slavery and slave trade, (3.) on chapters of Book II where Sandoval explains the wretched condition in which nature and fortune have put the Blacks, as well as (4.) on chapters of the same Book where Sandoval conceives a theological ethics to the relationships of masters and slaves. The topic of the correct administration of sacraments, especially baptism, in Book III is not touched in this study, neither is the inspired theological defense of the missionary task of the Company of Jesus, above all the apostolate of the Africans, to be found in Book IV. In the Concluding Remarks we offer a short systematic view of the lessons on slavery learnt from the selected passages.

1. Some Theological Explanations of a Hidden Continent

The main purpose Sandoval has in Book I of *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* is to bring some light to his readers in the Western World about the hidden continent that Africa or more broadly the place of the Ethiopians is. He writes a sort of broad and loose cultural, ethnic, and political history of the Ethiopians¹⁸—including accounts of the discovery of Africa by the Portuguese, as well as aspects of the history of Christian faith on the continent. In fact, he wants to revive the sparkles of Christian faith that are still supposed to exist among the Ethiopians, as Francis Xavier made of that goal the mission of his own life. After all, Africa belongs to the divine plan of redemption by Christ¹⁹.

mir, ni vender sin licencia de su autor, como consta de su original, que está en poder de D. Sebastian de Contreras, Secretario del Rey nuestro señor. Su fecha en 3 de febrero de [1]625".

¹⁸ Cfr. also Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, op. cit., 47-48. In fact, at least in one passage we find something like a short "natural history" by Sandoval; cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xxxi ("Unique and Miraculous Things Found in the Ethiopian Kingdoms"), pp. 206-216. On the history of Africa in pre-colonial times, cfr. for example Mário Maestri, *História da África Negra pré-colonial*, Porto Alegre, Mercado Aberto, 1988 (the author explores above all natural and historical aspects of what would correspond today to the Gulf of Guineas, Angola, and Mozambique, as well as pre-colonial societies of Ghana, Mali and Songai (Sudanese social formations; cfr. id. *ibid.*, p. 9); John Iliffe, *Africans - The History of a Continent*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995 (repr. 1997), pp. 1-96; Joseph Ki-Zerbo, *História da África Negra - I*, transl. Américo de Carvalho, Mem-Martins (Portugal), Publicações Europa-América, 42009 (1999), pp. 47-261.

¹⁹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, pp. 57-58, ("Argumento del primero libro"). This is also supported by the idea that Africa gener-

Right at the beginning, Sandoval affirms to have collected information about Africa and Africans, beyond traditional ancient and medieval sources, in works and documents by fathers of the Company of Jesus and in communications with ship captains and traders –qualified persons, in his opinion, because they had the concrete local experience. These last two kinds of sources are important to the purpose of morally assessing Black slavery and slave trade²⁰. Sandoval recognizes that Luis de Molina, in *De iustitia et iure*, I, tract. 2, disp. 34²¹, made use of the method of listening to people's testimonies and trusting them –at least *prima facie*– as veracious. Again, he confirmed this by saying that he was following Beda's advice, according to whom "the true law of history is *simpliciter colligere, que fama vulgantur*"²². For the purpose of focusing on multiple, but together important sources for the justification of slavery of the Africans, I skip Alonso de Sandoval's insightful explanations on the origin of the name "Africa" to that continent²³, but I nevertheless mention our author's view that in Scripture and in Antiquity "multitude and variety of nations" and "incomprehensibility and multitude" were associated to Ethiopia, and that is what "tenebrae" or "negrura" are supposed to mean²⁴.

It is in Book I, Chapter II ("The nature of the Ethiopians, commonly called "blacks" [*negros*]) that we have a first important view that helps us in the purpose of understanding the ideology of servitude connected to Blacks and sponsored by Sandoval. Essentially, the inhabitants of Ethiopia or "Abyssinia" were "chuseos", a word that should derive from "Chus", son of "Ham", who populated the land; "chus" is supposed to be how the hebrews call what in Spanish is called "etiopo". Moreover, if Pliny (*Naturalis historia* VI, 36)²⁵ took "etiopo" as the name of the son of Vulcan, and others affirm that it derives from "cremo" ("to burn"), Sandoval is able to conclude that "etiopes" are "men with burnt face", and all nations where people have black skin color may be called "Ethiopians". Thus, the word is not used only to the African continent²⁶.

ally speaking is referred in the Old Testament as belonging to the divine plan of salvation, and also in the New Testament, Apostolic and post-Apostolic times there are unequivocal references of theologians, missionaries and Catholic Saints that help to attest God's interest in conducting the Ethiopians to salvation; cfr. again Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, xxxii, pp. 217-229.

²⁰ Cfr. Section 2, below.

²¹ Cfr. Ludovicus Molina, *De iustitia et iure*, Apud Sessas, Venetiis, 1611, I, tract. 2, disp. 34 (disp. 32-40).

²² Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, i, p. 59.

²³ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, i, pp. 61-62.

²⁴ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, i, p. 63.

²⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History (Naturalis historia)*, transl. H. Rackham, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., Vol. II, 1942, VI, 36. On this gender of historical writing, cfr. G. Böhme, "Geschichte der Natur", in J. Ritter und K. Gründer (Hrsg.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Schwabe & Co. Verlag, Basel - Stuttgart, Band 3, 1976, pp. 399-401.

²⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, ii, p. 69.

It would be particularly curious and sometimes hilarious to describe the way how Sandoval searches for the etiology of black skin color, appealing to old biological explanations about how human beings—supposedly not black in origin—could somehow give birth to children with different skin colors. Sandoval plays with some theories of modified descendance, especially where the “imagination” of parents should play a role on the very moment of conception and resulting heredity of characteristics²⁷. Sandoval seems to endorse an interpretation of Aristotle’s *De anima* II according to which in beings such as human beings that have three forms of soul or animated life, being moreover characterized essentially by the rational soul, which contains and gives the form to both vegetative and sensitive souls, all three souls, with their virtues and operations, play a role in the generation of another similar being in species²⁸. By the way, it is the rational soul that reasons and imagines; following the imagination theory sketched, rational soul would play a crucial role in the moment of conception as well²⁹.

Skin color of the Ethiopians could be explained through the heat concentrated in the surface of a body frequently exposed to the sun. After all, the Ethiopians use to live in sunny, exceedingly hot lands, which are fit to the arising of exotic creatures and beasts. In a nutshell, skin color might change according to the “temper”—i.e. “climate”—of the lands people inhabit, which would be a sufficient ground to change what “philosophers” commonly took as the right opinion about the “matter” of generation in animals, which is “white” as milk, although it is perhaps a form of “blood” or “boiled blood”. Such a “natural” stuff should in principle generate white skinned human beings. But Alonso de Sandoval believes that the reason for blackness in skin must be a different one. Were the climate sufficient reason for that, Spanish males married with Spanish females and living in the sunny lands of Blacks would give birth to Black children, but experience obviously disapproves such a silly view. Sandoval will then explore two theses on the origin of Black skin color: (a) black people are so because they were made of certain “intrinsic qualities”; (b) black people are so because of the will of God³⁰.

Intrinsic qualities are comparable to what philosophers—such as Aristotle and other ancient authors—would call “second qualities” (*segundas calidades*) of living beings such as “whiteness” and “blackness”, the first deriving

²⁷ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, ii, pp. 69-73.

²⁸ On Aristotle theory of the soul cfr. for example Stephen Everson, “Psychology”, in Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Aristotle*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1995 (repr. 1999), pp. 168-194. Cfr. also Aristoteles, *Über die Seele*, Griechisch-Deutsch, mit Einleitung, Übersetzung (nach W. Theiler) und Kommentar herausgegeben von Horst Seidl, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 1995, II 1-3, pp. 58-77; Horst Seidl, “Einleitung”, in Aristoteles, *Über die Seele*, Griechisch-Deutsch, mit Einleitung, Übersetzung (nach W. Theiler) und Kommentar herausgegeben von Horst Seidl, Felix Meiner Verlag, Hamburg, 1995, pp. IX-XII, XIX-XXII.

²⁹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, ii, p. 73.

³⁰ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, ii, pp. 74ff.

from "coldness", the second from "extreme heat", or more exactly "coldness" and "extreme heat" in the corresponding "matter of the mother". In fact, this reason is invoked by Sandoval in order to explain that the black skin (as "second quality") of the Ethiopians does not result uniquely of Noah's blame on his son Ham, but also of an "intrinsic" and "innate quality" (i.e. "extreme heat" or *sumo calor*). By means of such quality that God created and planted in a human being –i.e. Ham–, children were generated having in their appearances black skin color as a mark of descentance: as a mark of descentance from a *blamed* human being, thus as a punishment for Ham's having rudely treated his own father. So, although *blackness as second quality* is an effect of "extreme heat" in the ("embrionary") stuff that is planted in the mother (say, after the "conception process"), this last one was ultimately caused by God as a punishment for Ham's insolent laugh³¹. The name "Ham" itself becomes an object of an etimological experiment by Alonso de Sandoval, for if extreme heat is an intrinsic quality implanted in nature by God's wise punishing judgment, which causes blackness in human beings after Ham's descentance, there is a Patristic tradition that finds in the word "Ham" the meaning "calidus" or "hot", perhaps also "calor" or "heat"³². By so causing a new intrinsic and a consequent new secondary quality in human beings, God made of a (new) aspect of nature a permanent instrument for punishment of human beings, in this case of the Ethiopians that are originated from Ham. As the Genesis story reports³³, Ham is taken to have been the first "serve and

³¹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, ii, p. 74.

³² Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, ii, p. 74. Sandoval's account of the etymology of the word "Cham" and the etiology of slavery based on Genesis 9. 20-29 is influenced by the biblical commentaries by Alonso Fernández de Madrigal or "el Tostado" (ca. 1410-1455), who was a Professor at the University of Salamanca and later bishop of Ávila. On accounts of slavery by Fathers of the Church, cfr. Richard Klein, "Sklaverei IV. Alte Kirche und Mittelalter", in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, Band 31, 2000, pp. 380-381; Henneke Gültzow, *Christentum und Sklaverei in der ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Rudolf Habelt Verlag, Bonn, 1969; G. E. M. de Sainte-Croix, "Early Christian Attitudes to Property and Slavery", in D. Baker (ed.), *Studies in Church History*, Blackwell, Oxford, Vol. 12 (*Church, Society and Politics*), 1975, pp. 1-38; J. Albert Harrill, *The Manumission of Slaves in Early Christianity*, J. C. B. Mohr, Tübingen, 1995; Peter Garnsey, *Ideas of Slavery from Aristotle to Augustine*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.

³³ Cfr. Genesis 9.20-29 (here 20-27; *Good News Bible*, Today's English Version, American Bible Society, 1976): "Noah, who was a farmer, was the first man to plant a vineyard. After he drank some of the wine, he became drunk, took off his clothes, and lay naked in his tent. When Ham, the father of Canaan, saw that his father was naked, he went out and told his two brothers. Then Shem and Japheth took a robe and held it behind them on their shoulders. They walked backwards into the tent and covered their father, keeping their faces turned away so as not to see him naked. When Noah was sober again and learnt what his youngest son had done to him, he said, "A curse on Canaan! He will be a slave to his brothers. Give praise to the Lord, the God of Shem! Canaan will be the slave of Shem. May God cause Japheth to increase! May his descendants live with the people of Shem! Canaan will be slave of Japheth". Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, ii, pp. 74-75.

slave" (*siervo y esclavo*) that existed in the world, in whom that extreme heat was found and was effective in order "to burn" (*tiznar*) his descendants³⁴.

Clearly, theses (a) and (b) are connected. In fact, such connection allows the understanding of both a given "naturalness" in Black slavery, which Sandoval partially supports³⁵, and a supernatural grounding of the condition of the Blacks. In thesis (a) of the origin of blackness of skin color, Sandoval sees an explanation of philosophical nature. The (b) second explanation of black skin color, which focuses on the idea that it was a punishment by God, Sandoval finds in Scripture and important Patristic interpreters. Stressing now this last thesis, he refers to an exegesis of Ambrose, who noted that Abraham took care in order for his son not to get married with a woman from "Chanam", not because the inhabitants of that land ("Chananeos") were "idolaters", but because they were descendants of an ignoble man. He is speaking again of Ham, son of Noah, who shamed his father and did not show reverence and respect. As a consequence, Ham lost his nobility, his liberty, and so did also his generations³⁶. Our author finds this etiology of the first servitude in the world—which he explicitly connects with "blackness" and "Blacks"—in the interpretations by Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Augustine³⁷. As noted above, it is a mark of such punishment and slave condition the fact that Ham's lineage was black colored. So, when slaves were introduced in the world, so were Blacks, and *the cause of such a skin color is a punishment for a wrong doing that deserved an external signal from God*. Sandoval also relies on Father Pedro de Valderrama³⁸ in order to affirm that "good" people or people from a good lineage have good parents—they are people of "clarified blood" (*de sangre esclarecida*); "bad" people are people from a bad lineage of people that have bad parents—they have blood "of obscure people" (*de gente obscura*). So, there is according to the Scripture and some of its interpreters

³⁴ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, ii, p. 75. Marie-Cécile, "Alonso de Sandoval, les jésuites et la descendance de Cham", in *Études sur l'impact culturel du Nouveau Monde*, 1, Paris, 1981, pp. 49-60; Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, Las Casas, op. cit., 39.

³⁵ Cfr. Section 3, below.

³⁶ On the topic of slavery in the Old Testament, cfr. Walter Dietrich, "Sklaverei I. Altes Testament", in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin, Band 31, 2000, pp. 367-373 (with rich bibliography, pp. 372-373).

³⁷ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, p. 75. Cfr. also Santo Agostinho, *A cidade de Deus contra os pagãos (De civitate Dei)*, tradução de Oscar Paes Leme, Vozes - Federação Agostiniana Brasileira, Petrópolis - São Paulo, Parte II, 1990, XIX, 15, pp. 405-406; John. M. Rist, *Augustine - Ancient Thought Baptized*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994 (repr. 2000), pp. 236-239 (exploring also the topic in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos*). Cfr. also Jennifer A. Glancy, *Slavery as Moral Problem. In the Early Church and Today*, Fortress Press, Minneapolis, 2011, pp. 87ff.

³⁸ Sandoval might be speaking here of the Augustinian Friar Pedro de Valderrama (1550-1611); cfr. for example Manuela Águeda García-Garrido, "Fray Pedro de Valderrama (1550-1611): un predicador andaluz leído y censurado en la Sorbona", *Erebea - Revista de Humanidades y Ciencias Sociales*, 1 (2011) 253-280.

a foundation in divine punishing justice for the following connection in the world: wrong doing, slavery as a punishment, and black skin color as a signal of such a punishment. People affected by that justice are the "Ethiopians", the "Blacks"³⁹.

Leaving aside some silly explanations about the parts of the body of Blacks, such as their "hairs" and "teeth", we should also note a further example of the patterns of devaluation discourse that Sandoval makes concerning the ethnicity of the Blacks: he considers and explains their utterly "ugliness" and "monstrosity" not only because of the poor conditions of the local pediatry and the policies of beauty and body care, but, reflecting "on the cause of the extraordinary monsters and other marvelous things that are found in Africa, especially on the part occupied in it by Ethiopia"⁴⁰, he is able to formulate theses about the "cause of the generation of monsters", i.e. about the principle of their generation. He follows an Aristotelian line of reasoning, namely, that the principle of "monsterness" is that those cases nature does not reach its perfect end—in other words, nature fails in the expected teleology of a species of natural kind. So, a living being of nature does not generate a descendant as a "fellow" or "similar", but rather a different one, and in that case a "monster" is generated⁴¹. Accordingly, Sandoval can view in a "monster" a "sin by nature", which can be in terms of "defect" (like a defect of matter, say a cat born without legs) or of "excess" (like an excess of matter, say a cat born with more than four legs), for in both forms the generated item does not acquire that "perfection" or "completeness" that the corresponding living being was supposed to have⁴². Although this is not an explicit devaluation of the spirit, Sandoval depreciates the bodily condition of Africans and classifies it as a sin by nature.

2. Slavery and Slave Trade

Sandoval treats Black slavery and slave trade more directly in Chapter XVII ("Of the Slavery of these Blacks from Guinea and Other Ports, Speaking Generally"⁴³ and Chapter XVIII ("Of the *Armazones* [large slave ships⁴⁴] of These Blacks") of Book I.

³⁹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, ii, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁰ Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, iii, pp. 76-82, is an intriguing text, in which we find materials for an ideology of "monstrosity" and "ugliness" caused by sin and defects of nature. Cfr. also Jean-Pierre Tardieu, "Du bon usage de la monstruosité: La vision de l'Afrique chez Alonso de Sandoval (1627)", *Bulletin Hispanique* 86:1-2 (1984) 164-178; Margaret M. Olsen, op. cit., pp. 92-104.

⁴¹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, iii, p. 77.

⁴² Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, iii, p. 78. We would find in *De instauranda*, in a diffuse way, several other discourses by Sandoval that contain depreciations of ethnicity and culture of the Blacks.

⁴³ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, pp. 142-149.

⁴⁴ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xviii, p. 151.

Sandoval is conscious of a controversy among the doctors concerning the "business" of slave traffic. In fact, he leaves the final justification to the doctors. Among them, he admires Luis de Molina, whose *De iustitia et iure*, tract. 2, disp. 34-35⁴⁵ he is well acquainted with. Sandoval admires Molina's accounts and just wants to add something to the debate, from the standpoint of his many years of ministry. His first concern regards how certain are those engaged in traffic that Blacks that cross over the Atlantic Ocean on ships were really (and legitimately) slaves in their original ports and locations in Africa, such as Cacheu, Guinea, Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé Island, as well as Angola, from where slaves used to come to South America. In fact, it might be difficult to find a safe judgment when the slaves are purchased on coast ports to which they arrive from third and fourth parts⁴⁶. Although Sandoval seems willing to believe that purchasers in African ports act in good faith, and so the traders in South American ports as well, he wants to highlight that perhaps purchasers *should have doubts* in some cases. Concrete moral worries in that regard come originally from captains of slave ships, who consulted Alonso de Sandoval in order to find spiritual relief for their consciences⁴⁷.

We can affirm that Sandoval spent some time in search of trustful information. Regarding Angola he received a letter by Luis Brandon⁴⁸, the principal of the College of the Jesuits (Collegio de San Pablo) in Luanda, dated August 21st, 1611⁴⁹. Answering to Sandoval's questions whether Blacks had been made captives justly, Luis Brandon advises Sandoval not to have hesitations in that regard. Luis Brandon reminds Sandoval that the "mesa de consciencia"⁵⁰ in Lisbon never complained about the traffic in Angola, and

⁴⁵ Cfr. again Ludovicus Molina, *De iustitia et iure*, Apud Sessas, Venetiis, 1611, I, tract. 2, disp. 34 (disp. 32-40). On Molina's treatment of slavery, cfr. the study by Henrique Joner, "Impressions of Luis de Molina About the Trade of African Slaves", in this volume of *Patristica & Mediaevalia*.

⁴⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xvii, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xvii, p. 144. The worries with the relief of conscience of slave traders is a particular aspect of Luis de Molina's treatment of the social institution of slavery; cfr. also Francisco Moreno Rejón, "El aporte teológico de la Compañía de Jesús y los problemas morales de las Indias. El caso de la esclavitud", in Manuel Matzal y Luis Bacigalupo (eds.), *Los Jesuitas y la modernidad en Iberoamérica 1549-1773*, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú - Universidad del Pacífico - Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima, 2007, pp. 99-101.

⁴⁸ Or, in Portuguese, "Luis Brandão".

⁴⁹ On this report by Luis Brandon, cfr. also Paulo Suess, "El etiope resgatado". Acerca de la historia y de la ideología de la esclavitud y de la liberación de esclavos en Brasil", in Paulo Suess et alii, *Desarrollo histórico de la teología india*, Ediciones Abya-Yala, Quito, 1998, pp. 142ff.; Kristen Block, *Faith and Fortune: Religious Identity and the Politics of Profit in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean*, The State University of New Jersey, New Brunswick, 2007, pp. 92ff.

⁵⁰ Nicole Von Germeten, in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., *Treatise on Slavery - Selections from De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, op. cit., p. 51, translates the passage in a paraphrastic way: "In Lisbon, wise men of good conscience do not find slavery reprehensible". In id. *ibid.*, p. 51, note 73, she explains: "The writer [Luis de Brandon] might be referring to jurists, philosophers, and religious and secular leaders".

their members could be seen as persons both wise and of safe conscience⁵¹. Bishops who had been in São Tomé, Cape Verde, and Luanda never reprehended it, and nothing illicit in that regard was reported by the Jesuits working in Brazil⁵². Luis de Brandon affirms that the merchants made the trade "in good faith", and purchases might be made in South America also in good faith. In a nutshell, merchants buy slaves in good faith in Angola and sell them also in good faith in South America (Brazil and other coasts). Captived Blacks will always say that have been made slaves unjustly⁵³.

The same Luis de Brandon admits that sometimes Blacks are captured (and made slaves) mistakenly. Some have been simply stolen, and sometimes their local lords sold them for trivial reasons. Luis de Brandon believes these cases are just a few, and it is impossible to inspect these few cases among ten to twelve thousand Blacks that depart from Luanda each year. Moreover, Luis de Brandon believes that is not worth doing that. To rescue those few unjustly captured and made slaves by arbitrary reasons would have as a result the loosing of many souls, that could otherwise have a chance of being saved – these are really many, according to Luis de Brandon. Confessing that Blacks are captured and made slaves through several different ways in Africa, Luis de Brandon affirms that the alleged titles for that basically suffice for justifying such a captivity⁵⁴.

In fact, Sandoval seems to justify the traders: first, he accepts *prima facie* that they act *bona fide*, for they put questions about the condition of people they purchase and get (quite naturally) satisfied with the justification given to their captivity; second, their activity seems to be just fair: they work, take risks, have expenses, etc.; third, the effect of their legitimate work is to bring pagans to Christian lands, what can amount to those people's salvation. Sandoval endorses the view that slave traders work in good faith; the aspects of their job and the circumstances around their business seem to be acceptable⁵⁵.

But in the same Chapter Sandoval reveals hints of doubt, which arise because of his own efforts of getting information about the fairness of the cir-

⁵¹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, p. 143.

⁵² In fact, Luis de Brandon also assumes that Jesuits, in this case both in Angola and in Brazil, owned in a perfectly licit way slaves as well. Cfr. again a remark by Nicole Von Germeten, in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., *Treatise on Slavery – Selections from De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, op. cit., p. 51, note 74: "During Sandoval's lifetime Jesuits were increasing their use of slaves on sugar estates in Brazil. Especially in 1700s, Jesuits ran large plantations worked by hundreds of slaves. However, it is not correct to argue, as have some scholars, that the purpose of *De instauranda* was to explain why it was morally correct for Jesuits to own numerous slaves".

⁵³ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, p. 144.

⁵⁴ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, p. 144.

⁵⁵ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, p. 145. Cfr. also Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "La postura de la Iglesia frente a la esclavitud", in Francisco de Solano y Agustín Guimerá (eds.), *Esclavitud y derechos humanos. La lucha por la libertad del negro en el siglo XIX*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid, 1990, pp. 27-28; Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, op. cit., 42.

cumstances around that very same business. So, he reports the talk of a captain of an "amazon de negros" coming from Angola—that was shipwrecked in a bay not far from Cartagena de Indias—, who happens to give a different explanation than Luis de Brandon concerning that practice: that anonymous captain reports of a war waged between two powerful kings, where one of them, having difficulties, came to the whites or Europeans, offering them a significant amount of slaves, in exchange for their provision of military support. The other king, his enemy, was informed of the strategy and made an even better offer. After having been fought a cruel war, the victorious king offered to the whites again a large number of enslaved Blacks who happened to be captured after their ruler's defeat. A large amount of Blacks were supposed to arrive in Cartagena in such circumstances⁵⁶.

There are several more reasons for doubting about the legitimacy of the trade. From the ports of Guinea come "Blacks of the law"—i.e. Muslim Blacks⁵⁷— who are captured with the help of other Blacks and "mochileros", who at their turn are payed for their work with things that have no value, by captains and merchants. In several other ports it is possible to find Blacks condemned by small faults and wars that are waged by offensive hear-says or small offenses. Local authorities such as kings and princes rely—with manifest tendencies to abuse of power— on crimes such as adultery, homicide, and theft to justify, as legal punishment, the captivity of Blacks, and in many cases of their descendants as well⁵⁸. With the help of Blacks from the coast, captains and merchants enter into the land and ambushed Blacks for captivity. Back to the coast, Portuguese ships—crowded by real "pirates" (*piratas*)—are waiting for the precious acquisitions⁵⁹.

In fact, "armadores" (men that participate in such captures on ports at the African West coast) and other people engaged in the traffic reported to Alonso de Sandoval about their troubles of conscience. According to them, less than half of reported wars, commonly used to justify, because of alleged injury, the captivity and sale of Blacks, really had place in the African continent. To say it briefly, cases of enslavement of Blacks by Blacks and of their purchase by captains and traders are just suspicious. In fact, Sandoval men-

⁵⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, p. 145.

⁵⁷ About the Blacks from Guinea Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xiii, pp. 177-122, reports that they were influenced by Islam. The "perverse sect of Muhammad", particularly because of the dedication of its ministers, plays in that part of Africa a dominant role. The Guineans worship Alah and honor Alah's great Prophet Muhammad, whose doctrine they have in written form, i. e. in "parchments". Sandoval seems to report what would be an articulated presence of Islam in Guinea, namely a place where ministers preach and explain the doctrine of Muhammad, and apparently celebrate ceremonies in moshees. Preachers and missionaries of Islam seem to be very influential on political authorities, and so they are taken by Sandoval as a major factor for precluding the Guineans of becoming Christians. On the presence of "mouros" in these African regions and the Jesuits' efforts to diminish their scope of influence, cfr. also Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, op. cit., 46-47.

⁵⁸ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, pp. 146-147.

⁵⁹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, I, xvii, p. 147.

tions also disagreements of a cleric, speaking from the perspective of Guinea, concerning the falsities that Luis de Molina wrote about “just wars” in that land and the captivity of Blacks. In fact, in Guinea there were abuses of rulership, because there was no free Black on land; there, all Blacks were slaves of the king, and they were simply used and sold for his own benefit and after his absolute (and arbitrary) wish⁶⁰. This amounts to the judgment that those people were arbitrarily condemned to “perpetual servitude and slavery”, as well as their relatives, in an obvious case of subjection and enslavement by “absolute power”, not on juridical grounds of any sort⁶¹.

Although Sandoval does not insist on the point, he is conscious that, due to such testimonies, slave trade is not free of injustices to the Africans. Together with what the “doctores” say on the matter, Christians generally speaking should make use of quiet reflection in order to judge about the justice of enslavement – i.e. in case where those doubts arise. It is *implicit* in Sandoval’s account that such injustices must be repaired⁶².

If slavery, in spite of possible injustices, is taken to be an acceptable social institution, for the reasons presented so far, Sandoval is still able to make a further reflection on the etiology of it. Why liberty is lost by people? In “the beginning of the world”, people were not put into the world, by God, as “masters” and “slaves”. People began to tyrannize others, by taking away their liberty, “because of malice”. Sandoval expresses his belief that human being is “naturally” –or according to nature before the advent of sin– “free”, and any human being is made slave “because of iniquity”⁶³. He suggests that both the powerful and the poor have the same “principle” and “finality”, and he is able to affirm with Seneca that all people “live under the sun and the sky, all breath the air”, what amounts to say that, naturally (and originally), all have the same share⁶⁴. Truly, malice explains why this does not happen in practice. But, again, the Good News are equally destined to all human beings as most excellent creatures of God, and even though there can be masters and slaves they are equally called to the salvation of their souls through the redeeming deeds of Christ⁶⁵. At the end, it is at this level that there is the same freedom for all: a freedom, through faith, of the servitude

⁶⁰ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xvii, pp. 147-148.

⁶¹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xvii, pp. 148-149.

⁶² Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xvii, p. 149.

⁶³ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xviii, pp. 149-150. If this fits the discourse that the slavery of Blacks was supernaturally introduced by God as a form of punishment or curse because of Ham’s offence, here Sandoval also explores the Patristic idea that slavery was introduced by sin in the world because of human being’s iniquity over their fellow human creatures.

⁶⁴ Truly, Roman Stoic thinkers like Seneca usually located the legitimacy of slavery in the *ius gentium*, not in a given account of slavery based on nature itself; cfr. the remarks in E. Flaig, “Sklaverei”, in Joachim Ritter und Karlfried Gründer (Hrsg.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Schwabe & Co. AG Verlag, Basel, Band 9, 1995, pp. 977-978.

⁶⁵ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xviii, p. 150.

of sin, which brings to someone a "highest nobility" (because of virtues) to the eyes of God, as well as the same dignity of equally serving Christ. At the end—in an eschatological sense—, everyone will receive a prize only because of their good or evil deeds spiritually. In fact, anyone should most care about the healing of their souls, which need to be redeemed by Christ.

The final sentence of Sandoval concerning the problem of traders's safe conscience confirms that he was at the same time aware of many situations of unjust enslavements and unable to confront the system of slave trade at a legal, economic and political level. After all, Alonso de Sandoval relieves the situations of doubt, for he accepts the idea that "Blacks were captured with the justice that God knows", and under the status of corporeal slavery they happen to be touched by the hands of the Jesuits, who should bring them relief, seeking their "spiritual freedom" and above all the freedom "of their souls". Surely the Jesuits would work concretely also for the slave's bodily relief, as soon as they arrive at South American ports after horrendous conditions of shipment, as a means to the more important ends of catechesis, doctrine, baptism, and confession⁶⁶.

3. Miseries of the Blacks

Book II of Sandoval's *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, which bears the title "Of the evils that these Blacks suffer and the necessity of this ministry, which brings help to them, whose highness and excellence shines because of several titles", contains in its first chapters important views on the conditions of the Ethiopians: after all, if the "evils" that the Blacks suffer help understanding why they need the spiritual ministry of the Jesuits⁶⁷, it also helps legitimizing their condition of subjection. The heart of the pious, i.e. the Jesuits, suffer together with those that live in such human misery, and they are ready "to help" (*remediar*). Sandoval emphasizes that the main evils the Blacks suffer are the spiritual ones. Above all, they have necessities of the soul. The Jesuits are able to bring knowledge of spiritual things and take over the "ministerio de los Negros"⁶⁸.

To begin with, let us describe of which evils Sandoval is talking about in Book II, Chapter I ("Of how of all evils and miseries a human being can suf-

⁶⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, I, xviii, pp. 151-153.

⁶⁷ Scriptural and theological reasons why to God and Church such a spiritual ministry for the salvation of the souls is so important are presented by Sandoval in Book II, Chapters VI, XV-XVIII, pp. 252-256, 298-317. This understanding of the ministry of the Jesuits follows Francis Xavier, who was active in India and China, and Pedro Gomez, who was active in Japan. The practice of theological virtues—faith, hope, and love—will be especially demanded, and martyrdom is also a possibility. In fact, there is a profound exposition of the "excellence of this ministry" of mission, for its particular connection to the practice and development of all virtues, particularly of charity (after Romans 13) in Book II, Chapters XIX-XXIII, pp. 318-361, with mentions of Francis Xavier and José de Anchieta.

⁶⁸ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, pp. 231-232.

fer in general, Blacks have a greater share")⁶⁹. Following Aristotle, in *Rhetorics*⁷⁰, there are (i) evils of nature, such as those suffered by human nature for what it is, as composition by contraries, "sicknesses", "accidents", "disasters", "needs", "pains", "deaths", "afflictions", and "melancholies"; and (ii) evils of fortune, such as "not having wealth", "not having friends", doing good towards people who are not thankful and show no concern or esteem, or still pay goods with evils or give evils for goods. It seems that Sandoval adds a third and –in comparison with the other two– even greater kind of evil, namely (iii) evils of the soul, which are exemplified by "vices", "errors", and "ignorances"⁷¹. Reflecting on this, Sandoval affirms that when such evils come together, a man speaks inside the individual, saying that he has become a burden to himself; being miserable is not enough for being miserable: one also becomes fractioned and a burden to himself⁷².

Sandoval emphasizes that evils and sufferings that touch the soul are the central ones. If philosophers show divided opinions about their cause, Sandoval does not hesitate to call it "sin". Because of sin, human being suffers of (spiritual) vices such as "greed", "ambition", "insatiable desire of living", the concern for death and the future, as well as of the shortcomings of understanding. Sin affects, thus, will and intellect, causing them suffering. Without faith, there is suffering in understanding, for the intellectual soul lives, then, apart from God's principles of living, and blindness is the result. And a will affected by sin is able to receive all (moral) evils: When the "concupiscibile" and "irascibile" control the soul, human being has an "ugly soul". These are real miseries⁷³.

After having made these distinctions, Sandoval confirms his belief that these evils have place among human beings, and *above all* among Blacks. Quite uncritically, he affirms that the fortune of Ethiopians is to be slaves; moreover, God –because of their sin?– put them in the condition of slavery, and, apparently because of the very bad condition of their senses and bodies, which suffer terribly under the traders' hands, they loose half of their understanding of the world and multiply their appetites. Though Sandoval makes this appeal to a supernatural explanation to what he considers to be a factual defective sensitive and intellectual condition of the Blacks –which can bring at least a positive side-effect, namely the capacity of bearing so many bad con-

⁶⁹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, i, pp. 232-235.

⁷⁰ Cfr. Aristotle, *Rhetorica* (transl. by W. Rhys Roberts), in Aristotle, *The Basic Works of Aristotle*, Edited by Richard McKeon, Random House, New York, 1941 (24th. printing), II 8, pp. 1396-1398 (especially II 8, 1386a3-16. Truly, such evils, for Aristotle, should be viewed as reasons for having or exciting "pity" towards other people. Cfr. Alexander Nehamas, "Pity and Fear in the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics*", in David J. Furley and Alexander Nehamas (eds.), *Aristotle's "Rhetoric": Philosophical Essays*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1994, pp. 269-176; H. Busche, "elleipsis / Mangel", in Otfried Höffe (Hrsg.), *Aristoteles-Lexikon*, Alfred Kröner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2005, p. 172.

⁷¹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, i, p. 232.

⁷² Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, i, p. 233.

⁷³ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, i, p. 233.

ditions of living and cruel and unjust treatments by owners of slave ships—, he believes that this does not mean that their souls are less perfect than the soul of free (white) human beings. The reason, we can suppose, is that their souls are at least capable of salvation⁷⁴. Truly, in other contexts of his work, our author affirms that the Blacks are not “beasts”, they are capable of receiving the sacraments, for they have reason and free will; he even affirms that the use of reason by the African slaves equals the use by Spaniards who are silly and full—or, perhaps, uneducated⁷⁵. He never affirms that their status of lacking in reason is something like a permanent and strictly natural (almost “specific”) condition.

But in fact, in *De instauranda Aethiopum salute* Book II Alonso de Sandoval's position comes close to a sort of factual or natural slavery condition of the Blacks that is caused supernaturally or, more simply, by the will of God. In Book II, Chapter 2 (“Of the evils of nature and of fortune endured by these Blacks”⁷⁶), Sandoval reminds us of Aristotle, who affirmed that some human beings are naturally born to be slaves and subjects, and we could think that he implies that this condition applies to the Blacks, although the condition as such would be supernaturally caused by God only after human beings's sin⁷⁷. With this kind of explanation, evils of nature, of fortune, and of the soul suffered by the Blacks would have a common cause, which is sin and the corresponding punishment by God. In particular, lack of understanding has as an effect more responsibilities for slave holders, for slaves will need possessors who understand what is important for the goodness of their bodies and of their souls. Sandoval sees this situation as a divine providence for the sake of the Blacks, and he even regards the slave masters the in the Aristotelian sense, in which masters must possess a complete understanding and the means for supplying the slaves with the other half of understanding they themselves do not have. The supplementation or good government is made above all through “good example”. Thus, masters must have a “double understanding” and privileged capacity to undertake the defects of their subjects, which implies capacity to look after their souls and their bodies, to care for their needs, to speak correctly with them, etc.⁷⁸.

Again, in Book II, Chapter 2, Sandoval will say that the corporeal sufferings caused by severe—even “perverse”—bad treatments by Christian slave holders are a sort of *evil of fortune* that happened to the Blacks. In fact, Sandoval denounces abuses. He denounces that Blacks are treated as “beasts of work”, not as human beings, and most of holders have no concern for their lives. This applies to Blacks who are “miners”, “farm workers” (*estancieros*),

⁷⁴ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, i, p. 234.

⁷⁵ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, III, ii, pp. 379-380; III, xx, p. 480.

⁷⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, ii, pp. 235-238.

⁷⁷ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, ii, p. 235.

⁷⁸ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, i, pp. 234-235. Cfr. also Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, *op. cit.*, 41.

“cutters” (*asserradores*), “fishers”, or house workers. Taking the last space of work as an example, one would say that the famous sentence by Emperor Octavian holds: “in the house of Herod it was better to be a pig than a son”. After all, in the houses of slave holders there was more care for beasts than for Black slaves⁷⁹. Sandoval wants to contrast two ways of “masters’s” behaving, i.e. the abandonment of Blacks by the Spaniards, and the care and concern of the religious men towards them. As we shall see in the next Section, our author will propose an ethics for slave holders⁸⁰.

In a further passage, i.e. Book II, Chapter III (“Of the evils that these Blacks suffer in the supernatural”⁸¹), Sandoval still offers a picture of (iv) evils suffered by the Blacks on the sphere of the supernatural. What he means in this case is that, although Christ died for all humankind, including the Blacks, their holders seem not to like that slaves are doctored and baptized. They make no efforts for those purposes, they even avoid it in all possible ways, persuading them that they should refuse to be doctored and learn about Christian religion. Partial, but significant reason for that stance, is the belief by the owners that the slaves are basically unable to learn the things of faith through catechesis, and accordingly any attempt to baptizing them and bringing them to confession and holy communion is fruitless and potentially a way to blasphemy. This is supposed to apply both for “bozales”⁸² (recently arrived Blacks from Africa) and for the “ladinos”⁸³ (Blacks already established in the colonies and linguistically inculturated)⁸⁴.

Sandoval believes that the “bozales” in particular are “rude” and short in understanding, but this is no reason for not baptizing or not bringing them to confession and communion. Nobody instructed and in good disposition should be excluded from baptism and communion, and nothing proves that Blacks are incapable of doctrine and sacraments. Doctrine, by the way, is something to be taught slowly to them, what amounts to giving them more free time for learning the things that belongs to Christian religion, instead of just forcing them to work all day long. Good examples by holders should count as a especially effective form of education. Holders should not impede instruction, they should feel actually obligated for providing them adequate means

⁷⁹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, ii, pp. 236-237.

⁸⁰ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, ii, p. 238.

⁸¹ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iii, pp. 239-242.

⁸² Cfr. the definition of the word in Nicole Von Germeten, “Glossary”, in Alonso de Sandoval S.J., *Treatise on Slavery – Selections from De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, edited and translated, with an introduction, by Nicole Von Germeten, Hackett Publishing Company, Indianapolis, 2008, p. 193: “bozal: Rough or crude. Spaniards used this derogatory term for non-Spanish-speaking slaves who had recently arrived in the Americas from Africa”.

⁸³ Cfr. the definition of the word in Nicole Von Germeten, “Glossary”, op. cit., p. 193: “ladino: An African or Native American person who speaks Spanish or Portuguese and behaves in a manner that shows knowledge of Iberian culture and the Catholic religion. Usually *ladinos* had lived among Europeans for most of their lives. *Ladino* is often used to mean the opposite of *bozal*”.

⁸⁴ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iii, p. 239.

for preparing themselves and taking part in the ceremonies of sacraments. Sandoval views this as a basic respect towards the slaves: having been removed from their countries, cultures, and gods, it is unfair to keep now the Blacks away also from their new God⁸⁵.

Sandoval exerts an articulated and honest criticism to the negative role holders happen to play in the lives of slaves. This malefic role can be, for example, making difficulties to Blacks who want to contract marriage or separating mothers from children, selling then the children apart. Owners get rich because of their slaves, but it seems that their consciences have no care for the slaves' health and safety, nor even for their salvation⁸⁶.

4. An Ethics for the Relationship Between Masters and Slaves

Since slavery is a social institution that Sandoval accepts and even promotes in a religious paternalistic view for the sake of the salvation of the Blacks, a further step for the construction of an "ethos" of slavery in the Spanish colonies is the proposal of a Christian ethics of masters and slaves. So, in Book II, Chapter IV ("Of the way how the slaves must behave in the service to their masters; and what the masters must observe, when making use of their slaves"⁸⁷), Sandoval shows worries about the treatments the Blacks receive, i.e. treatments that might undisturb them to obedience and to credulity in the law of God. His basic goal, here, is to affirm that slaves "have duties and obligations", as the masters "have duties and obligations". Slave holders (*amos*) are not absolute lords, they are under rules or laws that oblige them to a certain behavior towards the slaves –such rules or laws Sandoval is conceiving relate to Christian ethics. So, masters must do what is good and live well, being a *good example* for the slaves⁸⁸.

Slaves must obey masters, either good or bad⁸⁹. Christ is their example. By imitating him, slaves keep a pure conscience before God, accepting unjust suffering with "patience" and enduring the "sadnesses" and "afflictions" of their condition⁹⁰. Sandoval proposes to the slaves a way of suffering in good

⁸⁵ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iii, pp. 239-240.

⁸⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iii, p. 242.

⁸⁷ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iv, pp. 243-247.

⁸⁸ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iv, pp. 243-244.

⁸⁹ Cfr. 1 Peter 2.18-20 (*Good News Bible*, Today's English Version, American Bible Society, 1976): "You servants must submit yourselves to your masters and show them complete respect, not only to those who are kind and considerate, but also to those who are harsh. God will bless you for this, if you endure the pain of undeserved suffering because you are conscious of his will. For what credit is there if you endure the beatings you deserve for having done wrong? But if you endure suffering even when you have done right, God will bless you for it". Cfr. also Ênio R. Mueller, *I Pedro – Introdução e comentário*, Sociedade Religiosa Edições Vida Nova – Associação Religiosa Editora Mundo Cristão, São Paulo, 1988, pp. 156-161.

⁹⁰ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iv, pp. 243-244.

conscience, keeping a (spiritual) stance modelled by Christ, maintaining the *status quo* of the institution of slavery and an attitude of obedience (to masters and to Church). He wants to see in slaves a behavior, in his view, similar to the one of Christ, focused on obedience and spiritual elevation, but not on external criticism to injustices in the world. The basic difference between Christ and slaves would be that Christ suffered patiently without guilt, whereas African slaves deserve punishments. In a nutshell, if slaves serve their masters in good will, they will receive their reward in the future life⁹¹. So, there is an eschatological perspective of justice for the other life, which depends on God. If powerful people use today their right hand for cruel acts, God will put on them His left hand; to those who are now humble and powerless subjects, God will offer His right hand, bringing them to the Kingdom of Heaven⁹².

Sandoval pictures a hierarchy of authority within which he places the slaves. God is the absolute ruler, and God treats His subjects with love, prudence, and rectitude. So the rulers of families and the masters of slaves should do too, i.e. they should command according to the law of God. If so, subjects and slaves must obey. In principle at least, when rulers go against divine law, subjects are not obliged to obedience. Following the Saint Paul's ethics of householding⁹³, Sandoval wants masters and rulers who govern and command according to the law of God—which includes a law of reason and of justice. The effects of that will be respect for the subjects, what includes corporeal care, correction with charity, patience with the weaknesses of slaves, etc. In a nutshell, if rulers want to be obeyed, they should rule as God wants them to rule, what amounts to a combination of the spirit of the "ruler" (*señor*) with the spirit of "father" (*padre*). If so, subjects will obey and serve as "sons" (*hijos*)⁹⁴. By so doing, masters will

⁹¹ Cfr. Colossians 3.22-25 (*Good News Bible*, Today's English Version, American Bible Society, 1976): "Slaves, obey your human masters in all things, not only when they are watching you because you want to gain their approval; but do it with a sincere heart because of your reverence for the Lord. Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as though you were working for the Lord and for men. Remember that the Lord will give you as a reward what he has kept for his people. For Christ is the real Master you serve. And every wrongdoer will be repaid for the wrong things he does, because God judges everyone by the same standard".

⁹² Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, iv, p. 244. On such (Pauline) eschatological aspects of a Christian ethics of social relationships, cfr. also Dale B. Martin, *Slavery as Salvation: The Metaphor of Slavery in Pauline Christianity*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1990, p. 55f.

⁹³ Cfr. Heinz-Dietrich Wendland, *Ética do Novo Testamento*, transl. by Werner Fuchs, Editora Sinodal, São Leopoldo, 1981, pp. 81-83, 99-100; Wolfgang Schrage, *Ética do Novo Testamento*, transl. Hans A. Trein, IEPG – Editora Sinodal, São Leopoldo, 1994, pp. 184-190, 199-203, 237-243. Cfr. also Gerd Theissen, *Sociologia da cristandade primitiva*, transl. Ivone Richter Heimer and Haroldo Reimer, Editora Sinodal, São Leopoldo, 1985, pp. 168-178.

⁹⁴ In Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, v, pp. 247-251 ("We confirm the same purpose with pieces of the Scripture and efficacious reasons"), pp. 247-251, our author confirms this view by saying that the slave holders are like

avoid the arbitrariness of pharaohs and know that they have above them a ruler in the heavens⁹⁵.

Although the institution of slavery is not criticized, Sandoval conceives an evangelical equalness between masters and slaves as creatures of God. They are equal as creatures and in principle equal in nature, and the differences in power that occur to them have origin in a "secret design" (*dispensacion*) of God. Both of them will be judged, and this will happen according to the justice of their deeds. As creatures to be judged on the Last Day, they are not object of any preference on the side of God. The law of God protects the slave, and both slave and master are obliged by it. Sandoval affirms that such reflections should be viewed as a "break" (*freno*) to the intentions of the masters. The Christian equalness Sandoval is talking about have ethical implications, namely mutual responsibilities: again, masters should care for their subjects, and subjects should care for their masters as well; masters should command with humbleness in the inside, and subjects should obey in respect for the same "agreement" (*pacto*), i.e. the law of God⁹⁶.

As already mentioned, in the previous section⁹⁷, Sandoval sees as a central aspect of the Christian ethics of duties between masters and slaves that the masters are responsible for the Christian education of slaves, and accordingly also a means for their salvation. The meaning of this is to instruct the slaves and confer whether they keep the doctrine and commandments of the Church, attending to masses, observing liturgical periods, and preparing and sending them to the administration of sacraments. Sandoval does not forget, however, the care of the body, what includes food and dressing. Following a motto of Ecclesiasticus⁹⁸, Sandoval says that masters should have the slaves almost as their own soul, treating them with justice, as they would treat themselves. If this is true according to Scripture, Sandoval connects to it a premise of natural law: "Omnia ergo quaecumque vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis"⁹⁹. Sandoval is able to find both in Isaiah¹⁰⁰, Chrysostom¹⁰¹, and Seneca¹⁰² the idea that, if there is a human "law of mercy"

shepherds, and slaves are like the sheeps. Of course, Sandoval finds a positive appeal to this ethics both in Saint Paul's *Letters* and works by the Fathers of the Church.

⁹⁵ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, iv, pp. 244-245.

⁹⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopum salute*, II, iv, pp. 246-247.

⁹⁷ Cfr. Section 3, above.

⁹⁸ We could mention, perhaps, Ecclesiasticus 3.30-4.10 (an ethics of acts of mercy) and 33.25-33 (about the treatment of servants or slaves).

⁹⁹ As it is well known, this is the verse of Matthew 7.12, according to the Vulgate.

¹⁰⁰ Cfr. Isaiah 58.6-10.

¹⁰¹ Cfr. Chris L. De Wet, *Preaching Bondage: John Chrysostom and the Discourse of Slavery in Early Christianity*, University of California Press, Oakland, 2015 [in print].

¹⁰² Cfr. Seneca, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium Liber V – Briefe an Lucilius über Ethik 5. Buch*, Lateinisch / Deutsch, übersetzt und herausgegeben von Franz Loreto, Philipp Reclam jun., Stuttgart, 1988 (durchgesehene Ausgabe 2001), 47, 10, p. 28: "Haec tamen praecepti mei summa est: sic cum inferiore vivas quemadmodum tecum superiorem velis vivere".

that obliges a human being to take care of the poor, to give food to the hungry, to dress the naked, to visit the sick and to give shelter to the homeless, there is much more a "law of justice", which is taught by Christian doctrine as well, to have the same care –and even more– towards the subjects or those from one's own house¹⁰³.

Sandoval calls Thomas Aquinas to defend his view that there is a duty towards the slaves, namely calling attention to the fact that, by oppressing or not taking care of the slaves, a serious sin is committed by masters¹⁰⁴. If Aquinas affirmed that there are four (fundamental) kinds of sins that are claimed before God, namely (a) homicide (Abel's blood), (b) the "ugly sin" (Solomon's vices), (c) the oppression of the innocent just (Jews subjected by the Egyptian Pharaoh), and (d) the denial of payment to the honest worker, Sandoval adds to the list (e) the denial of salary or portion due to the subject or slave who are in need of it in order to survive. Again, there is no criticism to slavery as a social institution, but only an ethical advise concerning moral Christian behavior¹⁰⁵. In fact, Sandoval thinks here of the atmosphere of the house, where masters are supposed to impose discipline, if possible with love, if necessary also with menaces and means of fear. Our author believes that in this sort of Pauline and (even more explicitly in his work) Patristic account of householding ethics, which mirrors a kind of Christian prudence balanced by charity, masters will be able to promote good subjects and workers and educate them as good Christians, even if sometimes paternal –never tyrannical– punishments are necessary. Truly, Sandoval reminds his readers many times of bad consequences and perverse effects that can result from excessive punishments, namely the obvious possibility of loosing good slaves and never transforming bad slaves into good ones¹⁰⁶. Once Black slaves become Christians, one should not forget that, beyond the fact that they are rational creatures, slaves are fellows in faith, and according to the law of God there is an obligation of love towards them. Sandoval conceives, inspired on Augustine, a scale of love within the scope of a householding ethics: we owe love *first* to God, *second* to relatives, *third* to our children, and *fourth* to the people in the house, including here servants and slaves. But if the servants and slaves are good, they should be object or more loved than bad children¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰³ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, v, pp. 248-249.

¹⁰⁴ Alonso de Sandoval mentions an interpretation by Thomas Aquinas of a Biblical passage roughly corresponding to Deuteronomy 24.14-21. On Thomas Aquinas's account of slavery, cfr. Thomas de Aquino, *Summa theologiae*, cura et studio Petri Caramello, cumtextu et recensione leonina, Marietti, Torino, 1956, III, suppl. 52, a. 1, pp. 163-164 (also aa. 2-4, pp. 164-167). Cfr. also Paul E. Sigmund, "Law and Politics", in Norman Kretzmann and Eleonore Stump, *The Cambridge Companion to Aquinas*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993 (repr. 1997), pp. 222-228; John Finnis, *Aquinas – Moral, Political, and Legal Theory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1998 (repr. 2004), pp. 184-185.

¹⁰⁵ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, v, p. 249.

¹⁰⁶ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, v, pp. 250-251.

¹⁰⁷ Cfr. Alonso de Sandoval, *De instauranda Aethiopia salute*, II, v, p. 251. About Augustine, he quotes in latin passages of a writing supposed to be called "De concordia frat[er]um".

Concluding Remarks

Slavery, and more particularly Black slavery, was a justifiable practice for Sandoval, both philosophically and theologically. It was so particularly as a result of just wars, licit sale (also for previous reasons such as debts and crimes) and possibly of birth, after the establishment of slavery as a condition of adults. In this sense, the introduction of slavery in the world, ultimately because of sin, is not an offence to a "natural right" of human beings¹⁰⁸. Sandoval comes close to an account of natural slavery, but he justifies it supernaturally through the punishing will of God. For that purpose he also introduces biblical-theological groundings of slavery, for example the exegesis of the story of Ham in Genesis 9.20-29. These forms of justification are accompanied by discourses of ethnic discrimination, comprising "sins of nature" and "sins of the soul", as well as "evils of nature", "of fortune", "of the soul" and in respect to the supernatural goals of life. Such discourses of devaluation help creating an ideology of acceptance of the slavery condition of the Ethiopians as a possibly better destiny to their bodies and souls.

Sandoval sees legitimacy in the system of slave trade generally, although he accepts the idea that, when first hand testimonies report of illegal purchases, injustices are probable and cases must be verified. It is an emphatic aspect of his texts that Sandoval believed that many cases or perhaps half of the cases of slavery of Blacks were unjust, but he never develops a legal or political criticism and confrontation to that institution as such. He seems to be honestly worried with the safe conscience of traders. By so doing, he stays on the line of Dominican and Jesuits thinkers who showed concern for the normativity of relationships in traffic and exploitation of Black slave labour. At the same time, and even more intensively, Sandoval was concerned with the salvation of the souls of the Africans. This led him to a paternalistic attitude for the religious care of the Africans, who are above all in need of spiritual masters, as if the slavery condition in an economic system –within an imperial project of colonization– were at the end of minor importance. The effects of political servitude might be reduced by a well articulated and biblically grounded Christian ethics of duties between masters and slaves. We may affirm that his concern for consolidating a Christian ethics of mutual duties and obligations between masters and slaves is sincere – and perhaps also utopic to a certain extent. For the purpose of a Christian moral life in the Spanish colonies, it was probably the best possible conscience that both masters and slaves might achieve. Sandoval seems to view, thus, in Black slavery more benefits than flaws. His major work confirms the social institution of slavery in the Spanish and Catholic projects in the Americas. The slavery of Blacks ratified indeed a "symbolic economy of salvation"¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁸ Juliana Beatriz Almeida de Souza, op. cit., 40, affirms that, for Sandoval, liberty was not a part of natural law.

¹⁰⁹ Id. *ibid.*, 49. The author mentions in this respect Mario Cesareo, *Cruzados, mártires y beatos*, Purdue University Press, Indianapolis, 1995, p. 149.

RESUMEN

Una de las obras más significativas sobre la esclavitud negra escritas por un pensador católico en el siglo 17 fue el *De instauranda aethiopum salute* (1627) de Alonso de Sandoval S.J. (1576/1577-1652), que describe el tráfico de esclavos africanos a América del Sur (sobre todo a Cartagena de Indias) y ofrece varias pistas diferentes para entender el surgimiento de una "ideología" de la esclavitud negra, que, dentro de la Iglesia Católica Romana y el mundo católico, justificó la esclavitud de negros. Al mismo tiempo, Alonso de Sandoval hizo el intento de establecer los criterios éticos para la trata de esclavos y en particular para las relaciones entre amos y esclavos en la vida cotidiana de las colonias de América del Sur. En el presente estudio, exploramos los Libros I y II del *De instauranda aethiopum salute*, centrándonos primero en los fundamentos teológicos y bíblicos invocados para justificar la esclavitud negra, en segundo lugar el foco está puesto en la justificación de las condiciones de la esclavitud de los africanos y de la trata de esclavos como tal, y la tercera en las normas morales propuestas por Sandoval a la relación justa entre los dueños y los esclavos. También hacemos un intento por evidenciar el notorio desprecio de Sandoval por la piel y la cultura negra que dio soporte a una ideología de tal sujeción.