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Highlights

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By Dr. J. Thumira Gunasena

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Abstract- This paper offers a historically grounded analysis of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict to examine the complexities of post-conflict justice. Understanding debates on accountability, reconciliation, and legitimacy requires attention to the country's prolonged history and the divergent Sinhalese and Tamil interpretations of the 2009 war's conclusion. The study traces the conflict from colonial-era ethnic hierarchies, through post-independence discriminatory policies favoring the Sinhalese majority, to cycles of violence culminating in the Eelam wars. It highlights how competing narratives-Sinhalese emphasizing unity and military victory, Tamils emphasizing marginalization and injustice-shape perceptions of responsibility, victimhood, and appropriate remedies. The absence of a shared narrative complicates transitional justice efforts, as collective memories remain contested and mutually exclusive. By situating these disputes within historical, social, and institutional contexts, the paper demonstrates the challenges of designing inclusive, legitimate, and context-sensitive post-conflict justice mechanisms, offering insights relevant to other societies navigating reconciliation in deeply divided, post-conflict settings.

Keywords: post-conflict justice, transitional justice, collective memory, accountability, reconciliation, war narratives.

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I. Introduction

Sri Lanka's prolonged conflict between the dominant Sinhalese and Tamil groups arises from deep-rooted divides in culture, heritage, and governance. Understanding this persistent discord-and its implications for transitional justice-requires examining historical events, social dynamics, and theoretical perspectives. Competing national narratives continue to hinder reconciliation, with divergent accounts of history shaping today's debates over justice and accountability.

This study integrates historical institutionalist perspectives with competing explanations of ethnic conflict, including primordialism, instrumentalism, and constructivism (De Votta, 2005). Sinhala nationalist narratives draw on *Mahavamsa* historiography to legitimize claims of territorial sovereignty and political primacy, while Tamil narratives highlight systematic marginalization, exclusionary state practices, and unmet demands for autonomy. The interaction of these narratives, embedded in weakening institutions, has been central to the persistence and escalation of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict.

The origins of the conflict lie in colonial administrative practices, which entrenched ethnic divisions and structured political representation along communal lines. Post-independence policies, particularly those privileging Sinhalese linguistic and political dominance, deepened structural inequalities and generated grievances that fueled ethnic mobilization. Key events-including the 1956 Language Policy, the 1981 Jaffna Library burning, and the 1983 "Black July" riots, exacerbated tensions and set the stage for all-out civil war. The LTTE, founded in 1976 under Prabhakaran, pursued Tamil separatism through armed struggle, committing atrocities on both sides.

Post-war narratives remain contested. Sinhalese emphasize unity and military victory, often resisting accountability mechanisms, while Tamils highlight past injustices and demand reparations and institutional reforms. These divergent perspectives complicate transitional justice efforts, particularly in contexts where there is no consensus on harm, responsibility, or the nature of remedies.

By combining historical institutionalism with insights from primordialist, instrumentalist, and constructivist frameworks, this study situates Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict within its broader socio-political and historical context. This approach enables a nuanced understanding of how identity formation, elite manipulation, and institutional design have shaped both the conflict and contemporary debates over justice.

This analysis contributes to transitional justice studies by emphasizing the importance of historical depth, cultural understanding, and context-aware approaches in societies where memory is contested and reconciliation is fragile.

II. Theoretical Perspectives

Scholars diverge significantly in defining the nature and origins of ethnicity. The literature commonly approaches ethnicity through primordial, constructivist, and instrumentalist lenses (De Votta, 2005; Pathak, 2019). While acknowledging these perspectives, De Votta (2005, p. 146) ultimately privileges an institutionalist approach in explaining Sri Lanka's ethnic dynamics, emphasizing that institutions do more than regulate behavior. They also shape societal norms and values, including perceptions of justice, collective identity, belonging, trust, and solidarity.

Primordialism is most useful for tracing the early formation of ethnic consciousness in Sri Lanka, particularly in understanding how identities were

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historically rooted in lineage, kinship, religion, and myth. Prior to independence in 1948, social belonging was largely defined through lineage-based classifications, and both Sinhala and Tamil historical narratives continue to assert claims of primordial attachment to territory. Primordialist theory conceives ethnic identity as innate and emotionally binding, where kinship ties override rational calculation and foster strong in-group solidarity (Pathak, 2019, p. 778). Ethnic groups are thus viewed as bound by blood and fate (Bačová, 1998), with conflict attributed to immutable differences rooted in race, religion, and culture (Pathak, 2019). From this perspective, homogeneous societies are considered stable, while multi-ethnic settings are inherently fragile, with partition often presented as the only viable solution to ethnic tension (Pathak, 2019).

However, while primordialism offers insight into the symbolic and historical foundations of ethnic identity, it fails to adequately explain the timing and escalation of violence in Sri Lanka. As Ginsburgh et al. (2016) demonstrate through historiographic analysis, ethnic spatial distributions alone do not inevitably produce conflict. Rather, Sri Lanka's ethnic divisions intensified under colonial administrative practices, rendering the conflict largely a twentieth-century phenomenon. Pre-colonial Sinhala–Tamil relations included periods of coexistence and flexible political authority; notably, Portuguese and British attempts to pit Sinhala elites against Tamil monarchs were unsuccessful, suggesting that royal lineage and identity were not rigidly ethnicized. As De Votta (2005, p. 155) argues, "ancient ethnic hatreds and congenital identities… fail to explain why violent ethnic relations ensued only since the mid-1950s." Primordialism, therefore, provides only a partial explanation, illuminating identity origins but not modern conflict dynamics.

To account for post-1950s escalation, instrumentalist and rational choice perspectives offer greater explanatory power. Instrumentalism, often positioned as the counterpoint to primordialism, views ethnicity as a strategic resource manipulated by elites to pursue political power, economic gain, and social status (Pathak, 2019). From this perspective, ethnic groups do not emerge organically but are mobilized by political actors seeking rational, self-interested outcomes (Pathak, 2019, p. 779). Ethnic identity is thus "not given… but is constructed… and can undergo changes" (Bačová, 1998, p. 36), making it a tactical instrument rather than a fixed social fact.

Sri Lanka provides numerous illustrations of instrumentalist dynamics, particularly in the form of ethnic outbidding by political elites. Successive governments have exploited ethnic grievances to consolidate electoral support, often undermining peace initiatives, truth-seeking mechanisms, and post-war reconciliation processes. Instrumentalist explanations highlight how elites leverage institutional power and mass mobilization

to advance narrow interests, reinforcing cycles of ethnic polarization. Rational choice theory complements this view by framing ethnic conflict as the outcome of calculated decisions aimed at maximizing security, material resources, or political advantage (Kaufman, 2006, p. 6).

Yet the Sri Lankan case also exposes the limitations of purely elite-centric rationalist explanations. Ethnic mobilization has not been driven solely from above; non-elite actors-including Sinhala-Buddhist nationalist groups and civil society organizations-have exerted substantial pressure on political leaders. Lieberman and Singh (2012) argue that elites frequently respond to societal forces rather than acting autonomously, underscoring the multi-actor nature of ethnic conflict. Consequently, instrumentalism has been criticized for downplaying the emotional and cultural dimensions of ethnic identity (Pathak, 2019), while rational choice theory has been faulted for overlooking the complex social meanings embedded in ethno-nationalist conflict (De Votta, 2005).

To address these shortcomings, De Votta (2005) advances an institutionalist framework that bridges primordial, instrumental, and rationalist explanations. He contends that institutional decay-rather than fixed identities or elite manipulation alone-facilitated Sinhala ethnic outbidding and corresponding Tamil mobilization. Institutions do not mechanically determine elite behavior, but they structure incentives and constrain or enable political choices. Political leaders retain agency and can reform institutions to promote interethnic accommodation (De Votta, 2005). However, opportunistic elites often preserve exclusionary arrangements to secure electoral advantage, particularly in majoritarian systems.

Sri Lanka exemplifies this dilemma. Although moments of leadership initiative have emerged, attempts at interethnic compromise have repeatedly been undermined by entrenched institutional and societal pressures, preventing durable ethnic settlements (De Votta, 2005, p. 147). Sinhala-dominated governments have frequently pursued policies perceived as discriminatory toward Tamils to maintain voter support. De Votta (2005) identifies language nationalism as a central driver of ethnic outbidding and conflict escalation. Nevertheless, contemporary developments-such as the growing emphasis on English-medium education through private schooling and bilingual curricula-raise questions about the continued dominance of linguistic nationalism. In the post-2009 context, religious nationalism appears to have become more salient, even as language-based grievances persist. This shift suggests the need to reassess the relative weight of language nationalism in light of evolving policy and ideological trends.

Religion, in particular, has emerged as a powerful axis of ethnic mobilization. Ginsburgh et al. (2016) demonstrate the strong alignment between

ethnolinguistic and religious boundaries in Sri Lanka, reinforcing the role of Sinhala-Buddhist ideology in post-war outbidding. Positivist scholars emphasize objective markers such as language, religion, and historical continuity in generating group consciousness (Pathak, 2019), whereas post-positivist approaches highlight subjective narratives and "imagined origins" (Pathak, 2019, p. 775). As Pathak (2019, p. 775) observes, "cultural differences… do not form ethnic groups. The social interaction patterns give rise to… 'us' versus 'them.'"

Constructivism is particularly valuable in explaining how such identities are activated and reshaped during periods of crisis. Processes of "othering" intensify during political or security shocks, reinforcing dominant group cohesion while legitimizing prejudice and exclusion (Satgunarajah, 2016). State actors may frame minorities as threats to justify coercive policies (Satgunarajah, 2016), as seen in Sinhala nationalist portrayals of Tamils as separatist or disloyal, which in turn reinforce majoritarian claims to sovereignty (Soherwordi, 2010, p. 47). Historical myths, symbols, and narratives become institutionalized, shaping collective memory and political behavior (Pathak, 2019). Ethnic entrepreneurs exploit emotional appeals and "gut reactions" to mobilize support (De Votta, 2005, p. 156), reflecting primordial resonances but insufficient on their own to explain the protracted civil war (De Votta, 2005).

Ultimately, no single theoretical framework adequately explains Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict. Primordialism illuminates historical identity roots; instrumentalism and rational choice clarify elite strategies and incentives; constructivism captures the evolving meanings of ethnicity shaped by colonialism, nationalism, and state policy; and institutionalism integrates these dynamics by focusing on how political structures mediate identity, interest, and agency. Together, these approaches provide a more comprehensive understanding of the origins, persistence, and post-war legacy of ethnic conflict, as well as the enduring challenges facing justice and reconciliation in Sri Lanka.

III. Historical and Institutional Roots of Sri Lanka's Conflict

Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict is rooted in historically constituted Sinhalese and Tamil identities shaped by enduring cultural, linguistic, and religious distinctions. Sinhalese identity is commonly traced to Aryan ancestry and Theravāda Buddhism, while Tamil identity is linked to Dravidian heritage and Hindu traditions, alongside Christian minorities (Manogaran, 1987; Stokke, 1998). These identity formations, though historically fluid, were progressively institutionalized through myth, colonial governance, and postcolonial state practices.

Ancient chronicles, most notably the *Mahavamsa*, narrate conflicts such as that between King Dutugamunu[1] and King Elara[2], which later became symbolic markers of ethnic distinction. In modern nationalist discourse, these narratives were revived to frame Dutugemunu as a Sinhala Buddhist unifier and a symbol of territorial sovereignty (Gunawardana, 1990; Wickramasinghe, 2009). Such mytho-historical interpretations exemplify how premodern narratives were selectively reinterpreted to legitimize contemporary political projects.

Colonial rule marked a critical institutional juncture in the crystallization of ethnic identities. British administrative practices classified populations along ethnic lines, privileged Tamils-particularly Christian and Western-educated elites-in education and civil service, and introduced communal political representation. These policies entrenched ethnic categories as political identities and sowed the structural foundations for post-independence tensions (Soherwordi, 2010; Jayawardena, 2002; Nissan & Stirrat, 1990).

Caste hierarchies within both communities further complicated ethnic binaries. Political and economic power was concentrated among the Sinhalese Goyigama[3] and Tamil Vellala elites, reinforcing intra-ethnic inequalities while masking class and caste grievances beneath ethnic mobilization (Jayawardena, 2002; Pfaffenberger, 1984). These internal stratifications underscore the institutional layering of inequality beyond ethnicity alone.

Historically, Sinhalese–Tamil relations were characterized by both rivalry and coexistence. Manogaran (1987) describes this relationship as one of sustained interaction, while Stokke (1998, p. 85) conceptualizes it as a "mirror-image relationship," wherein each group defined itself in opposition to the other. Although both communities share historical links to India, they developed distinct collective identities grounded in claims of ethnic origin, ancestral territory, language, religion, and culture (Manogaran, 1987, p. 19). These competing self-understandings are central to contemporary debates on legitimacy, justice, and post-war reconciliation.

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[1] Dutugamunu (164 BC – 140 BC) was a Buddhist prince of the Sinhala dynasty who ruled over the southern principality and conquered the northern principality, which a Tamil King named Elara (204 BC – 164 BC), though known for his just rule (Gunawardana, 1990, p. 58).

[2] a Chola king from the Chola Kingdom, in present day South India, who ruled a part of Sri Lanka from 205 BC to 161 BC including [1] the ancient capital of Anuradhapura. Often referred to as 'the Just King' (Mahavansaya).

[3] The Govigama caste is the largest and historically most influential caste among the Sinhalese community in Sri Lanka. Its identity, status, and role are closely tied to agriculture, land ownership, and political power, both historically and in the contemporary period.

The conflict evolved incrementally through successive historical phases before culminating in armed confrontation. Myth construction, colonial legacies, postcolonial policies-particularly linguistic disenfranchisement-and demographic anxieties among the Sinhalese majority collectively shaped ethnic polarization (Ginsburgh et al., 2016). Both Sinhalese and Tamil political actors mobilized selective historical narratives to legitimize claims to the state and territory, rendering history itself a contested political resource (Nissan & Stirrat, 1990).

Nationalism and identity politics provide a key analytical lens for understanding these dynamics (Stokke, 1998). The Aryan–Dravidian distinction, influenced by nineteenth-century racial and linguistic theories advanced by scholars such as Max Müller,[5] linked language to race and ancestry, thereby legitimizing hierarchical identity claims (Gunawardana, 1990). The *Mahavamsa* reinforced this binary by associating Sinhalese identity with Aryan lineage and casting Tamils as the Dravidian "other" (Saleem, 2013).

Waters (1986) demonstrates that the racialization of Sinhalese and Tamil identities emerged primarily in the nineteenth century, as linguistic classifications were reinterpreted as biological distinctions. While some scholars viewed the Sinhalese as ethnically mixed, late colonial discourse increasingly relied on physical characteristics, resulting in the racialization of ethnic identities (Gunawardana, 1990, p. 74).

The symbolic power of the Dutugemunu–Elara narrative resurfaced strongly in the post-2009 context. Dutugemunu-portrayed as a Sinhala Buddhist king who defeated the Tamil ruler Elara to reunify the island and restore Buddhism[6] - became a template for contemporary political myth-making. Following the defeat of the LTTE, President Mahinda Rajapaksa was depicted as a modern reincarnation of Dutugemunu, symbolically reunifying the nation. This revival of myth served to consolidate nationalist legitimacy, marginalize dissent, and weaken pluralist politics in the post-war period (Wickramasinghe, 2009).

Colonialism thus represents a critical institutional layer in Sri Lanka's conflict trajectory, shaping both inter-ethnic rivalry and intra-ethnic stratification. While often framed externally as a straightforward case of majority domination, the Sri Lankan conflict is better understood as a historically layered struggle shaped by shifting power relations, institutional legacies, and competing nationalist projects (Ismail, 2005).

IV. Colonialism and Institutional Formation

British colonial governance institutionalized ethnic compartmentalization through census practices initiated in 1871. By formally classifying populations into rigid ethnic categories, colonial administrators transformed previously fluid social identities into fixed political markers. The distinction between Ceylon Tamils and Indian Tamils was particularly consequential, complicating claims to representation and embedding ethnicity as the primary axis of political competition (Soherwordi, 2010; Jayawardena, 2002).

Colonial policies simultaneously advantaged Tamil Christian elites through access to English education and state employment, while also enabling Sinhala Buddhist revivalism. These interventions fostered parallel and competing nationalist trajectories rather than a shared political community (Jayasundara-Smits, 2013; Wickramasinghe, 2015). Influenced by nineteenth-century racial theories, British administrators framed Sri Lanka as a mosaic of biologically distinct groups-Sinhalese, Tamils, Moors, Burghers, and Malays. This racialized understanding intensified ethnic consciousness and laid the groundwork for enduring nationalist rivalry (Curtin, 1960; Nissan & Stirrat, 1990).

The introduction of ethnic-based census categories, especially the separation of Sri Lankan and Indian Tamils, produced long-term political disputes over citizenship and belonging that persisted beyond the colonial period (Brno, 2018). Prior to British rule, communities now labeled as Sinhalese or Tamil interacted across relatively permeable boundaries. Colonial governance, however, reinterpreted social and cultural differences as biological divisions, a conceptual shift that fundamentally reshaped identity formation and institutionalized exclusion (Soherwordi, 2010, pp. 34–35). Economic and labor policies reinforced these identity cleavages. The importation of Indian Tamil laborers for plantation agriculture entrenched ethnicized class hierarchies, linking ethnicity to occupation and legal status. Jaffna Tamils, benefiting from English education and urban networks, gained disproportionate access to state employment and professional sectors. In contrast, Indian Tamils remained politically marginalized as estate laborers (Jayawardena, 2002). Although the Sinhalese landed bourgeoisie possessed greater economic power, it engaged less directly with colonial administrative structures, shaping divergent elite–state relations (Jayawardena, 2002).

Caste hierarchies further mediated these institutional processes. While Sinhala caste structures became more fluid over time, Jaffna Tamil society retained rigid stratification dominated by the Vellala caste, which controlled land ownership, education, and political representation (Jayawardena, 2002). These micro-level social hierarchies intersected with colonial ethnic classifications, producing layered forms of marginalization. As a result, lower-caste and non-elite Tamils were often excluded both within their own communities and within the broader colonial political order-an exclusion masked by elite-driven ethnic mobilization.

V. POST-INDEPENDENCE IDENTITY POLITICS AND POLICY

Following independence in 1948, Sinhalese linguistic nationalism became a central driver of ethnic polarization in Sri Lanka. The enactment of the Official Language Act in 1956, which designated Sinhala as the sole official language, systematically marginalized Tamil speakers and intensified ethnic grievances (De Votta, 2005). Subsequent discriminatory policies restricted Tamil access to education, public sector employment, and political participation, thereby institutionalizing ethnic exclusion within the postcolonial state (Jayawardena, 2002). Competitive ethnic outbidding among Sinhalese political elites further exacerbated interethnic tensions, narrowing the space for compromise (De Votta, 2005).

In response, Tamil nationalist demands evolved from calls for federal autonomy to claims for secession, culminating in the emergence of militant organizations such as the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which pursued the creation of an independent Tamil Eelam (McGregor, 2006). Persistent state exclusion and failures of political accommodation entrenched the conflict within a violent trajectory (Jayasundara-Smits, 2013).

The outbreak of the First Eelam War in 1983 followed widespread anti-Tamil violence, most notably the pogroms of Black July. Over time, the LTTE consolidated its position as the dominant militant actor, while the Sri Lankan state framed the conflict primarily as a campaign against terrorism (Lecamwasam, 2016). Both the state and the LTTE committed grave human rights violations, reinforcing competing narratives of victimhood and further polarizing perceptions of justice and accountability (Wickramasinghe, 2009). The armed conflict concluded in 2009 with the military defeat of the LTTE. While dominant Sinhalese narratives portray this outcome as the restoration of national unity and territorial integrity, Tamil perspectives emphasize mass suffering, accountability gaps, and continued political and social marginalization (De Votta, 2005; Manogaran, 1987).

Although Uyangoda (2007) suggested that the state-building project weakened the salience of ethnic identity, Thurairajah (2019) demonstrates that the LTTE played a significant role in preserving and politicizing Tamil ethnic identity during the conflict. In the post-war period, Tamil identity has been interpreted in divergent ways. Some view it as increasingly westernized and detached from tradition, arguing that the LTTE had functioned as a custodian of Tamil cultural continuity; for these individuals, the end of the conflict represents a rupture from inherited practices. Conversely, others frame Tamil identity through a narrative of survival, recognizing that identity had previously been instrumentalized to justify violence and mobilize support for war. From this perspective, the conflict's end offers an opportunity to move beyond rigid collective identities and politicized ethnic mobilization (Thurairajah, 2019).

Tamil ethnic identity is therefore best understood as adaptive and context-dependent. Pivotal historical moments-most notably the onset and conclusion of the war-reshaped how identity was constructed and experienced, generating significant intra-group variation. As Thurairajah (2019, p. 582) notes, the end of the war intensified reflection on the question of "who are we?", underscoring the importance of recognizing intra-communal differences before meaningful post-conflict reconstruction can occur.

Post-2009 justice debates remain deeply fragmented. The Sinhalese-majority state emphasizes triumphant patriotism, prioritizes sovereignty, and resists international accountability mechanisms (Wickramasinghe, 2009). In contrast, Tamil communities and diaspora actors advocate for truth-seeking, reparations, and political recognition to address wartime atrocities and long-standing structural exclusion (De Votta, 2005). The absence of a shared narrative complicates the identification of victims and the determination of appropriate justice mechanisms. Persistent intra-community inequalities, political rivalries, and regional disparities further undermine cohesive transitional justice and reconciliation efforts (Satgunarajah, 2016; Wakkumbura, 2021).

This study therefore highlights the centrality of historical consciousness in understanding Sri Lanka's transitional justice challenges. By situating post-war justice debates within a longue durée perspective, it demonstrates how contemporary claims to justice are shaped by deeply embedded narratives of identity, legitimacy, and belonging. Civilizational myths, colonial legacies, post-independence state practices, and ethno-political mobilization continue to structure understandings of accountability, victimhood, and reconciliation.

Employing a historical institutionalist framework, the study bridges primordialist, instrumentalist, constructivist, and institutionalist approaches to offer a multidimensional analysis of Sri Lanka's conflict. It shows how Sinhala-Buddhist nationalism-rooted in ancient chronicles such as the *Mahavamsa*-has been reactivated in post-war discourse to delegitimize external accountability, while Tamil narratives of historical marginalization continue to inform demands for justice and recognition.

These competing and entrenched narratives have hindered the emergence of a shared national memory, thereby limiting the effectiveness of transitional justice mechanisms. Legalistic or procedural responses alone are insufficient. Meaningful reconciliation requires engagement with the symbolic, cultural, and epistemic dimensions of history and identity. Only by acknowledging plural historical experiences and

dismantling exclusionary institutional structures can Sri Lanka move toward an inclusive, rights-based, and sustainable peace. This study contributes to transitional justice scholarship by advocating a historically grounded and culturally sensitive model capable of addressing the deeper roots of conflict and responding to the needs of all affected communities.

VI. Conclusion

Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict and post-war justice landscape illustrate the complex interaction between historical legacies, identity formation, and institutional design. Ethnic tensions are rooted in long-standing cultural, linguistic, and religious differentiation, which were intensified by colonial administrative practices that institutionalized ethnic hierarchies and social stratification. In the post-independence period, state policies-particularly those privileging Sinhalese linguistic and political dominance-deepened structural inequalities and generated grievances. These dynamics contributed to separatist mobilization and the protraction of political violence (De Votta, 2005; Jayawardena, 2002).

The Eelam Wars reflected both the militarization of ethnic identities and the persistent failure of state institutions to address minority grievances in an equitable manner. The conflict resulted in extensive human suffering and entrenched competing victimhood narratives. These experiences produced divergent collective memories that continue to shape contested understandings of justice, accountability, and reconciliation in the post-war period (Wickramasinghe, 2009; Satgunarajah, 2016).

Since the end of the war in 2009, justice discourse in Sri Lanka has remained deeply polarized. Dominant Sinhalese narratives emphasize sovereignty and military victory and often resist international accountability mechanisms. In contrast, Tamil communities, both within Sri Lanka and in the diaspora, continue to call for truth-seeking, reparations, and political recognition to address wartime atrocities and long-standing marginalization (De Votta, 2005). The absence of a shared national narrative complicates consensus on justice beneficiaries and appropriate mechanisms, while political fragmentation and persistent regional inequalities further constrain transitional justice initiatives (Wakkumbura, 2021).

Advancing transitional justice in Sri Lanka therefore requires a multifaceted and inclusive approach. This involves acknowledging divergent historical narratives, reforming exclusionary institutional structures, and fostering national identities that move beyond ethnically exclusive conceptions of belonging. Sustainable peace depends on pluralistic under-standings of justice, accountability, and collective memory. These must recognize past harms while enabling coexistence in the present. Without addressing the historical, institutional, and identity-based foundations of conflict, post-war reconciliation efforts are likely to remain limited and contested.

This study, however, is not without limitations. Its emphasis on dominant political narratives and secondary sources may underrepresent sub-national perspectives, everyday experiences of justice, and variations across regions and social groups. Constraints in accessing archival materials and systematic post-war empirical data further limit the scope of analysis. Future research could address these gaps by incorporating comparative post-conflict cases, longitudinal studies of justice narratives, and localized ethnographic or archival investigations. Such approaches would deepen understanding of how justice discourses evolve over time and across different segments of Sri Lankan society.

Abbreviations

LTTE - Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam

BC - Before Christ

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Childhood Space in Antiquity: Paleodemographic, Ethnographic and Archaeological Dimensions

By O. Ye. Kisly

Russian Academy of Sciences

Abstract- The paper is a comprehensive study of ancient childhood. The author relies on the works of ethnologists, sociologists, and paleodemographers. The latter discipline has accumulated new data that allow us to continue M. Mead's and I. S. Kohn's ideas about the social status of the child in primitive and traditional societies, about a different understanding of the conflict of generations than the one built by psychologists from realities of the "civilized world". The major focus is on materials of the Bronze Age cultures from the Northern Black Sea region. The author offers a new economic and cultural definition of a toy.

Keywords: children's life expectancy, childhood economics, childhood artifacts, primitive and traditional societies.

GJHSS-D Classification: LCC Code: GN799.C5

CHILDHOODSPACEINANTIQUITYPALEODEMOGRAPHICETHNOGRAPHICANDARCHAEOLOGICALDIMENSIONS

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Childhood Space in Antiquity: Paleodemographic, Ethnographic and Archaeological Dimensions

Территория Древнего Детства: Палеодемографическое, Этнографическое И Археологическое Измерение

Teritoriul Copilăriei Străvechi: Dimensiunea Paleodemografică, Etnografică Și Arheologică

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Abstract- The paper is a comprehensive study of ancient childhood. The author relies on the works of ethnologists, sociologists, and paleodemographers. The latter discipline has accumulated new data that allow us to continue M. Mead's and I. S. Kohn's ideas about the social status of the child in primitive and traditional societies, about a different understanding of the conflict of generations than the one built by psychologists from realities of the "civilized world". The major focus is on materials of the Bronze Age cultures from the Northern Black Sea region. The author offers a new economic and cultural definition of a toy.

Keywords: children's life expectancy, childhood economics, childhood artifacts, primitive and traditional societies.

Resume- **Autorul are ca sarcină cercetarea complexă a copilăriei străvechi. În acest scop, el face referinţă la lucrările etnologilor, sociologilor, precum şi ale paleodemografilor. Ultima disciplină a acumulat noi date, care permit să continuăm ideile lui M. Mead şi I. S. Kohn privind statutul social al copilului în societăţile primitivă şi tradiţională, despre o altă percepere a conflictului generaţiilor decât cea modelată de către psihologi în baza „lumii civilizate". Mult mai pe larg sunt analizate materialele culturilor din epoca bronzului din nordul Mării Negre. Este propusă o nouă determinare economică-culturală a jucăriei.**

Cuvinte cheie: durata vieţii la copii, economia copilăriei, artefacte ale copilăriei, societăţile primitivă și tradiţională.

Резюме- **Автор ставит задачу комплексного исследования древнего детства. С этой целью обращается как к работам этнологов, социологов, так и палеодемографов. Последняя дисциплина накопила новые данные, которые позволяют продолжить идеи М. Мид, И. С. Кона о социальном статусе ребенка в первобытном и традиционном обществах, об ином понимании конфликта поколений, чем смоделированное психологами на примерах «цивилизованного мира». Наиболее широко рассматриваются материалы культур эпохи бронзы Северного Причерноморья. Предлагается новое экономико-культурологическое определение игрушки.**

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Ключевые слова: детская продолжительность жизни, экономика детства, артефакты детства, первобытное и традиционное общества.

I. Introduction

Сквозная тема выпусков *Stratum plus* 2023 года даже при первом рассмотрении выглядит такой, что действительно всегда рядом, т. е. далеко не древней, но вовсе не «по-детски» тяжелой. И все же уверен, хотя это субъективное мнение, проблематика очень «археологическая» по сути. Вспомним слова С. А. Васильева, высказанные в одной дискуссии (Васильев 2013: 696), что кроме нас, археологов, некому исследовать социологию первобытности. Отсюда задача — расширенный поиск, основанный в определенной степени на постструктурализме. Многое дает палеодемография. В этой науке есть ряд таких достижений, которые не являются абсолютом, но позволяют хотя бы в первом приближении строить некие вполне адекватные модели. Путь этот многотрудный, однако именно им уже шли многие специалисты, не уповая на достигнутое, и среди них, прежде всего, можно назвать Маргарет Мид.

Для нашего исследования, как и в целом для социологии детства современности, особое значение имеет несколько выводов из ее полевых работ.

1. Наши представления о конф ликте поколений, особенно смоделированные психологами на примерах «цивилизованного мира», не соответствуют действительности древних обществ. В частности, психологические изменения, которые, якобы, всегда сопутствуют периоду полового созревания, могут вообще отсутствовать (Мид 1988: 7, 89 и др.).

2. «Возрастные классы» воспринимались в древности по-иному, и их социальные функции были иными.

3. Выделенный ею *постфигуративный тип* отношений «взрослые-дети» (лишь часть ее кросс-исторического модельного построения) присущ в наибольшей мере традиционному обществу.

Главное в его рамках: дети учатся у своих предшественников, а не иное (у сверстников и т. д.), описанное М. Мид в рамках других типов (Мид 1988: 322).

4. Мышление ребенка, его восприятие окружающего мира было достаточно рационалистическим, логическим, а наблюдаемые ранее специалистами анимистические особенности мышления являются лишь результатом аккультурации мира ребенка (Мид 1988: 30 и др.; 172—214).

Эти выводы М. Мид в том или ином виде повторялись ее последователями, но, возможно, самое интересное, противопоставившее ее рассуждения построениям исследователей того времени, да и современных (не всегда замечаемое), заключается в том, что первобытные культуры, по мнению американского антрополога, не так уж и близки к природе, они — результат искривления природы. Так, она пошла против идей Люсьена Леви-Брюля в выделении типов первобытного мышления, а занявшись отношениями полов в древних обществах, показала, что половые (как и половозрастные) роли не есть что-то изначально данное, а результат действия социальных условий (Mead 1935: 14; Мид 1988: 59 и др.), а мы сегодня подчеркнём — результат потребностей того или иного времени в воспроизводстве жизни [1].

Критичность и самостоятельность, а затем поиск исторической системности (хотя она продолжает традиции «описательной антропологии») и, наконец, творческая парадоксальность в работах М. Мид дали возможность И. С. Кону также системно исследовать этносоциологию детства. Однако он еще не владел той информацией о первобытном обществе, особенно демоэкономической [2], что есть теперь в нашем распоряжении. И. С. Кон абсолютно справедливо отмечает недостаток историзма ее работ и случайность сравнений, в результате чего М. Мид «не замечает существенных стадиально-исторических и внутрикультурных вариаций» (Кон 1988: 17). Сам исследователь подчеркивает две вещи, важные для нас:

1. Исследуя древнее общество, «современный сентиментальный детоцентризм» приходится отбросить. Производство детей «должно было окупаться» (Кон 1988: 44). 2. Ребенок в определенные периоды первобытного общества вовсе не воспринимался полноценным человеком, он что-то среднее между человеком и вещью (Кон 1988: 217). Противоречащие этому последующие замечания И. С. Кона, что средневековье донесло до нас не только данные о детстве как о «кошмарном сне», по Л. Демозу (Кон 1988: 217), но и картины нежной материнской любви, отношения к системности познания не имеют. Они такого же свойства, как и любовь, уход за детенышами животных у скотоводов. Сочувствие и эксплуатация, даже издевательства, не взаимоисключаются. Однако, с точки зрения социальной исторической психологии детства, наблюдение важно, поэтому ниже на нем немного остановимся.

Конечно же, в большом обзоре можно перечислить многие работы, в т. ч. античных мыслителей, или исследования в области теории игр, но продолжая направление, вырабатываемое, прежде всего, М. Мид и И. С. Коном (а оно, собственно, и есть предтеча постструктурализма в конкретных разработках), есть возможность конкретизировать несколько вопросов:

1. Как соотносились между собой половозрастные классы и какого рода конфлик ты могли быть там основными, чем они были обусловлены.

2. Каков был реальный мир ребенка не с точки зрения возрастной психологии современной науки, а с «точки зрения» — а) его, ребенка, т. е. как он воспринимал мир; б) его окружения, исходя из детерминанты его социальных, экономических функций.

3. Как менялось отношение к ребёнку в пределах типов культур во времени и в пространстве. Можно ли как-то структурировать огромнейший поток археологических данных?

4. Как найти в разнообразии данных хотя какую-то первичную систему, историческую модель, которые пока что в первом приближении учитывали бы замечания И. Кона об историзме и неслучайных культурных вариациях.

Один из наиболее четких показателей качества жизни человека лежит в показателях количественных, — а именно, в показателе средней продолжительности предстоящей жизни. Этот показатель не является средней статистической каких-то сумм, как часто полагают, а выступает лишь статистико-демографическим модельным показателем, отражающим жизнь поколений. В этом демография сродни истории. Известно выражение, что демография — это история поколений. Соответственно, палеодемографические[3] данные дают нам возможность

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[1] Термин «воспроизводство жизни» употребляем в демоэкономическом смысле, несущем естественную историческую диалектику (см. прим. 2).

[2] Демоэкономические исследования — это исследования наиболее общих исторически постоянных взаимосвязей, которые возникают по поводу воспроизведения жизни в наиболее широком понимании последнего термина, включая отношения «общество-природа». Именно отношения «общество-природа», а не частные иные, включая структурные в философии исторического материализма, порождают основное диалектическое противоречие истории от начала антропогенеза до завершения сапиентгенеза (Кислый 2013: 43 и др.; 256—279 и далее).

[3] Под палеодемографией понимаем раздел исторической демографии, изучающей народонаселение не как количество жителей (население), а историческое образование, структурированное в

подтвердить или опровергнуть то, что показано М. Мид, И. С. Коном и другими исследователями на этнографических и исторических материалах.

Наиболее полные, взаимосвязанные территориально и по периодам за несколько тысячелетий палеодемографические статистические материалы (которые можно в первом приближении использовать в демографии) относятся к эпохе бронзы Северного Причерноморья IV—II тыс. до н. э., поскольку именно там проводились достаточно плотно раскопки в 50—80-е гг. XX в., получены массовые, исторически *взаимосвязанные в пределах нескольких тысячелетий* данные и выполнены антропологические определения пола-возраста, а также проведен социо-демографический и демостатистический анализ. В предлагаемой статье дается предметный обзор таких материалов, в основном, по ямной, катакомбной и срубной культурам. В необходимых случаях приводятся иные, более широкие материалы, в том числе этнографические и проч. Надо четко представить, что в этом исследовании мы, прежде всего, будем опираться на те демографические представления о закономерностях и особенностях исторической трансформации населения, которые считаются достоверными. Иного пути к системности у нас пока нет и вряд ли предвидится.

Вопрос количества детей в населении — это не только исследование показателей рождаемости-смертности, но и проблема возможного этапа демографического перехода [4] конкретного населения, понимание изменяемой ценности детей. Конечно, в каких-то отдельных сообществах временно могли проявляться особенности в показателях смертности. Но если не понимать системность процессов, чем

занимаются демографы не одно поколение, то каждая частность может гипертрофироваться.

Сравним процентные соотношения детских погребений в некоторых археологических культурах на разных территориях, особо выделяя три названные выше культуры (табл. 1). Нельзя не отметить огромную разницу в процентах детских погребений в могильниках. И все же заметны некоторые близкие группы могильников по этим показателям. Фактически очень занижены проценты детских погребений в курганных могильни- ках Северного Причерноморья, в особенности в ямной, катакомбной и срубной культурах.

пространстве и времени в отношении воспроизведения жизни. Так сложилось в научной практике, что в целом историческая демография больше внимания уделяла количественным данным (численность жителей поселка и др.). Палеодемография изначально имеет более специфический круг источников — любые данные (археологические, исторические) о структуре населения. Поэтому в истории науки больше внимания уделено историческому качеству населения, его диалектической изменяемости, и, соответственно, закономерностям воспроизводства жизни. Теоретическое обоснование разного значения «населения-народонаселения» и взаимосвязанных с этим качественных и количественных сторон демопроцесса — заслуга В. С. Стешенко и В. П. Пискунова (Стешенко 1981: 314 и др.; Кислый 2013: 33—74).

[4] Под демографическими переходами (практически = пониманию «демографическая революция») понимаем исторически значимые, эпохальные изменения в структуре населения, вызванные: а) революцией производящего хозяйства (первый демографический переход); б) промышленной революцией и индустриализацией (второй демографический переход). Типология второго перехода и изменения возрастной структуры населения разработаны на многочисленных статистических материалах. Модельная типология, статистика (изменения половозрастной структуры населения) первого демографического перехода разработана впервые А. Е. Кислым на палеогеографических материалах (Кислый 1991; Кислый 2013: 139—152).

Таблица 1: Процент детских скелетов в некоторых выборках

Могильник, время, культура	Дети, %
Архантроп, известные к 1939 году находки синантропов (Крисаченко 1998: 560)	68,1
Палеоантроп и ранний неоантроп (Алексеев 1978)	40,9
Мезолит Украины (Алексеев 1972)	29,5
Васильевка III, мезолит (Потехина 1981)	29,5
Чатал-Гуюк, неолит, Восточное Средиземноморье (Angel 1971)	25
Караташ, неолит, Восточное Средиземноморье (Angel 1971)	28,5
Неолит Украины (Потехина 1981)	30,9
Оленеостровский, неолит (Алексеев 1972)	15,4
Кара-Тепе, Геоксюр, неолит (Алексеев 1972)	32,1
Выхватинский могильник, эпоха бронзы (Великанова 1975)	63
Старые Бедражи, эпоха бронзы (Великанова 1975)	50
Карасук III, эпоха бронзы (Алексеев 1972)	43,6
Джаркутан, II тыс. до н. э. (Алексеев и др. 1984)	28,5
Киваткалнский, II тыс. до н. э. (Денисова и др. 1985)	37,9
Ямная культура, энеолит-бронза (Круц 1984)	*14,9*
Катакомбная культура, эпоха бронзы (Круц 1984)	*14,4*
Срубная культура, эпоха бронзы (Круц 1984)	*14,8*
Сапателлитепа, II тыс. до н. э. (Ходжайов 1977)	36,7
Ягодное, Хрящовка, эпоха бронзы, Нижнее Поволжье (Алексеев 1972)	30,8
Ливенцовка I, IV, эпоха бронзы, Нижнее Подонье (Братченко 1963)	40
Кокча III, эпоха бронзы (Алексеев 1972)	20
Тасти-Бутак, эпоха бронзы (Алексеев 1972)	60
Фирсово XIV, эпоха бронзы (Ражев, Эпимахов 2005)	73
Чернянка, белозерская культура, эпоха бронзы (Круц 1984)	30
Кочковатое, белозерская культура, эпоха бронзы (Сегеда, Литвинова 1991)	17,6
Улангом, Монголия V—III вв. до н. э. (Мамонова 1978)	20,7
Ак-таш, скифы IV—III вв. до н. э. (Покас и др. 1988)	14,6
Николаевка, скифы IV—III вв. до н. э. (Кондукторова 1979)	44,3
Кокель, Тува, III в. до н.э. — V в. н. э. (Алексеев, Гохман 1970)	21,3
Калиновка, Политотдельское, Быково, сарматы, Поволжье (Гинзбург 1959; Глазкова, Чтецов 1960; Смирнов 1960)	33,1
Бранешты, X—XI вв., Молдова (Великанова 1975)	23,4
Сарай-Бату, кон. XIV — нач. XV вв., Нижнее Поволжье (Яблонский 1980)	29,9
Мамай Сурка, XIV—XV вв., Надднепрянщина (Каприцин, архив автора)	53,5

По могильникам близкого времени Чернянка, Ягодное, Хрящовка, Карасук III такой показатель в два и более раза выше. Случайно ли это? Наверное, нет, если учесть, что Чернянка — грунтовой некрополь, а по поводу выборок из Ягодного и Хрящовки отмечается, "что здесь тщательно собирался костный материал, включая и детские скелеты"; аналогично и с Карасуком III (Алексеев 1972: 12, 87). Грунтовые могильники, в целом, дают более реальный процент детских погребений (Круц 1984: 87), при их раскопках, как правило, палеоантропологическому определению поддаются все остеологические и краниологические материалы, которые сохранились. Известно, что в 50-х гг. детские скелеты, а тем более редкие по сохранности младенческие, часто вовсе не брались при раскопках для изучения. Поэтому В. П. Алексеев часто писал, что по многим могильникам исчислять продолжительность жизни населения нет смысла, она будет «завышенной» (Алексеев 1972: 13). И здесь наступает момент истины: невозможно без знаний о закономерностях демографических процессов понять, сколько же потеряно детских скелетов. Во всех т. н. «выборках» [5] соотношение числа умерших в разных возрастных категориях — при родах, до года (естественно, т. н. младенческая смертность была в сравнении самой высокой), до 5 лет и до достижения зрелости, — будет часто обратным тому, что известно этнографически, из достоверных демостатистических источников прошлого и даже из современной практики жизнедеятельности.

Понятно, что абсолютной точности здесь достичь невозможно, однако проблема в том, что даже самые тщательные сборы скелетных останков не отражают реальную картину соотношения взрослых и детей в населении или реальное население. Теперь это стало понятно археологам, которые ранее при обнаружении небольшого количества детских скелетов в «хорошо сохранившемся могильнике» смело предполагали, что в данной общине: или детей было меньше, или там смертность детей была более низкой, за детьми, мол, ухаживали и проч. А если смертность казалась высокой, то можно было это связать с наличием инфекционных заболеваний в поселках ранних земледельцев (Алексеев 1972).

Мы видим, что отдельные могильники разного времени, в основном грунтовые, дают более 60% погребений детей. Примером могут быть неолитический Вовнижский могильник, Выхватинский, Фирсовский и Балановский могильники эпохи бронзы, некоторые могильники средневековья. Ниже покажем на примере Выхватинцев, что даже такие данные не всегда являются эталоном, а тем более возможны как системные (связанные с закономерностями демоэкономики), так и случайные колебания в показателях смертности.

Разные исследователи предлагают определенные способы коррекции детской части выборок. Г. Бротвелл допускает, что некоторые серии могут представлять реальную детскую смертность. Отсюда его широкое предположение, что соотношение тех, кто будет представлен от рождения до 20 лет, и грудных детей может быть в границах 4:3 ли 4:1 (Brothwell 1971: 130). К. Вейс также пошел по пути значительного доверия фактически представленным антропологическим материалам. Он считает, что уровень смертности грудных детей может быть 10—40 %, а детская смертность вообще может изменяться от 30 до 70% (Weiss 1972: 27). Соответственно, исследователи строят несколько таблиц смертности по одному и тому же материалу, а выводы гадательны.

Что в таком подходе не может устраивать в принципе? Во-первых, предположение, что смертность грудных детей, полученную по археологическим (палеоантропологическим) материалам, можно все же как-то приравнять по уровню достоверности к данным о смертности этой же возрастной группы, о которой мы знаем по материалам научной демографической статистики для традиционного общества. То есть, при широких исторических сравнениях выводы будут некорректны. Сам по себе разброс процентных значений детской смертности, даже в сходных культурах, показывает, что мы имеем не выборки, что они не случайны в математическом смысле и не отражают адекватно генеральную совокупность. Во-вторых, колебание детской смертности никак не связывается с возможными всплесками или падениями в приросте населения, с исторической типологией населения. Те колебания, которые наблюдаются, воспринимаются просто как возможные. Конечно же, палеоантропологи, выполняя свои расчеты, ориентируются, в первую очередь, на определённые

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[5] Использование термина «выборка» (сохранившиеся антропологические материалы) в палеодемографической статистике крайне некорректно. Статистическая выборка тем-то и отличается от несистемного сбора данных, что она обязательно пропорционально в кластерах (необходимых для исследования подразделениях) отражает данные генеральной совокупности (населения, в данном случае). В одном из недавних исследований детской смертности в эпоху бронзы приводятся данные о сравнительно высоком количестве детских скелетов в могильниках андроновского «круга» культур. При этом почему-то меня зачисляют в число тех исследователей, кто «приемлет подход, основанный на признании палеоантропологической выборки популяцией, адекватно отражающей древнее население» (Ражев, Эпимахов 2005), хотя я как раз показываю обратное. Заметим со всей ответственностью, что «выборка» в принципе не может быть популяцией. И проблема даже не в упрощенном биологизаторстве. Уважаемые авторы, верно замечая, что есть закономерности экономико-демографические, затем их игнорируют. И зачем нам тогда работы предшественников, в частности, труды М. Мид, И. С. Кона, В. С. Стешенко и мн. др.? Разве они исследовали «популяцию»? Назвав выборку популяцией, мы не уважаем ни исторические, ни биологические науки как труд и познание. И далее, прежде чем употреблять этот термин применимо к социуму, необходимо четче уяснить, как же популяция «работает» в той системологической модели, что давно принята историко-социологическими науками.

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закономерности в исторической смертности детей, в том числе на такие данные, что точно статистически зафиксированы (см. к примеру, смертность в России: Кислый 2013: 84, табл. 2,1). И тогда весь вопрос можно упростить до уровня реконструкции недостающей (или системно искривленной) части «выборки». Но былобы ошибкой полагать, что изменения в возрастных группах полностью подобны второму демографическому переходу периода промышленной революции. Переход к производящему хозяйству знаменуется не увеличением, а падением продолжительности жизни населения. Тому есть четкие и статистические, и демоэкономические объяснения (Кислый 2013:143—147).

Проведение реконструкции отсутствующих частей «выборки» является очень сложным вопросом. Если это касается детской части выборки традиционного общества с его тысячелетней историей, то сложность состоит, главным образом, в том, что процент детских погребений мог также варьироваться в зависимости от темпов прироста населения. Соответственно, мы не можем ориентироваться во всех случаях на самые высокие показатели детской смертности, которые нам известны. Но если нам известны условия развития исследуемого общества, и мы можем с достаточной достоверностью реконструировать по археологическим данным, что это общество можно изучать, используя т. н. стационарную модель (постоянные и равные наблюдаемые числа родившихся и умерших, прирост равен нулю, половозрастная структура населения не меняется), то не будет значительной ошибкой предположить, что там детская смертность достигала 70 процентов. Если общество переживало ярко выраженные кризисные явления, имело минусовый прирост населения, то смертность должна была достигать 80 % и более. Для значительного периода становления основ производящего хозяйства будет действовать т. н. стабильная модель (с очень невысоким, растянутым во времени и постоянным темпом прироста; структура такого населения, однажды пройдя стабилизацию, в дальнейшем остается неизменной), которая в итоге соответствует 50—55% детской смертности. Собственно, именно такой вариационный разброс этих значений отражает таблица 1. Для расцвета основных культур эпохи энеолита-бронзы на территории Северного Причерноморья, а также в скифское время целесообразно принять 50—55 % детской смертности. Исходя из очень многих палеодемографических наблюдений, возможна реконструкция возрастного состава населения.

Образно можно сказать, что «фрагментированная» половозрастная структура древних обществ (верхняя часть возрастной пирамиды) требует такой же реконструкции целого, то есть, структуры населения, как и «полная» реставрация профилей сосудов, от которых в руки археологов часто попадают только верхние фрагментированные части. В таком случае надо очень *хорошо знать типологию* керамики соответствующего времени, а в нашем случае — знать исторические *типы трансформаций народонаселения*, палеодемостатистику. Как своеобразность археологических источников о развитии общества предусматривает наличие специальных приемов для поиска исторической информации, так и палеоантропологические данные предусматривают, что надо выработать специальные приемы получения демографической и историко-демографической информации (Кислый 2010). Это одна из самых главных задач палеодемографии, она важнее подсчетов числа жителей поселка, города и т. п.

Далее покажем влияние смены исторических этапов воспроизведения народонаселения (лишь один возможный эпизод демографической революции) на примере населения Украины эпохи энеолита-бронзы. Население степи, которое представлено ямной, катакомбной и срубной культурами, исходя из археологических данных, должно было иметь определенный прирост своей численности; это древнее население, стремящееся к стабилизации, или население, которое можно описать в рамках модели стабильного населения (с определенным приростом и неизменной возрастной структурой). Другое дело, позднетрипольское население, которое оставило Выхватинский могильник. Оно в демографическом плане может оказаться более «развитым», то есть таким, которое прошло основные этапы демографического подъема. Другими словами, на время возникновения самого могильника земледельческие племена Поднестровья, наверное, имели более близкий к традиционному тип воспроизводства населения — с высокой рождаемостью и довольно высокой смертностью, чем у древних скотоводов степи. Учтем также то, что Выхватинцы — это всетаки завершающий этап развития культуры Триполья, археологически могильник выглядит как могильник «довольно бедного поселения» (Энеолит СССР 1982: 239).

Поясним лишь отдельные моменты. С началом этапа положительного прироста населения начинается процесс стабилизации, который достигается через несколько поколений, пока начавшиеся изменения не коснутся всей возрастной структуры. С началом изменений доля детей в населении будет расти, особенно младших возрастов, но пока «идет» стабилизация, продолжительность жизни падает. Ситуация характерна для начала революциипроизводящего хозяйства, т. е., для перехода к новому образу жизни. Население, растущее в геометрической прогрессии, тем быстрее убывает, чем больший темп прироста. Этим объясняется тот факт, что население Чатал-Гуюка, по сравнению с населением Северного Причерноморья в эпоху неолита-бронзы,

возрастало более высокими темпами при более низкой продолжительности жизни (Кислый 2013: 144—145 и др.). Собственно, у населения ведущих центров производящего хозяйства очень быстро сменялись поколения, это было молодое население, в котором значительное количество молодых людей «вырабатывалось» до 18— 20 лет и в дальнейшем становилось обществу демоэкономически ненужным, т. е., до этого возраста умирало до 50—60 % родившихся. Чем больше поколений молодых, трудоспособных людей за определенный промежуток времени будет «поставлено» демоэкономической системе, тем быстрее идет развитие древнего общества (Кислый 2013: 114—152). Естественно, преобладание в древнем населении детских и юношеских возрастов требовало системных норм удержания власти «ареопагом» и стабилизации отношений, и только преобладание старших возрастов создает детоцентризм отношений, о чем говорит, в частности, И. С. Кон (Кислый 2020). Если какое-то увеличение продолжительности жизни и возможно было для рассматриваемых периодов бронзового века, раннего железного века и др., то только на заключительной фазе демографического перехода, когда увеличивался контингент тех, кто жил в старших возрастных группах. Заметим, что перерасчеты одним и тем же методом показателей продолжительности жизни для населения эпохи бронзы Северного Причерноморья (катакомбная культура) и населения Украины по переписи 1897 г. дают практически одни величины (Кислый 2013: 120—122 и др.). Классики демографии о таком возможном эффекте говорили и ранее (Эдвард Россет и др.), и лишь археологи и антропологи «видели» положительный и «прогрессивный» прирост продолжительности жизни населения с каждым новым этапом «развития».

Вместе с тем, как свидетельствуют палеодемостатистические материалы, отдельные лица в первобытном обществе могли доживать до глубокой старости. Но вообще правильным является вывод, что древние общества были обществами без стариков (Россет 1981: 172, 178), они нужны были еще в меньшей мере, чем дети. Демоэкономическая потребность в человеке в первобытном обществе резко снижалась с достижением определенного возраста.

Вывод из этой части исследования таков. При всех возможных трансформациях необходимо, прежде всего, исходить из того, что детей в составе населения было очень много, но можно проследить и некоторые вариации. Их относительная численность вырастала и могла быть характерной в структуре увеличивающегося населения в периоды начала демографического перехода (переход к производящему хозяйству), после каких-то кризисов, войн, в моменты становления археологических культур (не всегда) и т. п. Дети были востребованы в воспроизводстве жизни социумов, и в общественном труде были задействованы с очень

раннего возраста. С другой стороны, институтов «планирования» населения, его качества, численности семей не было. Поэтому деструкции экономического плана, длительное экстенсивное «развитие» провоцировали инфантицид и/или геронтоцид (отказ от заботы, оставление, выбрасывание, иногда прямое убийство). При этом существовала половая дифференциация инфантицида. В случаях временной относительной экономической ненужности в детях (достижение государственности, появление рабов или иное) детей (девочек особенно) также могли лишаться разными способами. Соответственно, для археолога при анализе артефактов можно смоделировать, подчеркнем, несколько ситуаций.

1. *Стационарное население:* В нем ничего не изменяется, нет прироста — положительного или отрицательного, и миграций. Это самая простая модель, и ее можно применять, если поиск/анализ упростить до предела для тысячелетий истории. Так и поступают практически всегда, когда строят таблицы смертности по палеодемографическим материалам. В этом случае можно полагать (упрощенно, модельно), что мир детства также не изменялся. Нами предложены расчеты стабильного населения по материалам палеодемографической статистики (Кислый 1991).

2. Процесс стабилизации возрастной структуры с положительным приростом появляется как (а) потребность, а затем и (б) возможность роста численности населения. Контингенты детского возраста, в т. ч. и раннего, будут желаемы, можно ожидать, что в археологическом материале этого времени будет наблюдаться повышенное число предметов (игрушек), связанных с «территорией» детства.

3. *Достижение стабилизации:* При отсутствии убийства стариков несколько вырастает продолжительность жизни населения. Возможны конфликты поколений и усиленная эксплуатация младших возрастных групп. Игрушки могут играть роль лишь вспомогательного дидактического материала или почти отсутствовать.

4. Длительный демоэкономический «кризис» как необходимость трансформаций, перекосы (с нашей точки зрения) в качестве населения. Об этом далее.

Таким образом, обратимся к ситуациям половой эксплуатации, возможном их отражении в археологическом материале, древнейшей «судьбе» игр и игрушек. В периоды становления производящего хозяйства резко вырастает потребность в мужском труде, соответственно, в приросте мужской части населения, поэтому продолжительность жизни мужчин может быть выше, чем у женщин. Без такого *искривления естественного воспроизводства жизни*

социумы просто бы не выжили. Одна условная женщина (остальные были в демоэкономической системе просто не нужны) могла родить 8—12 (также условно) детей (из них условно «нужна» лишь одна девочка), но один мужчина не мог обеспечить все потребности социума, семьи (войны, занятие новых территорий, уход за скотом, расчистка леса или камней, проч.). Поэтому женское потомство просто оставалось без должного внимания и чаще всего предавалось частичному уничтожению (заметим; нам вовсе не важно в этом случае знать, сознательно или бессознательно проходил процесс), мужское потомство было более востребовано, его выхаживали.

У богов человек периода становления, развития производящего хозяйства, а затем на всех этапах истории кочевник, скотовод, воин будут просить многочисленное потомство сыновей. И связано это будет отнюдь не с потребностью передачи возникшей патриархальной собственности (по Ф. Энгельсу и др.), а с проблемами воспроизведения жизни. Многие письменные и этнографические источники сохранили реликтовую первозданность отношений к женскому потомству. Известно послание грека жене (I в. до н. э.) с указанием ухаживать только за новорожденным мальчиком (Хаджнал 1979). Красноречив гавайский эпос: «Так будет, если счастье не обманет нас и первым родится сын. Но если первой родится дочь, она умрет, и все дочери умрут, потому что первым у нас должен быть сын» (Халеоле 1987). Тексты «Ригведы» полны такими обращениями: «Ты, о Агни, — Тваштар, (когда даришь) почитающему (тебя) богатство в виде сыновей» (Ригведа. II, 1, 5).

Марксистские мифы в понимании патриархата сегодня надо если не забыть, то значительно откорректировать (Кислий 2011а), ибо с ним, с патриархатом, начинается настоящая половая, классовая эксплуатация, и наиболее эксплуатируемым половозрастным классом становятся молодые мужчины. Отметим, регулярно, постоянно на протяжении тысячелетий. Многие мужчины были не только отделены от целого ряда благ, в т. ч. от «прав» иметь семью, потомство, их демоэкономической задачей было — отдать свой труд и вовремя умереть, освободив «социальную нишу» для последующих молодых мужчин. Поэтому (а не по причинам особых культурных норм отдельных племен) возрастные классы и имущественные классы «классового» общества исторически последовательны и неразделимы. В их основе — эксплуатация. Повышенная смертность женщин (в т. ч. и во время родов) была одной из причин падения общей продолжительности жизни населения. Отдельно взятая марксистская теория классов не системна, или, скажем четче, недостаточно экономична, политизирована.

В отмеченном выше — сущность эксплуатации и возможных исторических трансформаций. Тот социальный класс, который обеспечивает прогресс, должен быть эксплуатируемым. Для нашей темы вывод очень важный. Практически наверняка в социумах переходного уровня мы будем наблюдать наличие «девичьих» игрушек, божков в виде женщин (куклы-обучалки, женские божества, роженицы-символы и проч.), и очень мало «мужских» игрушек. Мужчина с «младых ногтей» должен был «играть» с животными (ласкать, лелеять, любить, учиться уходу и закланию), уподобляться зверям, рыбам и проч. Играть по-иному ему просто не разрешалось, ибо это мешало функционированию демоэкономической системы. Заметим, М. Мид была права, когда полагала, что мир ребенка — это его рациональный мир, а воспитание его искривляет.

Зарождается первая исторически системная протоидеология — запрет рационального познания. Мужчина ответственен за этот мир, а значит имеет власть, детей, собственность, скот. Он может все, но не может родить. И тогда потребовалась протоидеология, в рамках которой мужчина производит потомство, или уподобляется женщине. Боги-мужчины рожают, чего нет в природе.

В мировосприятии социума, потребности которого в преобладающем приросте мужского потомства были «неестественно» (условно неестественно) генерализированы, устанавливается мифологическая связь таких понятий, как рождаемость-плодовитость, с мужчинами, а не с женщинами. Отсюда многократно повторяемая формула: «Авраам родил …, Ламех родил» и др. (Быт. 4: 18, 5)[6] . Или Яхве — Иакову: «Цари произойдут из чресл твоих…» (Быт. 35: 11), или чудесные случаи рождения Афины из головы Зевса (Апполодор I, 3, 6), Савитри — из тела Брахмы (Темкин и др. 1982: 75), или Евы — из ребра Адама и т. п. Отметим еще раз: это — система взглядов, потребность именно таких, не других, мировоззренческих основ, связанных с определенным типом воспроизводства жизни, а не потребность доказательства происхождения по отцовской линии. Последнее не нужно было доказывать в обществе библейских патриархов и многих других.

Здесь, в этом моменте, находится исток и потребность так часто наблюдаемой нами в древности и как реликт сегодня традиции неизображения (т. е. отсутствия реалистических изображений, ибо изображение — суть отражение, познание реалий, особенно детьми) в культуре народов. Чем сложнее были условия жизни населения, чем востребованнее был мужчина, тем меньше в обществе будет реалистических изображений, в том числе игрушек, изображающих мир вокруг человека.

У земледельцев или при комплексном хозяйствовании период деструкций (перехода) был

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[6] Ссылки даются по несинодальному переводу с исправленными неточностями (Біблія… 1988).

короче или был менее болезненным. Более того, после оседания на землю, знакомства с агрикультурой кочевники всегда изображали некие реалии. То есть, проблема не в абстрактной «традиции древнего народа», а в экономике сообществ, *вынужденных* заниматься производящим хозяйством. Условная, графическая орнаментация и передача абстрактной информации дольше будет присуща скотоводам, населению гор, аридных зон, пустынь, проч., а реализм в изображениях, отражении мира — земледельцам. Отличия и особенности существовали в эпоху до первого демографического перехода в социумах продуктивных собирателей, рыболовов, охотников. Там было необходимо познание мира еще богатой природы, и, если не было особых трудностей перехода, то изображения были необходимы.

Важно замечание А. В. Меня, что у израильтян, когда они на долгий период оседали на землю, возникало иное мировосприятие и потребность в изображениях (Мень 1991: 251). Косвенно его подтверждает находка бронзовой (с золотыми и серебряными вставками) фигурки «золотого тельца» в наслоениях поселения Ашкелон недалеко от Тель-Авива — одного из немногих изображений эпохи бронзы с ханаанской земли (Wolf 1991: 507). Прямое подтверждение мысли находим в нескольких местах Ветхого Завета, к примеру, в рассказе об отливке «золотого тельца» во время остановки возле горы Синай (Исх. 32: 8) или после оседания в Краю Обетованном: «Когда ты родишь сыновей и сыновей твоих сыновей, и состаритесь вы в Крае, и развратитесь, и сделаете идолов, изображающих что-то…» (Второзак. 4: 25).

Этнографические параллели (дагестанцы, грузины, азербайджанцы) также свидетельствуют (Голан 1993: 241), что в рамках одного этноса могут существовать чисто геометрические орнаменты (горные районы) или преимущественно растительно-животные (равнина).

Безусловно, на библейские сказания накладывались различные традиции. Особенно это заметно при сравнении различных мест Ветхого Завета. Но многочисленные запреты на изображение в Ветхом Завете (более 7 раз в разных вариациях, иногда впереди всех других заповедей) сводятся к одному первоначальному: нельзя изображать не только чужих богов (или их символы), нельзя изображать все, что приводит к познанию сущности вещей (поскольку познание является отображением), даже Яхве, если это приведет к отождествлению его с возможностью реального познания. Следовательно, нельзя изображать что угодно, существующее во всех сферах: «Не делай себе резьбы и никакого изображения того, что на небе вверху, и что на земле, и что в воде под землей» (Второзак. 5: 8).

Мировосприятие земледельцев в большинстве случаев было более открытым. Например, Л. Б. Переверзев и А. В. Мень признают, что магизм оседлых племен характеризуется рациональностью, познанием сущности вещей (Переверзев 1966: 100, 101; Мень 1991: 187 и др.). А. В. Мень отмечал: «Крестьянин …, как правило, по своей натуре язычник. Он гораздо ближе, чем кочевник, связан с природными циклами, он чувствителен к проявлениям стихийной жизни…, он не может обойтись без магии и волшебства, ибо они — важное средство в его хозяйстве… Израильтяне всему должны были учиться у хананеев. Они знакомились не только с их искусством виноделия или строительства крепостей, но и с их пышными религиозными праздниками… Им объясняли, как зависит урожай от обрядов плодородия, совершаемых в честь Астарты» (Мень 1991: 251).

Здесь также чувствуется оригинальность мысли М. Мид с ее наблюдениями изменений половых социальных функций. Для последующих характеристик эпохи производящего хозяйства сначала коротко обратимся к периоду верхнего палеолита (отметим, что, возможно, именно там проходил самый первый демографический переход), когда также был возможен и востребован прирост населения. Достаточно многочисленные изображения этого времени из Западной Европы, как и изображения эпохи ранних земледельцев, дородных (часто с подчеркнутой стеатопигией и проч.) женщин чаще всего связывают с культом роженицы, плодовитости/плодородия, поклонением женскому божеству, хотя мнения не однозначны. По нашему мнению, продуцирование и использование палеолитических «Венер», безусловно, было социальным имиджмейкингом явления непосредственного воспроизведения жизни, а не лишь культом и проч.

Сама по себе женская стеатопигия — анатомическая особенность лишь немногих племен (в основном бушмены) Южной Африки, и этому есть объяснения. Вряд ли условия жизнедеятельности, природные ее факторы были в Европе настолько близки Африке. Также вряд ли в Европе такой имиджмейкинг имел везде основой особенности природного мужского либидо, ведь контингент «брачующихся» или, вернее, вступающих в половую связь, в первобытном обществе был представлен преимущественно молодыми мужчинами, продолжительность жизни была не высокой. Все же допустим, все женщины верхнего палеолита Западной Европы с юных лет имели развитую стеатопигию, немолодую внешность, значит лишь незначительный по численности в том населении контингент «опытных» мужчин они на уровне подсознания привлекали. Но тогда распадается очевидное, природой обусловленное: наиболее юные девушки не привлекали молодых мужчин. А это уничтожение самых основ непосредственного

воспроизводства жизни. Есть над чем подумать в рамках адекватных моделей воспроизводства жизни. Заметим для внимательного читателя, мы говорим о верхнем палеолите, а не об иных периодах трансформации культуры, потому что тема очень многогранна.

Поэтому вполне возможно, что малые формы скульптуры верхнего палеолита в большей мере были рассчитаны не на мужчин, их либидо и/или поклонение (как это реконструируют), а на молодых представителей женского потомства, даже на девочек. Их задачей было родить как можно больше, состариться, умереть. Этого требовала демоэкономика. На мужчин репродуктивного возраста, вероятно, была направлены такие изображения, как «Венера» Брассемпуйская, лишь некоторые экземпляры из Пиренеев, возможно, но не однозначно, часть статуэток из т. н. «сибирской серии», часть графических изображений. Отсюда наше предположение, что изображения палеолитических «Венер» чаще всего представляют и божество, и детскую, а именно женскую первую в истории, возможно, первоначально инстинктивно вызванную протоигрушку[7]. Они часть познания, воспитания девочки, суггестия женской «славы» и участи, имиджмейкинг воспроизведения жизни. Естественно, и речи быть не может о том, что перед нами «секс-игрушки» и т. п., вылепленные женщинами для неудовлетворенных мужчин (Искрин 2007), хотя в размышлениях названного автора о соотношении полов есть верные замечания. Если бы автор был прав, и если бы «тогдашние» мужчины были бы столь же свободны, как и мужчины нашего времени, то изображения дородных женщин или/и юных постоянно встречались бы в наскальной живописи. Не лишне в этом случае понять физиологию мужского либидо, особенности его проявления в традиционном и первобытном обществах (см. в частности: Семенова-ТяньШанская 2010: 16). В целом, же статья — яркий пример модернизации психологии первобытного молодого человека.

Предположим также, что некоторые веретенообразные статуэтки в обществах не маскулинных, а более феминных, т. е. допатриархальных, играли роль amulet-defl orator, которыми оперировали старшие женщины. Естественно, в древнейшем феминном обществе defl orator редко имел форму fallos, но мальтийские «Венеры» можно рассматривать «с двух сторон». По крайней мере, отмечаемые исследователями рифления статуэток

и/или непропорциональное увеличение головы, сужение ног могли нести некоторые практические (кроме эстетических или изобразительных) функции. Первобытные культуры разделяли людей по признаку пола с момента рождения, мир мужчин и женщин существовал будто бы параллельно. Разница в средней продолжительности жизни женщин и мужчин показывает, насколько разными могли быть эти миры (Кислый 2013: 127 и др.).

Мальчик, будущий мужчина, играл в ином месте. Там, где изображены были иные боги и сцены — звери, охота, кровь и добыча. Так решается еще одна загадка палеолитического искусства: в наскальной живописи почти нет рожениц, а среди малых объёмных форм редки изображения животных[8]. Это разное искусство разных миров, женского и мужского. Если наше предположение верно, то к предыстории детских игрушек в древнейших обществах яркого гендерного разделения надо отнести большинство женских статуэток малых форм. «Сибирская» серия статуэток, не содержащая признаков стеатопигии, лишь подтверждает эту гипотезу, ибо именно она произведена, вероятно, в тех условиях, когда имиджмейкинг воспроизводства себе подобных не был столь актуален. Или время уже пришло иное, или мы наблюдаем относительную обеспеченность воспроизводства жизни. Однако это отдельная тема.

Вернемся к эпохе бронзы Северного Причерноморья. Итак, разные археологические культуры могут достаточно четко укладываться в разные модели воспроизводства жизни, и могли иметь характерные игрушки или их не иметь. Подвижные скотоводы и земледельцы — также разный тип отражения воспроизводства жизни. Отсюда для нас еще один важный вывод. По образцам искусства и первых, и вторых можно определять, что перед нами, какое могло быть детство.

Известно, что трипольская культураимеет все черты комплексного аграрного хозяйствования с яркими земледельческими традициями. И она богата не просто многочисленными реалистическими изображениями, но на сосудах находим изображения как животных, так и человека, в том числе женщин. Аналогично скульптура малых форм представляет и человека, и животных. Часть из них «вылеплены детскими руками» (Старкова 2020: 101), известны игрушечные повозки (Гусев 1998), погремушки из глины или природные образования,

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[7] Настоящие в современном понимании игрушки (предметы, минимально связанные с воспроизведением жизни и предназначенные для игры как забавы) появляются лишь в XIX веке с первыми признаками «детоцентризма», с постарением населения капиталистических стран. Но и ранее, на уровне традиционного общества, все (и дети) играли — в войну, в богов и чертей, а в деревне в большей мере — в непосредственное воспроизведение жизни.

[8] Редкие или проблемные изображения: бизонаженщины (без женской головы, рук и нижней части ног) с лобковым треугольником на сталактите в пещере Шове, изображения женщин из Англь-сюр-л'Англен лишь подчеркивают общую правоту нашего предположения. Изображения в графике верхнего палеолита на мобильных предметах также, в целом, не противоречат такому выводу, хотя там чаще встречаются в большей мере сексуально ориентированные, причем на очень разные темы. Поэтому они вряд ли относились в прямом смысле к детским игрушкам или предметам научительства детей.

которые использовались как погремушки. Сравним культуры более скотоводческой направленности, и даже протокочевнической — ямная, катакомбная, каменская, бабинская, срубная исключительно редко предоставляют реалистические изображения, в них наблюдаются значимые половые диспропорции в сторону маскулинизации общества, необходимость передвижений, причем, вернее всего, в связи с трудностями демоэкономических трансформаций («развития»), для захвата чужой собствености, скота и женщин. Мы можем какие-то предметы быта (маленькие сосудики, округлые небольшие терочники, проч.) связать с территорией детства, но интерпретировать значимое количество артефактов в качестве явных игрушек не получится.

Рассмотрим примеры. На поселении ранней бронзы Глейки II близ Керчи часто встречаются каменные округлые «терочники» и рыболовные грузила. Крупные по размерам терочники либо действительно затерты, имеют следы сработанности (рис. 1: 2), либо это грубые предметы со сколами,

применявшиеся как ударные орудия (рис. 1: 1). В коллекции также много небольших терочников с рыхлой поверхностью, ими вовсе не работали (рис. 1: 3). Возможно, это детские «рабочие игрушки» или какой-то счетный материал. Аналогично можно рассматривать маленькие глиняные кружки, выточенные из стенок лепных сосудов (рис. 1: 4). Подобно этому, среди грузил есть крупные, рабочие (рис. 1: 5, 6), но есть и совершено небольшие. Часть грузил имеет антропоморфную форму (рис. 1: 7). Аналогичные предметы известны в Трое I, II и интерпретируются как антропоморфные изображения (Blegen et al. 1950: 127, type I; 360, 34-I, 35—208, 35—40). С переходом к оседлости, к земледелию, скажем, в сабатиновской культуре, известны фигурки животных, большинство из них — и предметы культа, и игрушки. А переходная, скотоводческо-земледельческая белозерская культура вновь отличается бедностью изображений. И это удивительно, ведь она очень схожа с сабатиновской, лишь наблюдаем определённые элементы упадка степной экономики.
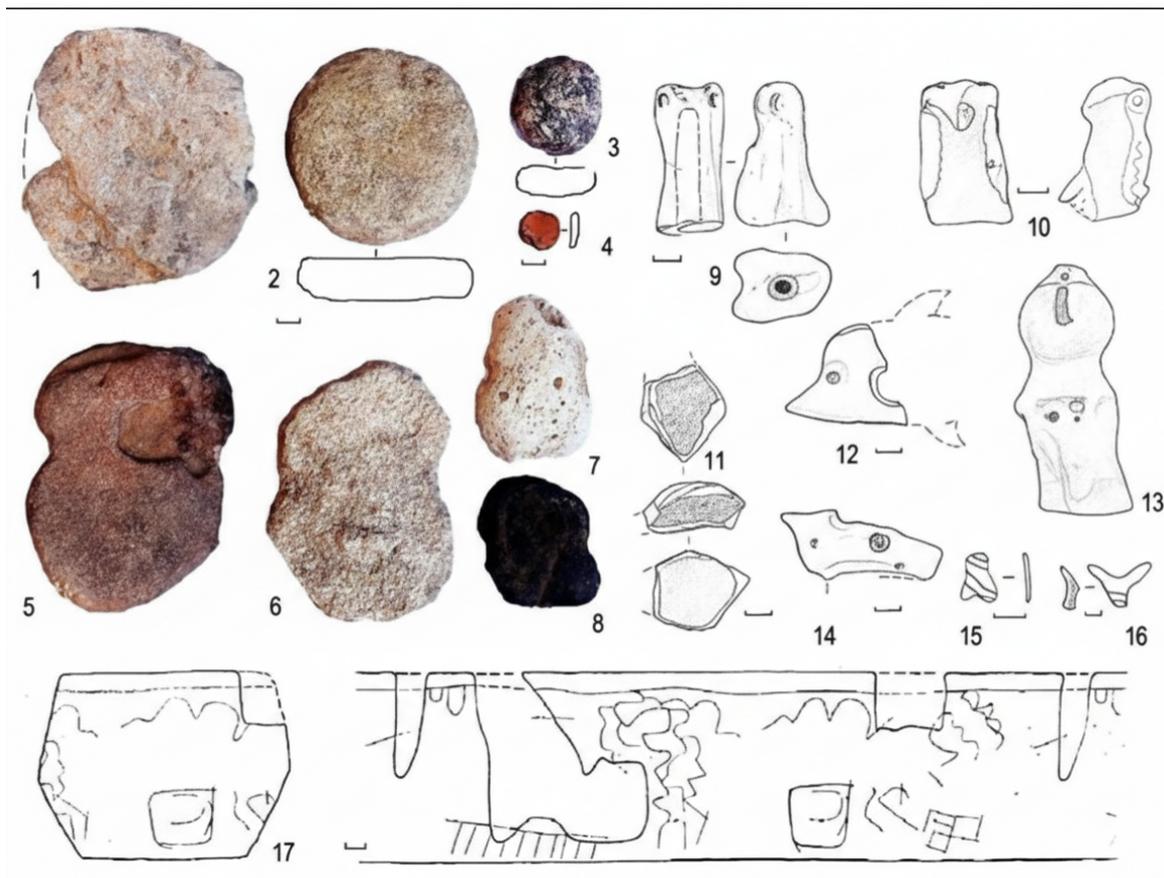
Рис. 1: Артефакты детского и взрослого миров некоторых культур эпохи бронзы. Ранняя бронза Крыма, поселение Глейки-II: 1—3 — каменные ракушечниковые терочники; 4 — фишка из стенки лепного сосуда. Средняя бронза Крыма, разные поселения каменской культуры Восточного Крыма: 9—16 — предметы «визуальной туманности»; 9, 10 — кость, пос. Каменка; 11, 12, 14 — камень, пос. Каменка; 13 — керамика, пос. Киммерик; 15 — раковина, пос. Маяк; 16 — кремень, пос. Планерское (по Кислый 2011: 195, рис. 4). Поздняя бронза: 17 — Поволжье, с. Ишеевка, детское курганное погребение срубной культуры (по Буров 1974: 27, рис. 14).

Аналогично можно характеризовать ранний железный век, но необходимо учитывать, что культура скифов синполитейна. Любопытное образование — каменская культура Восточного Крыма. Она близка к бабинской, но в большей мере параллельна по времени катакомбной. Собственно, это одна из ветвей катакомбной культуры, получившая развитие на местной почве. Культура широко представлена поселениями, их жители — земледельцы, скотоводы и рыболовы, очевидно широко практиковали морские промыслы, в т. ч. для дальних походов. Можно уверенно говорить, что мировоззрение каменцев также не допускало реализма изображений. Но, как часто бывает в подобных случаях, вплоть до современности, допускались «визуальная туманность», угадываемая реальность (Grabar 1992). Это могли быть схожие с животными камешки, кости, какието природные формы (рис. 1: 9—16). Часть из них была детскими игрушками (Кислый 2011). Именно дети, более свободные от запретов общества, обладая природным воображением, стимулировали реализм игрушек. И здесь еще раз отметим прозорливость в реконструкции детского мира Маргарет Мид. Именно дети, еще не получив традиционных установок и культурно обусловленных запретов, могли быть носителями опыта видения образов в природных формах или в лишь частично изображенном. Возможно, поэтому сосуды срубной культуры так часто содержат лишь отдельные элементы орнаментальных композиций или даже рисунки, прочерченные неумелой рукой. К примеру, на небольшом сосуде (высота 8 см) из детского погребения (Ишеевка, курган 1, погр. 4, Поволжье, Буров 1974: 27, рис. 14) есть явно неловкие детские начертания, а рядом (внизу, по центру развёртки и справа) более уверенной рукой взрослого прочерчены ровные линии и прямоугольники (рис. 1: 17). Вероятно, имеем дело со «школой» «срубной» общины. Хотя это лишь предположение, которое следует рассматривать в комплексе с идеей развития у срубников элементов протописьменности.

Археология в содружестве с иными науками могла бы помочь социологам детства, культурологам избежать многих ошибок. В наше время не только «сентиментального детоцентризма», но и сентиментального восхищения прошлым все чаще встречаются исследования, которые в ярких красках описывают опыт воспитания прошлого. Безусловно, в этом опыте превалирует позитив, и его надо изучать. Но исследователь должен иметь нишу (возможно, какие-то закрытые исследования), где можно исследовать не гуманизм и прогресс, а воспроизведение жизни.

Обратимся к обещанному в начале статьи и важному для нашей темы культурному парадоксу эксплуатации детей и проявлений любви к ним, а также любви к животным и проч. Автор статьи в начале 90-х исследовал трудовую занятость детей в Средней Азии

(Туркменистан). Проводились социологические опросы и анкетирование. Школьник старших классов в год отрабатывал в поле, на складах хлопка и др. в среднем от 1176 до 1400 часов, что почти равно занятости рабочего «развитых» стран. Ребенок также абсолютно был необходим в домашнем хозяйстве, и пока существует родительская семья, требовалась замена выросших старших детей младшими для выполнения определенных возрастных функций (Кислый 1990). Но демографы, выходцы из тех мест, в своих исследованиях о причинах многодетности семей уверяли, что она проистекает от традиционной любви к детям. То есть, даже для ученыхспециалистов любовь к детям была функционально окрашенной. Отправка детей «на хлопок», когда его кусты и коробочки до крови ранили руки, лишение детей детства, школы воспринималось как воспитание трудом силы воли и т. п. При этом модно былосоздавать орнаменты и игрушки на тему красивых хлопковых коробочек и проч.

Экстраполируя ситуацию на древность, понимаем, что ребенок просто не мог играть и использовать игрушки так, как привыкли мы. Мальчики «играли» в мужские игры, при этом роль игрушек часто выполняли натуральные предметы быта и/или животные. К примеру, играли с кнутом, ножом, палкой; с петухом, гусем, собакой, пытались их оседлать и проч., иногда мучили животных до смерти. Мальчики 7—9 лет у скотоводов с ранних лет помогали на пастбище (в доме их должны были заменить родившиеся братья помладше). Игры в куклы, культ кукол им просто были противопоказаны. В обществах скотоводческой направленности, особенно засушливых, аридных зон экстенсивного хозяйствования, делать для игр фигурки, к примеру, животных, не было никакой потребности, ибо научение проходило на натуральных объектах, при этом с очень ранним искривлением натуры ребенка, с приучением его к тяжелому труду, к уходу за скотом, его убою. Никакие реалистические (культовые) поделки не могли заменить жертвенное животное на алтаре и сына-жертву божеству в благодарность за ожидаемое и необходимое более многочисленное потомство. У земледельцев при относительно сбалансированном хозяйствовании появляется возможность использовать более рационально и скот, и детей, производить культово-игрушечный дидактический материал.

Девочки «играли» в куклы, но это была в большей мере не игра в нашем ее восприятии, а необходимое приучение к определенному социокультурному поведению, в том числе и принципиальная готовность к «оставлению», неуходу за будущим ребенком[9]. Возможно, разбивание

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[9] Красноречивые описания неухода («случайных убийств» младенцев, о которых все догадываются, в т. ч. и подрастающее поколение) находим у О. П. Семеновой-Тянь-Шанской для общества, в котором за

палеолитических «Венер», широко отмеченное специалистами, — звено этой же цепи селективного воспроизведения потомства. Культовое, этнографически известное уничтожение куклы-врага, «спорт» и драки до крови в качестве традиционных народных игр в современных исследованиях чаще стыдливо упускаются. Между тем даже автору настоящей статьи приходилось в первой пол. 60-х принимать участие в кулачных боях «до первой крови», где «игрушками» были железные булавы и стрелы. Естественно, в такой статье, как «Народные традиции и праздники как условие духовнонравственного воспитания детей» (Тотонова, Николаева 2017), речь будет лишь о гуманных традициях. И все же в некоторых исследованиях народных детских игр, в сказках находит отражение их первобытная жестокость и т. п. Заметим, что статья Ю. Ю. Тотоновой и др. посвящена исследованию народа севера саха (якуты). Но можно познакомиться с неожиданной презентацией школьника также из Якутии (г. Удачный) на тему «Традиционные игрушки и игры якутов». Нет сомнений, текст презентации составлен при помощи учителей, взрослых (Марков 2018). Важно, что в нем нашли отражения силовые игры мальчиков, факты запрета на изображения человека в повседневности, при этом замечается, что «куклы появились позже». Как правило, игрушку-куклу считают едва ли не первой в истории игрушкой. Такое наблюдение относится к земледельческим обществам и обществам ранних цивилизаций, а в презентации якутского школьника явственно нашли отражение обычаи скотоводов севера, т. е. условия экстенсивного хозяйствования. На этом примере вновь видим, как важно различать скотоводческие, кочевнические и земледельческие общества, население на разной стадии демографических трансформаций, особенно в связи с переходом к производящему хозяйству, население периода становления и упадка культуры, и как важно следовать примеру независимости исследователя Маргарет Мид.

Таким образом, избрав своеобразной «путеводной нитью» демо-экономические и демостатистические параметры и модели, видим возможность анализировать закономерности трансформаций воспроизведения жизни в целом, воспроизводства непосредственной жизни, а также роли в первом и втором случае такого сложного инструмента обеих воспроизводств, как детская игрушка. В древности игрушка была больше, чем игрушка… Поэтому есть все основания полагать, что археология вместе со смежными дисциплинами может существенно развить социологию детства. В заключение позволим себе дополнить существующие определения

это даже подразумевалось наказание (СеменоваТянь-Шанская 2010: 10, 12, 13, 16 и др.).

игрушки таким, что суммирует наши наблюдения. Игрушка — любой предмет, используемый ребенком (или взрослым и ребенком) для игры (особого моделирования ситуаций воспроизведения жизни), специально созданный для этого или приспособленный для этого из природной среды обитания (включая животных), из мира взрослых, а также из собственного мира ребенка.

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МИА-	Материалы и исследования по археологии СССР. Москва; Ленинград.
МРС-	мелкий рогатый скот.
МЭ-	Младшая Эдда.
НА IA НАНУ-	Науковий архів Інституту археології Національної Академії наук України. Київ.
НА ГАУК ТО «ТМПО»-	научный архив государственного автономного учреждения культуры Тюменской области «Тюменское музейно-просветительское объединение» (структурное подразделение «Тобольский историко-архитектурный музей-заповедник»). Тобольск.
НАНУ-	Национальная Академия наук Украины. Киев.
НГУ-	Новосибирский государственный университет. Новосибирск.
НИР-	научно-исследовательская работа.
НЦ-	научный центр.
ОГИЗ-	Объединённое государственное издательство. Москва; Ленинград.
ОИРИМ-	Отчеты Императорского Российского Исторического музея. Москва.
ОПИ ГИМ-	Отдел письменных источников Государственного исторического музея. Москва.
ПБВ-	поздний бронзовый век.
ПИФК-	Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры. Магнитогорск.
ПСК-	покровская срубная культура.

РА-	Российская археология. Москва.
РА НБФ-	Рукописный архив Национальной библиотеки Финляндии. Хельсинки.
РАЕ-	Российский археологический ежегодник. Санкт-Петербург.
РАИМК-	Российская Академия истории материальной культуры. Ленинград.
РАН-	Российская Академия наук. Москва.
РАО-	Русское археологическое общество. Санкт-Петербург.
РАТ-	Рукописный архив А.М. Тальгрена в археологическом отделе Музейного ведомства Финляндии. Хельсинки.
РВ-	Ригведа.
РНФ-	Российский научный фонд. Москва.
РО НБФ-	Рукописный отдел Национальной библиотеки Финляндии. Хельсинки.
СА-	Советская археология. Москва.
САИ при КарГУ-	Сарыаркиский археологический институт при Карагандинском государственном университете им. Е. А. Букетова. Караганда.
СГАИМК-	Сообщения Государственной Академии истории материальной культуры. Москва; Ленинград.
СЗП-	Северо-Западное Причерноморье.
СКИО-	срубная культурно-историческая общность.
СКК-	срубный культурный круг.
СНВ-	Самарский научный вестник. Самара.
СНК-	культурный круг Сабатиновка-Ноа-Кослоджень.
СНУ ім. В. Даля-	Східноукраїнський національний університет ім. Володіміра Даля. Луганськ.
СНЦ РАН-	Самарский научный центр Российской Академии наук. Самара.
СПбГУ-	Санкт-Петербургский государственный университет. Санкт-Петербург.
СПбФ АРАН-	Санкт-Петербургский филиал Архива Российской Академии наук. Санкт-Петербург.
СЭ-	Советская этнография. Москва.
ТГУ-	Томский государственный университет. Томск.
ТКК-	тшинецкий культурный круг.
ТСА РАНИОН-	Труды секции археологии Института археологии и искусствознания Российской Ассоциации научно-исследовательских институтов общественных наук. Москва.
УАН-	Украинская Академия наук. Киев.
УрГУ-	Уральский государственный университет им. А. М. Горького. Свердловск.
УрО РАН-	Уральское отделение Российской Академии наук. Екатеринбург.
УСРР-	Українська соціалістична радянська республіка.
УТОПІК-	Українське товариство охорони пам'яток історії і культури. Київ.
ХСб-	Херсонесский сборник. Севастополь.
ЦИК СССР-	Центральный исполнительный комитет СССР. Москва.
ЦП НАНУ і УТОПІК-	Центр пам'яткознавства НАН України і Українського товариства охорони пам'яток історії та культури. Київ.
ЭО-	Этнографическое обозрение. Москва.
AWE-	Ancient West and East. Waltham, MAю
BAR-	British Archaeological Reports. Oxfordю
ESA-	Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua. Helsinki.
FA-	Fennoscandia archaeologica. Helsinki.
FM-	Finnsk Museum. Helsinki.
FUF-	Finno-Ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.

JAOS-   Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven, Connecticut.
MSFOu-   Mémories de la Société Finno-Ougrienne. Helsinki.
PBF-   Prähistorische Bronzefunde. München; Stuttgart.
PZ-   Praehistorische Zeitschrift. Leipzig.
RAASI-   Revista de Arheologie, Antropologie şi Studii Interdisciplinare. Bucureşti.
RAS-   Russian Academy of Sciences. Moscow.
SMYA-   Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen aikakauskirja. Helsinki.
SN-   seria nouă.

Simón Bolívar and José Bonifácio Against Slavery: An Analysis of Latin American Abolitionisms

By Amaury Patrick Gremaud, Alexandre Ganan de Brites Figueiredo & Màrcio Bobik Braga

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Abstract- In the first half of the 19th century, Latin America went through the cycle of independence and the construction of new states. In this process, the existence of slavery was also intensely debated. The work presented here aims to establish some approximations around these debates about Latin American slavery and the proposals for its abolition in the first half of the 19th century. The analysis focuses on comparing the position on the subject involving two important personalities in the cycle of independence: Simón Bolívar and, the Brazilian, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. The questions that the article seeks to answer involve the search for the reasons that led both to defend the abolition of slavery. How should this emancipation be implemented? What is the fate of (former) slaves in the new independent nations?

Keywords: latin america, slavery, abolitionism, simón bolívar, josé bonifácio.

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Abstract- In the first half of the 19th century, Latin America went through the cycle of independence and the construction of new states. In this process, the existence of slavery was also intensely debated. The work presented here aims to establish some approximations around these debates about Latin American slavery and the proposals for its abolition in the first half of the 19th century. The analysis focuses on comparing the position on the subject involving two important personalities in the cycle of independence: Simón Bolívar and, the Brazilian, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. The questions that the article seeks to answer involve the search for the reasons that led both to defend the abolition of slavery. How should this emancipation be implemented? What is the fate of (former) slaves in the new independent nations?

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Introduction

From the 16th to the 19th century, America was marked by slavery. The first African slaves crossed the Atlantic a few years after Columbus' voyage. The adoption of a work regime that was already practiced in Europe and that was immeasurably expanded in America during the four centuries that followed began. It was not until the end of the 18th century, and especially throughout the 19th century, that the institution of slavery was called into question.

More consistent debates about abolition, in general, began to take place in America along with the independence movements and the consequent constitution of new States, which involved the (re)construction of its main institutions from the rules, laws, and customs inherited from the colonial period. In the support of those struggles, America was marked by disputes between the different conceptions regarding the institutions that would prevail in the recently emancipated States, among them, slavery. Its end, the way it should or could be ended and the fate that would be given to the freedmen divided the position. Intellectuals and politicians, free whites and Creoles, slaves and ex-slaves were divided over the answers to these questions. If, on the one hand, there were defenders of slavery, on the other, there were also anti-slavery advocates divided into various positions. We can thus establish a simple typology.

The slavers defended, for different reasons, the institution of slavery and its permanence in the new States. Some of them were reformists and proposed possible changes in the system, and new arrangements, without effectively destroying slavery. This ambiguous position has made them the target of criticism from both abolitionists and defenders of the slave system, insofar as they claim that slavery is a whole and that either the reform does not end with the whole - abolitionist critics - or, effectively, puts the everything in check - slave criticism. In turn, the antislavery morally condemned slavery, and this moral condemnation could be based on religious, ethical, philosophical, political, or even economic aspects.

Among those who were against slavery there were, on the one hand, abolitionists, defenders of the eradication of slave labor, and, on the other hand, those who understood the problem more as an inter-individual rather than a collective issue, that is, they did not believe that the issue should be treated as a social problem. For them, the exercise of anti-slavery in practice would be in the dissemination of their ideas and in the defense of the granting of manumissions, for example. Thus, the end of slavery would take place through a kind of voluntary eradication, conducted by the dominant pole of the binomial "lords vs slaves". In this view, the owners would accept not having more slaves due to moral reasons, including possible economic or political motivations (including fear). Therefore, in this view, there is no forecast of a social "solution" to the issue, nor a collective proposal for transformation, or social change. Therefore, it is possible to understand this position as a paternalistic anti-slavery, as a "manorial virtue", and not as a political position, but even this paternalism could be highlighted if this practice actually expanded. Arturo Roig points out these limits:

> "Logically, this paternalism and this liberality had for this same class [the "criollo" elite, large landowners] their already established codes and, with them, their meaning and limits. Excessive paternalism and freedom came dangerously close to the margins of what was permitted and, therefore, could emerge as a threat against the stability of the very systems of the existing codes".[1]

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[1] Free translation by the authors. Roig (1984, 31) "*Lógicamente que ese paternalismo y esa liberalidad tenían para limites. Un paternalismo y una liberalidad excesivos se aproximaban peligrosamente a los márgenes de lo permitido y podían presentarse, por tanto, como una*

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For abolitionists, there is a political will to end slavery and this is not an individual issue: emancipation or abolitionism is a social project to eradicate slavery. However, there are important questions of method and design for the form of post-slavery society. What would be the role of freedmen in this society? There are different types of abolitionists depending on the answer given to these questions. A more moderate group, the so-called "gradualists", defended that the end of slavery should take place gradually, in stages. On the other hand, the most radical abolitionists, or the "abolitionists themselves", defended immediate abolition and rejected the possibility of an intermediate situation between slavery and freedom. In addition, other important issues separated the defenders of abolition, such as the need or not to indemnify landowners, the need or not for abolition to be accompanied by social reforms such as agrarian reform, the extension or not of full citizenship to freedmen., among others.

Sometimes these established categories within the taxonomy above can lead to some confusion and classification difficulties. There is, for example, a group of emancipationists who believe that slavery, after some changes, such as the extinction of trafficking and/or the law of the free womb, tends to end on its own. They believe in the definitive eradication of slavery by "natural extinction", without shocks, without crises, without violence, that is, without the need to fight for the act of abolition itself. This position is very close and can, at times, be confused with individual anti-slavery, who have the same perspective of a peaceful end to slavery. The difference is that collective attitudes, for the former, were necessary to put the eradication of slavery on the right track.

Another possible overlap may be between reformers and moderate abolitionists. Changes in the format of slavery and the different steps to be taken towards eradication may be the same or similar. But reformers still see a necessary link between nations and slavery, considering it impossible for the latter to survive without slave labor, even if modified. In turn, abolitionists or emancipationists see, at least, a future without slaves. This is the case of Simón Bolívar and José Bonifácio, two actors in independence who, although they agree with abolition, will have different considerations on how to do it. Both are supported by this extensive debate on slave labor that was already carried out on both sides of the Atlantic.

I. Theoretical Foundations of Anti-Slavery

Anti-slavery currents may have regional specificities and imply actions with local characteristics, but they are part of large international intellectual movements that gained a lot of strength throughout the 18th century. The fight against the idea of slavery, as it was outlined at the beginning of the 19th century, is something quite different from the old isolated criticisms of that institution. Criticism, by the way, was always present, but the defenses of slavery always ended up imposing themselves.

The basis of critical revisionism that spread in the 19th century was the criticism of the idea that there are differences between human beings. With this, equality was affirmed, in principle, between humans, in addition to the moral condemnation of an act that started from the principle that one human being is different from another and, therefore, that he can be less free than the other.

Two Basic Sources Embody this Conception: Natural Law and the so-called "evangelical egalitarianism".[2] The new natural law theses are behind practically all Enlightenment thinking, including the conceptions of a new science that emerges – Political Economy. For Natural Law, all men are equal, or rather, are naturally equal and free. This thought hits strongly anti-slavery paintings in France, especially among the Enlightenment - with Raynal, Diderot and even Voltaire, and very strongly with Montesquieu. For these intellectuals, there would not be different stages of evolution in societies as a result of differences in nature or due to natural differences between human beings. If there were differences in stages in societies, they were due to other and multiple historical causes, and there was no room to justify slavery on the basis of the inferiority of human groups or the inequality of states of nature. The slave trade itself is considered void, as can be seen from the entry in the Enciclopedia. In part, these theses are also found on the other side of the English Channel, among English natural law experts.

Even within the group of natural law experts, there were divisions and distinctions, bringing together aspects of more radical or moderate abolitionism. The Haitian Revolution, which will be discussed later, also built a legal thesis that legitimized it and that will accompany "Haitianism". The center of this thesis is the exclusion of the property right from the list of natural rights. Thus, while equality and freedom (currency of the Republic) was unquestionably the rights of all, granted by "nature" and, therefore, inherent to the human being, the property was considered only a civil right (Rojas, 2013). This is a vision contrary to the liberalism guided by John Locke and to the current that will prevail among republicans in America (and in Europe).

Condorcet, one of the most important theorists and inspirers of this movement, also affirmed the equality of all and established part of the bases for the condemnation of slavery, which will also be read in Turgot and will be reproduced among the Economists of the early 19th century. These, along with the English

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[2] The two sources are presented by Bosi (1998) and Dorigny (2019).

political economists, starting from the ideas of equality between men, ended up also collaborating in the anti-slavery defenses when trying to demonstrate the inefficiency and the problems of an economic system based on slavery.

The second theoretical source is found in the debates within the Christian religion and in the rise of the so-called "evangelical egalitarianism". It grew especially in the Anglo-Saxon Reformed world and then spread. For these egalitarians, the origin of all men is the same, it is unique and it is in Adam and Eve. The inequality between branches of the human species is criticized, such as that resulting from the curse of Ham, son of Noah and his descendants[3], who supported part of the defense of African slavery (from the Ethiopians, "sons of Ham"). This idea, even if biblical, could not overlap with the Genesis narrative: a unique origin of humanity, the so-called monogenesis. These revisionists, especially the Quakers, began to condemn per se any hierarchy of men by nature and, thus, the idea that there could be some difference between them that would justify slavery. Little by little, monogenism imposed itself on polygenism, even returning to the arguments that had already been applied in the Valladolid Controversy, about American Indians.[4]

Furthermore, even within Christianity, the inversion of the Catholic thesis of slavery appears as a way of combating sin. For Quakers, slavery is not the fruit of sin or justified by sin, like that of Ham, but rather, on the contrary, it is the source of that sin. Where there is slavery, there is a subversion of good customs, therefore there is sin. The classic Catholic thesis found already in Saint Augustine, says that slavery can exist for those who were imprisoned in a just war – war against sin, sinners are those who had the opportunity to "see the Light", and to "understand the word of God," but they denied it and fought it. It is their sin that justifies slavery. At this point, the thesis argues that slavery is a condition of redemption, a purge of sins, and a blessing for Africans, as it would bring Ethiopians to Christianity (slavery and catechesis complement each other). Thus, we see a new inversion in the thinking of the revisionists: where slavery is seen, the degradation of good customs and sin is perceived, degradation that comes from the subjection of one man to another and that does not lead to the purge of one's sins, but to the magnification of the sins of the other.

This is the broader intellectual scenario in which the actors of Latin American independence will move, especially the two selected for the analysis that follows.

II. Simon Bolivar and Slavery in Independence Struggles

Any approach to the thought of Simón Bolívar must take as a starting point the observation that the formulations of the "Libertador" were reflected and conceived in the course of the wars of independence. Although he was a scholar, Bolívar did not formulate his thinking in an environment of quiet reflection, but on the battlefield. This condition accentuates a tension - latent in his projects - between the ideal and the possible, the "utopian" and the "realist", which led Haya de la Torre (1884, 102-103) to one day call him, with all the inherent contradiction, "a Realist Quixote". The same happened in his actions and reflections on slavery.

The draft Constitutions formulated by Bolívar, notably those of Angostura (1819) and Bolivia (1826), have elements of republican radicalism (affirmation of equality and freedom, abolition of the privileges of colonial social orders, end of slavery, among others) coexisting with institutions closer to what could be considered political[5] conservatism, such as the Hereditary Senate, the Moral Power and, in the Bolivian project, the presidency for life, which led his opponents to accuse him of wanting a monarchy disguised in republican garb[6].

In any case, Bolívar's abolitionism did not have only one meaning throughout his political career and, even when defended as a natural right, it will obey the needs of each stage of a war that has gone through many advances and setbacks. Notably, there is a clear moment of change regarding the emphasis on the abolition of slavery as a political program of the Revolution: the support given to Bolívar by the Republic of Haiti, after the resounding defeat of the so-called Second Republic of Venezuela. It was the height of the reaction of the supporters of the Empire: the north of the South American continent suffered the landing of the largest military expedition that had ever been sent to the Americas[7], a force that was added to the Americans loyal to the Crown. The government of Emperor Ferdinand VII, which had been given back the throne after the defeat of Napoleon and the successes of the Congress of Vienna in 1815, felt safe both in crushing

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[3] Ham is the son of Noah who saw his father drunk and naked, receiving the condemnation, extended to his offspring, of being inferior and subjected to the other sons of Noah and their descendants. Cam would have migrated to Africa, in constructed interpretations.

[4] In which the famous contrast between Las Casas and Sepulveda took place, in which Las Casas defended the human and unique origin of the American Indians against the Spanish colonizers, with Sepúlveda arguing that, on the contrary, the Indians had a different genealogy.

[5] For example: Roberto Gargarella (2013); and Elias Pino Iturrieta (2016).

[6] In this space, it is not the case to address this issue in depth to demonstrate that such a "contradiction" between revolutionary radicalism and political conservatism is only a semantic field. Or rather, the social issue is more present in Bolívar than in other "liberals", his opponents. On this topic Figueiredo (2017).

[7] From 10 to 15 thousand veteran soldiers of the European wars were sent by Spain, in 42 vessels escorted by five combat ships, according to John Lynch (2008, 204).

peninsular constitutionalism, which would limit its powers and in unquestionably restoring the Madrid's authority over America.

When that expedition, commanded by Pablo Morillo, devastated the patriotic bases of the continent, the supporters of independence who managed to survive went into exile in the Caribbean islands. In 1815, Bolívar was in Jamaica and sought support from the British, without success. He had already begun to reflect on the causes of defeat and understood that, in order to win, the Revolution would also need to be social and not just political. At the end of that year and the beginning of the next, he was welcomed in Haiti, where he assembled the basis of what would become the Patriot Army that will return to the continent and, finally, defeat the imperial forces years after years of fighting. His thinking on the causes of the defeat was joined by the support given to him by the Haitian president, Alexandre Pétion, determining the course of abolitionism that he would defend as inherent to the project of the independentists.

Apart from the tension mentioned above between the conviction and the limits imposed by the economic and social terrain where the Revolution moved, it is precisely in abolitionism that the distance between Bolívar (and his group within the Patriot Army) and other projects conceived during the wars for independence. In particular, the modern conception of states based on societies founded on the principle of equality points to a radically transformed America. Here, as in Bonifácio (in another way), it is understood that the permanence of slavery is a human, economic and political delay.

a) Bolivar before Haiti

Bolívar's first contact with abolitionism itself, in addition to classical and modern political literature, took place in London, when he represented the Government Board of Caracas on a diplomatic mission, in 1810. In the British capital, he conferred with Francisco de Miranda, who in turn introduced him to the circle of British abolitionist William Wilberforce (Uzcátegui 2015). At this stage, Bolívar's opinion on this issue is unknown, but it is known that, in 1809, a year before his trip to London, in a letter addressed to Juan de Casas, he directed the division of his own assets. among his slaves. Then, years later, in 1814, he freed all the slaves on his property, inheritance of a family fortune that was among the largest in America[8]. However, at that stage this was more of a personal position than a political program, a "paternalistic" anti-slavery, it was probably a "manorial virtue" and not a political position (Roig, 31).

In any case, intellectual contact with abolitionism was already established when Bolívar saw

the two experiences of an independent republic in Venezuela founder. The so-called First Venezuelan Republic (1811-1812), under the prominence of Francisco de Miranda, had collapsed in the face of the uprising of interior provinces opposed to obedience to the autonomous government established in Caracas. In turn, the Second Republic (1813-1814), already founded and ruled by Bolívar, had been defeated before Spanish troops landed in Venezuela. Studying the local forces that defeated him, Bolívar understood the weakness of the patriots' project: it was the poor free men (the so-called "pardos" in the nomenclature of the time) and the slaves who fought in the name of the king, against the Republic - a regime that, strictly speaking, was composed of the colonial oligarchy and for which the demands of the marginalized were not relevant. The Venezuelan elite wanted a political revolution, but the key to victory lay in the incorporation of sectors that demanded a social revolution (Damas, 2003).

Embittering his exile, having spied on his trail with the task of assassinating him, when he wrote the Letter from Jamaica (or Prophetic Letter) in 1815, a mature Bolívar would come to understand abolition as a necessity also of a strategic and military nature. The explicit condemnation of slavery, the privileges of the nobility, and the distinctions of "caste" became the axis of his program, the core of his opposition to the imperial government and local supporters. The Liberation Army itself and its transformed social composition would, in itself, be an overcoming of the traditional colonial order.

In the letter, he speaks openly about what he considers the harmful effects of slavery. Describing the situation in Peru, he would say: "*Peru, on the other hand, has two elements that are inimical to any regime of fair and liberal government: gold and slaves. The first corrupts everything; the second is corrupted by itself*" (Bolivar, 2009, 83). Slavery: a corrupt institution in itself, not an institution that purges the corrupt, as was the old Catholic view. Against it, Bolívar announces a republican America supported by the principle of equality of its citizens, including the slaves who would leave this condition. Facing the racist basis of colonial stratification, Bolívar writes that "*we are a small human race*", stressing that, in America, in an unprecedented way in history, populations from all over the world met, forming a unique people, characterized by its composition. diverse and united precisely by this diversity.

When he left Kingston for Los Cayos, Haiti, Bolívar was no longer a *Criollo* aristocrat fighting for political autonomy. He already held the view that independence would only come if it also brought about the transformation of the foundations of colonial society.

b) Bolivar after Haiti

While still in Jamaica, Bolívar wrote Alexandre Pétion, president of the Republic of Haiti, a letter dated

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[8] According to Gil Fortoul's testimony, Bolívar owned 1,000 slaves at the beginning of the Revolution, as recorded in J. L. Busaniche (1986, 310.)

12/19/1815, informing him that he was heading to the Port of Los Cayos where he would meet with other patriots who were supported by the Pétion government. In that document, Bolívar defines the republic founded on the gigantic slave rebellion as "the asylum of all republicans in this part of the world" (Bolivar, 2016. 15). Pétion, in a new letter of January 1816, he will call the father of true republicans. This is a time when the hope of reorganizing a patriotic army was in expectation of receiving support from the Haitian government, but it is indicative of the political context that this was not the first option. Before turning to Pétion, Bolívar preferred to look for the British in Jamaica, aware of the impact that such a direct association with Haiti would have on the American elite. In a letter addressed to Luis Brión, dated July 1815, Bolívar recounts his situation and expresses the fear of the political damage he imagined he would have if he went to Los Cayos himself:

> "As for me, I am willing to do anything for my country; for the same reason, I seek help from this government and hope that it will be given if not today, tomorrow or another day. Meanwhile, I'm living in uncertainty and misery. I myself don't go to that island because I don't want to lose the trust these gentlemen place in me because, like Your Excellency. You know, aristocratic customs are terrible".[9]

Bolívar's path towards a firmly anti-slavery position was also traced by political necessity: without success with the British, she changes her mind and, six months after that letter to Brión, lands in "the asylum of all republicans in this part of the world". In fact, it wasn't just Bolívar who feared the repercussions of his association with Haiti. For his part, Pétion also feared being taken as a supporter of the rebels. Evidently, given the isolation in which his Republic found itself, he was interested in promoting the patriots of the continent and weakening the power of the Spanish Empire. However, he knew the risk he was running if he accepted being "the father of true republicans": Pablo Morillo had crushed the independent governments in the north of the subcontinent and could turn his weapons against Haiti at a time when France was still thinking about reconquering the island. The line of balance, for both sides, was tenuous and the risks immense. Therefore, after offering asylum, ships, weapons, and soldiers, Pétion asked Bolívar not to publicly mention Haiti's or his own support for the cause[10].

In addition to political-conjunctural considerations, it is necessary to emphasize that, more than a republic of ex-slaves, Haiti was a republic led by Jacobins, the Black Jacobins, to use the expression of the famous classic by C.L.R James (2000). As we have seen, the Haitian revolution established a republic without property rights on the list of natural rights. Thus, while equality and freedom (currency of the Republic) was unquestionably the rights of all, granted by "nature" and, therefore, inherent to the human being, the property was a civil right. In other words, among the republicanisms of the time, it was the most radical that laid the foundations of the first country in America to become independent. Legally, this character was necessary both to condemn the existence of slavery and to legitimize the non-payment of any compensation to the owners. Bolívar had contact with the constitutions of Haiti and its legal theses, which will be, until the end, present in his references.[11]

For the support offered, Petión asked Bolívar for only one counterpart: that he promote the abolition of slavery wherever the Liberation Army passed.[12] In making this commitment, the evolution of Liberator thought has completed its cycle. When the expedition under his command left Los Cayos, in May 1816, to resume the war for independence, Bolívar was already a leader incensed by the Republic that had caused the continent's landowning elites the most tremors.

c) *The Legislative Path of Bolívar's Abolitionism*

The first decree for the abolition of slavery drawn up by Bolívar was signed in Carupano, on June 2, 1816, in Venezuela, following the landing of the expedition. It was a release conditioned to the admission of the slaves to the Patriot Army. All were free, as long as they fought... a condition that has been accused of being abolitionism of convenience, without sincerity, built only a posteriori as firmness of purpose (Iturrieta, 2016). However, in Bolívar's mind, manumission would make no sense without the freedmen joining the cause (not least because, at that moment, although Bolívar maintained the title of "Supreme Chief of the Republic", the new state was only the promise of a small expedition who had arrived on a beach in Venezuela). The text of the decree both defended the existence of freedom as a natural right and went down to the reality of war to impose, in harsh terms, the enlistment (Bolivar, 2016, 21-22).

A month later, in Ocumare da la Costa, Bolívar mentions the previous decree and announces his

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[9] Simón Bolívar, *Carta a Luis Brión* (www.archivodellibertador.gob.ve/escritos/buscador/spip.php?article1156), (free translation by the authors). "En cuanto a mí, yo me hallo dispuesto a hacer todo por mi país; por la misma razón estoy procurando obtener socorros de este gobierno, que espero me serán prestados, si no hoy, será mañana u otro día. Mientras tanto, estoy viviendo en la incertidumbre y en la miseria. Yo mismo no voy a esa isla porque no quiero perder la confianza que hacen de mí estos señores, pues, como V. sabe, las manías aristocráticas son terribles".

[10] On February 18, 1816, Pétion wrote to Bolívar asking that Haiti or his support for the cause not be mentioned in the abolition decrees to

come. Certainly, he feared Monteverde, which was already threatening Haiti.

[11] In addition to the abolitionist legacy, the Haitian experience would also have marked Bolívar's constitutionalism, since he took several of the articles of the Haitian constitutions of 1806 and 1816 for his projects (Arciniegas, 1985).

[12] On the encounter between Bolívar and Petión, the classic work is Paul Verna (1969).

willingness to re-establish a republican government in which everyone will be citizens, without the status distinctions that were in force at the time:

> "That wretched part of our brothers that groans subjected to the miseries of slavery is now free. Nature, justice and politics demand the emancipation of slaves: henceforth, there will be only one class of men in Venezuela and all will be citizens".[13]

In terms similar to those of Carúpano, the abolition will be reiterated in the following moments of the Patriot Army's march. There are also decrees to that effect signed in Villa de Cura (March 11, 1818), La Victoria (March 13, 1818), and El Consejo (March 14, 1818).

At other times, before these last decrees, Bolívar announced in his public texts the abolition as one of the flags and conquests of the patriots. In other words, although the forced incorporation into the ranks of the army opportunely responded to the military need, it was also a program and a banner that was unreservedly displayed. A timely example is a call that Bolívar addressed to the soldiers after ordering the execution of the patriotic general Manuel Piar, who had defied the Liberator's command, in October 1817. It was a critical moment in which Bolívar chose to list achievements that would be understood as the source of legitimacy for its leadership. The nature of this political program and its acceptance by the soldiers (otherwise Bolívar would not have mentioned it) evidences the Patriot Army's adherence to abolitionism:

> "Soldiers! You know it. Equality, liberty and independence are our motto. Was it not through our laws that humanity regained its rights? Was it not our weapons that destroyed the slaves' chains? Has not the odious inequality of class and color been destroyed forever?"[14]

The first proposal for a Constitution that would enshrine both the abolition and the guarantee of citizenship for former slaves dates from 1819. This is the project presented in Angostura, in the Venezuelan Amazon, where Bolívar took his forces to establish a secure base while defining the program and establishing alliances to face the Spaniards. The victory was still uncertain, the forces fighting for independence were minority and isolated, but it was understood that it was necessary to establish the foundations of the State

that would emerge after the defeat of the Empire to conform to a clear program[15]. For that, a Constituent Congress was organized composed of the revolutionaries. The approved Constitution would, given the context, not be a fully enforced norm, but a compromise. The speech made by Bolívar to present his proposal is one of the most important documents for understanding his thinking. In it, the abolition of slavery is listed as one of the pillars that support a republican government:

> "A republican government was, is and must be that of Venezuela; its bases must be the sovereignty of the People, the separation of powers, civil liberty, the outlawing of slavery, the abolition of monarchy and privileges".[16]

Justifying this position, he announced the incorporation of former slaves into the same homeland, that is, he saw in abolition the necessary step for the consolidation of the new State and the new political regime, the Republic. In addition, he constructed a heroic narrative to also justify that condition of incorporation of the freedmen into the Liberation Army:

> "Atrocious and impious slavery covered the land of Venezuela with its dark mantle. Our sky was loaded with storm clouds that threatened a deluge of fire. I begged for the protection of the God of humanity and redemption quickly dissipated the storms. Slavery broke its shackles and Venezuela found itself surrounded by new sons, grateful sons who converted the instruments of captivity into weapons of freedom. Yes, those who were once slaves are now free; those who were enemies of a stepmother are now defenders of a homeland". [17]

Aware of the resistance that the end of slavery encountered among the landowners (many of whom adhered to the cause of independence), he addressed a personal appeal to the deputies for the confirmation of abolition, even if they altered any other points of his project and of his legislative activity:

> "You cannot be both free and slave at the same time, unless you completely violate natural laws, political laws, and civil laws. I surrender to your sovereign decision the reform or revocation of all my Statutes and Decrees; but I beg for

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[13] Simón Bolívar, *Proclamas del Libertador Simón Bolívar* (Caracas: Imprenta de "El Venezolano" por M J Rivas, 1842), p. 15-16 (free translation by the authors). "Esa porción desgraciada de nuestros hermanos que ha gemido bajo las miserias de la esclavitud, ya es libre. La naturaleza, la justicia y la política piden la emancipación de los esclavos: de aquí en adelante sólo habrá en Venezuela una clase de hombres, todos serán ciudadanos".

[14] Simón Bolívar, *Proclamas del Libertador Simón Bolívar*, p. 16-17 (free translation by the authors). "Soldados! Vosotros lo sabeis. La igualdad, la libertad y la independencia son nuestra divisa. ¿La humanidad no ha recobrado sus derechos por nuestras leyes? Nuestras armas no han roto las cadenas de los esclavos? La odiosa diferencia de clases y colores no ha sido abatida para siempre".

[15] The Republic of Colombia, at that moment, is the state that tradition called Gran Colombia, formed by the present-day Venezuela, Colombia, Panama and Ecuador.

[16] Simón Bolívar, *Doctrina del Libertador*, p. 131 (free translation by the authors). "Un gobierno republicano ha sido, es y debe ser el de Venezuela; sus bases deben ser la soberanía del Pueblo, la división de los poderes, la libertad civil, la proscripción de la esclavitud, la abolición de la monarquía y de los privilégios".

[17] Simón Bolívar, *Doctrina del Libertador*, p. 143-144 (free translation by the authors). "La atroz e impía esclavitud cubría con su negro manto la tierra de Venezuela, y nuestro cielo se hallaba recargado de tempestuosas nubes, que amenazaban un diluvio de fuego. Yo imploré la protección del Dios de la humanidad, y luego la redención disipó las tempestades. La esclavitud rompió sus grillos, y Venezuela se ha visto rodeada de nuevos hijos, de hijos agradecidos que han convertido los instrumentos de su cautiverio en armas de libertad. Sí, los que antes eran esclavos ya son libres; los que antes eran enemigos de una madrastra, ya son defensores de una patria".

confirmation of the absolute freedom of slaves, as I would beg for my life and the life of the Republic" [18]

The force of slavery was present and Bolívar suffered a political defeat: the Congress of Angostura issued its own decree of abolition on January 11, 1820, but, contrary to immediate freedom, it opted for gradualness and freed only the children of slaves who were born since that date (a solution that would also be the Brazilian one, in the *Lei do Ventre Livre*, of 1871).

Later, in 1821, a new constituent congress meeting in Cúcuta, with the patriotic victory in the north of the subcontinent practically consolidated, enacted a Law of Manumission in the same terms as the Angostura decision. Although there was a consensus among the deputies on the need to abolish slavery, there were differences as to the timing. Even those born after 1821, under the new regulation, were tied to the owner until they were 18 years old.

Commenting on the impression this law made on Bolívar, General Daniel O'Leary, who accompanied him throughout the process, wrote in his memoirs: There were no sights of interest or ideas of convenience that could be reconciled with a system of such palpable injustice" (1920, 102-103). Even a Bolívar riding the glory of victory did not have the political strength to defeat the local elites, who resisted as long as they could to the real end of slavery (Lombardi, 2003).

After the founding of the Republic of Colombia, although he held the position of president of that new country, Bolívar dedicated himself to the conclusion of the emancipation by marching south to defeat the forces loyal to Spain in the last bastion they had left: the Viceroyalty of Peru. It was only on December 9, 1824, at the Battle of Ayacucho, that the cause of independence definitely won.

As one of the consequences of the Patriot Army's actions, the region then known as Alto Peru ignored the government of Lima, the former colonial capital, and founded a new country, the Bolivar Republic – later, Bolivia. Invited to write a draft constitution for the State that honored him, the Liberator once again insisted on the abolition of slavery as the foundation of a de facto free and republican regime, this time in more forceful terms.

In the message that he addressed to the Congress of Bolivia, in May 1826, he made direct mention of Haiti – "the most democratic republic of the world" (2009, p. 280) – to justify the institutional arrangement he proposed (and which was accused of anti-liberalism by the opposition). Liberal or not,

remembering the Haitian republic still scared the landowning class. And, in fact, echoing that experience, Bolívar defined the right to property as a matter of civil legislation and not as a natural right. In addition, he defended the principle of equality as fundamental:

"The most perfect guarantees were established: civil liberty is true liberty; the others are only nominal or of little influence to the citizens. Personal security was guaranteed, which is the purpose of society and from which all others emanate. As for property, it depends on the Civil Code that your wisdom must compose for the happiness of your fellow citizens. I kept intact the law of laws – equality: without it, all guarantees, all rights perish. To her we must make sacrifices. At your feet I placed, covered in humiliation, the infamous slavery." [19]

And he continues with the most forceful condemnation he made, in public texts, of slavery:

"Lawgivers, the infraction of all laws is slavery. A law that preserves it would be the most sacrilegious. What right can be claimed for its conservation? Analyzing this crime from all possible aspects, I am not persuaded that there is a single Bolivian so depraved that he intends to legitimize the most infamous violation of human dignity. A man possessed by another man! A man owned! (...) Transmitting, extending, perpetuating this crime mixed with torture is the most shocking outrage. To found a principle of possession on the most ferocious delinquency is not something that can be conceived without upsetting all the elements of law and without the most absolute perversion of notions of duty. No one can break the holy dogma of equality. And will there be slavery where equality reigns? Such contradictions would form the reproach of our reason rather than that of our justice: we would be more reputed for demented than for usurpers". [20]

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[19] Simón Bolívar, *Doctrina del Libertador*, p. 285 (free translation by the authors). "Se han establecido las garantías más perfectas: *la libertad civil* es la verdadera libertad; las demás son nominales, o de poca influencia com respecto a los ciudadanos. Se ha garantizado la *seguridad* personal, que es el fin de la sociedad, y de la cual emanan las demás. En cuanto a la *propiedad*, ella depende del código civil que vuestra sabiduría debiera componer luego, para la dicha de vuestros conciudadanos. He conservado intacta la ley de las leyes –la *igualdad*: sin ella perecen todas las garantías, todos los derechos. A ella debemos hacer los sacrificios. A sus pies he puesto, cubierta de humillación, a la infame esclavitud".

[20] Simón Bolívar, *Doctrina del Libertador*, p. 285 (free translation by the authors). "Legisladores, la infracción de todas las leyes es la esclavitud. la ley que la conservara sería la más sacrílega. ¿Qué derecho se alegaría para su conservación? Mírese este delito por todos aspectos, y no me persuado que haya un solo boliviano tan depravado que pretenda legitimar la más insigne violación de la dignidad humana. ¡Un hombre poseído por otro! ¡Un hombre propiedad! ¡Una imagen de Dios puesta al yugo como el bruto! Dígasenos ¿dónde están los títulos de los usurpadores del hombre? (...) Transmitir, prorrogar, eternizar este crimen mesclado de suplicios, es el ultraje más chocante. Fundar un principio de posesión sobre la más feroz delincuencia no podría concebirse sin el trastorno de los elementos del derecho y sin la perversión más absoluta de las nociones del deber. Nadie puede romper el santo dogma de la *igualdad*. y ¿habrá esclavitud donde reina la igualdad? Tales contradicciones formarían más bien el vituperio de nuestra razón que el de nuestra justicia: seríamos reputados por más dementes que usurpadores".

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[18] Simón Bolívar, *Doctrina del Libertador*, p. 144 (free translation by the authors). "No se puede ser libre y esclavo a la vez, sino violando a la vez las leyes naturales, las leyes políticas y las leyes civiles. Yo abandono a vuestra soberana decisión la reforma o la revocación de todos mis Estatutos y Decretos; pero yo imploro la confirmación de la libertad absoluta de los esclavos, como imploraría mi vida y la vida de la República".

This Constitution gains more relevance in the analysis because it is a project conceived to be accepted as the basis for a legislative unification of all the new republics, and not just for Bolivia. It was, therefore, an American program presented by the political force that was supported by the arms of the Liberation Army, which affirmed the universalization of citizenship, including former slaves. The text proposed by Bolívar made citizens "*all who have hitherto been slaves; and therefore will, in fact, be free in the act of publishing this Constitution*".

In the end, Bolívar saw his abolitionism suffer another defeat: Congress did not accept the proposed wording and amended it to include in the text the determination that former slaves "*will not be able to leave the house of their former masters, except in the form of a special law that determines it*"[21]. In other words, they would remain captive until the legislators, one day, think about the issue again.

III. José Bonifácio and the Critique of Slavery in Independent Brazil

José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva also played an outstanding role in the creation of a new state in Latin America, Brazil. However, Brazilian independence, although it also had some episodes of armed confrontation, was different from the experience of the rest of the continent. Bonifacio, in turn, was not, like Bolívar, a military leader in the deadly fields of the wars for emancipation. Its struggle, like much of the Brazilian independence process, took place in the political field, as the main articulator of the separation with Portugal, and in the legislative, with proposals for the construction of both the State and an effective Brazilian nation. The abolition of slavery, present in his thinking from a very early age, was seen by him as a necessary condition for both.

He was born in Santos, in 1763, into a wealthy family linked to commerce and the exercise of important and profitable public positions. Like many other sons of the Brazilian elite, at the age of 20 he was sent to study in Coimbra[22]. The University, which had been renovated during the Pombaline period, was going through a certain setback with the end of the Marquis' government. There was a clash between an enlightened understanding of science and philosophy, the offspring of the reforms, and a certain Catholic reactionaryism. José Bonifácio made his choices at this moment and joined the new paths. Even though he continued to delve into the study of classical authors and the law, he also studied mathematics and delved into enlightened philosophy (with a certain religious irreverence, typical of Enlightenment thinkers). From that time, there is a prominent text of his approaching whaling from a liberal perspective and reading Adam Smith (Caldeira, 2002, p. 51-56). According to Emilia Viotti da Costa:

"José Bonifácio would not be satisfied with what was taught at the University. His notes scattered today in various archives and in his poetry are, as well as his letters, full of references to Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Locke, Pope Virgilio, Horacio, Camões, denoting a broad humanistic training and familiarity with the authors of the Enlightenment, which will later explain his political theories. Although he continued to verse, scientific concerns came to the fore..."[23]

It was through mineralogy that Bonifácio became a prominent scientist and defined his paths through Portugal and Europe in the years after his university education. A polyglot, he spent a decade traveling around Europe on a scholarship granted by the Portuguese government. Among his achievements is his contribution to the discovery of lithium. His concerns with history, philosophy and law did not, however, fail to be present in his studies and notes.

He got to know Paris in the 1790s and closely followed the paths of the French Revolution. His notes and letters make it clear that he "keeps a painful impression of the revolutionary movements and the agitation of the masses. Among the authors of the illustration, he would align himself better with Voltaire and Montesquieu than with Rousseau (...) He would be a liberal, but never a democrat" (Costa, 2015, 34). It can thus be seen, even before Bonifácio's independence discussions, that he tends to move away from more republican and Jacobin positions, keeping conservative enlightenment.

Back in Portugal, in 1800, he continued his academic work as a professor of Metallurgy at the University of Coimbra, but he also rose to positions in the public administration of the Portuguese kingdom and, consequently, in kingdom politics. A prestigious man, he became a member of the Royal Academy of Science of Portugal and its secretary in 1812. He remained in Portugal during the French invasion and the withdrawal of the Court to Brazil in 1808. There, he was a distinguished administrator, having occupied several important positions in the bureaucracy, such as general intendant of mines and metals and director of the Casa da Moeda, in addition to teaching in Coimbra and

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[21] *Constitución Política de 1826* (www.lexivox.org/norms/BO-CPE-18261119-1.xhtml)

[22] Bonifácio has a classic biography, until today the main reference: the one written by Octavio Tarquínio de Sousa, in 1945, reedited by the Federal Senate: José Bonifácio – 1763-1838 (Brasilia: Senado Federal, 2015). For biographical details, we use this work and also the most recent contribution by Dolnikof (2012).

[23] Costa (2015, 3) (free traduction by the authors). "José Bonifácio não se contentaria com o que era ensinado na Universidade. Suas notas dispersas hoje em vários arquivos e em suas poesias estão, assim como suas cartas, cheias de referencias a Rousseau, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Locke, Pope Virgilio, Horacio, Camões, denotando uma formação humanística ampla e familiaridade com os autores da Ilustração, o que irá explicar mais tarde suas teorias políticas. Embora continuasse a versejar, as preocupações cientificas passaram ao primeiro plano..."

member of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences. He even took part in the fight against Napoleon's invading army, which had already taken the Crown of Spain... In any case, Bonifacio was an academic called to public service: the clash between the two universes inevitably happened. He was a scientist, a thinker trained in the Enlightenment, dealing with the constraints of the administrative machinery of an essentially conservative state. There were two results of this experience: the first, a disappointment and the desire to return to Brazil; the second was an important change in his views, with which liberalism was toned down so that Bonifacio came to believe that a centralized state, led by wise men, would be necessary to direct the economy.

Only in 1818 did he obtain authorization to return to Brazil. In the years that he spent in Portugal, he accompanied the growing dissatisfaction of the kingdoms with the freedoms that were given to the former Brazilian colonists and their resistance when trying to withdraw these freedoms and the (re)imposition of mercantilist and colonial rules on Brazilians by the Portuguese metropolitans.

Back in his homeland after more than 30 years of living in Europe, Bonifácio did not retreat to his lands and studies. He saw, from another perspective, that conflict between the kingdoms and Brazilians took wider proportions with the Spanish liberal revolution and, later, with the Porto Revolution, in 1820, demanding the constitutionalization of the monarchy and the immediate return of Dom João VI to Portugal. The effects of this process reached São Paulo in March 1821, when instructions were received for the election of both a local government for the province and delegates to the Cortes who would meet in Lisbon to write the Constitution. At that moment, the liberal intent was more pronounced than the movement for the withdrawal of autonomy rights from the Kingdom of Brazil, which would come later.

Bonifácio actively participated in the organization of the government of the province and was led to the position of vice-president of the Governor's Board of São Paulo, in July 1821. He was the government's ideologue and put in writing in an official document idea that he kept only in his private notes: "Lembranças e Apontamentos do Governo Provisório da província de São Paulo para os seus deputados" (Memories and Notes of the Provisional Government of the province of São Paulo for its deputies) (Bonifácio, 2002) was signed by the entire government, but it is authored by Bonifácio. These were instructions to the representatives of the province in the Cortes. Among other aspects, it is one of the first writings where there is the most complete civilizational conception for a nation without slaves. In addition, according to Costa, he defended the equality of political and civil rights of Brazilian and Portuguese citizens and went further:

"Far from revealing separatist intentions, it accepted the principle of the integrity and indissolubility of the United Kingdom [of Brazil, Portugal and Algarve], ensuring the representation of the general and ordinary courts. It tried to safeguard liberal principles, seeking to preserve the advantages conquered by Brazil since 1808, in particular administrative autonomy. It recommended the creation of a university, the multiplication of schools, the foundation within a city to be the seat of government, with the aim of stimulating the development of the sertão. He also made suggestions for the development of mining, the civilization of the Indians, colonization, the emancipation of slaves"[24].

In other words, already acting as a political leader in Brazil, Bonifácio sees in the liberal revolution the opportunity to publicize the slave emancipation project. In *Apontamentos*, he requires, along with a gradual emancipation, changes in the master-slave relationship in order to guarantee better treatment of captives and avoid rebellions and other forms of resistance. We also emphasize the idea of demanding the return of unused land from the old sesmarias to government control and its use in colonization projects that involved precisely freedmen and immigrants.

a) *Brazilian Independence and Bonifácio's Representation Against Slavery*

The articulations within the Cortes did not proceed as the São Paulo - and Brazilian, in general - representation would like. The Cortes revealed the recolonizing project, in which Brazil lost its status and autonomy. The order for the immediate return of D. João VI was evidence that the project of an Atlantic empire based in Rio de Janeiro was not incorporated by the kingdoms.

In view of this, the independence of Brazil starts to be discussed. The axis for a rupture with Portugal allied to the continuity of the State that had been transferred to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 was the presence of D. Pedro, heir to the Crown, still in Brazil in the position of Prince Regent. Bonifacio chose this path. In this space, it is not a matter of delving into the intense political articulation that led to independence in 1822, with Bonifácio as its key political figure. For now, suffice it to say that he became Minister of State while still in the Regency and later became the most important figure at the beginning of the First Empire. However, his time in the government was as intense as it was fleeting: consumed by his reform agenda and by countless

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[24] Emília V. da Costa (p. 41) (free traduction of the authors). "Longe de revelar intenções separatistas, aceitava o princípio da integridade e indissolubilidade do Reino Unido, assegurada, a representação das cortes gerais e ordinárias. Tratava de ressalvar princípios liberais, procurando preservar as vantagens conquistadas pelo Brasil desde 1808, em particular a autonomia administrativa. Recomendava a criação de uma universidade, a multiplicação das escolas, a fundação no interior de uma cidade para ser sede do governo, com o fito de estimular o desenvolvimento do sertão. Fazia ainda sugestões para o desenvolvimento da mineração, a civilização dos índios, a colonização, a emancipação dos escravos".

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setbacks and confrontations with the Emperor and a good part of the Brazilian elite, who ended up being arrested and deported in 1823, when, already out of of the government, he was a deputy in the Constituent Assembly. Not three years had passed since his election to the São Paulo Board.

Before exile, from which he would only return with the deposition of D. Pedro I, Bonifácio made his main contribution to Brazilian abolitionism with the delivery of the Representação à Assembleia Geral Constituinte e Legislativa do Império do Brasil sobre a Escravatura (Representation to the Constituent and Legislative General Assembly of the Empire of Brazil on Slavery), in 1823[25]. Another text, Regimento sobre a escravatura (Rules of Slavery), apparently written shortly before independence, comprises the main writings specifically on slavery, the problems it caused, the reasons and the way in which it should be suppressed.

Such contributions, as well as "Memories and Notes", are part of an intellectual and political project that has two complementary axes: the configuration of an independent State and a Brazilian nation. The first, Bonifácio believes, should be based on the consolidation of the unity of the territory and the centralization of power in a constitutional monarchy. The second, more difficult than the first, raised the need both to amalgamate this new nation from the different populations that inhabited the territory under the Empire's jurisdiction, and to civilize them, in an Enlightenment perspective. The issue of homogenization takes on great importance in José Bonifácio's view. For him, Brazil is a country with strong racial heterogeneity, aggravated by internal enmities (against indigenous people, against slaves), which undermines the very idea of nationality. Proposals such as the valorization of miscegenation, the end of slavery and indigenous integration would be fundamental to the objective of building a Brazilian nation.

In his Representation to the Constituent Assembly, Bonifácio makes an explicit request to imagine a nation without slavery, even if this is achieved gradually and with care. For him, it had been the interest of the old metropolis to keep Brazil disunited and unprotected, when it was a colony. Slavery was one of the elements that led to a potentially conflictive internal situation, in addition to preventing a possible union of the Brazilian population. Now, with independence, it would be necessary to overcome this fragility and build a homogeneous nation, which would allow the country to maintain itself and its progress.[26] The conflict would open the door to foreign questioning and internal

uprisings that would put the nation at risk. On the other hand, the persistence of situations of internal and external vulnerability would hamper progress. These are the main arguments to support the ideas that "without the end of trafficking and slavery, Brazil will never establish its national independence" and/or "slavery is the cancer that gnaws at the bowels of Brazil and is the poison that makes unfeasible nationality" (Bonifacio, 1825), found in the aforementioned representation and according to Carvalho (1999).

The classic anti-slavery arguments are presented throughout the text of the "Representation" like those associated with natural law or the question of not having, in principle, differences between peoples that justify slavery. In it, we find the famous Bonifacian phrase: "But what justice has a man to steal the freedom of another man and, what is worse, of the children of that man, and of the children of these children?" In Bonifácio's own answer to the question, he takes a stand on the issue of property rights. According to him, they would be natural rights. However, what cannot be admitted is that the property was given to another human being. The defenders of slavery, according to Bonifácio, "it is not, therefore, the right of property that they want to defend, it is the right of force since man cannot be a thing, he cannot be an object of property".

In addition to the idea of equality in principle that condemns the idea of one man's property over another, the Christian inversion that slavery is the source of immorality and vices can also be found in "Representation". It is worth mentioning the concept that slavery not only inoculates moral vices, of conscience but also throws the manorial class into idleness, stagnation, and immobility. (Barros, 2008). In this sense, Bonifácio says that "luxury and corruption are born among us before civilization and industry. And what will be the main cause of such an amazing phenomenon? Slavery, masters, slavery, for the man who counts on the newspapers of his slaves lives in indolence, and indolence brings all vices after it".

The economic perception of the difficulties, waste, and high costs of slavery, especially with aspects such as control and security, hindering the country's economic progress, is also presented, as well as the possible advantage of replacing slave labor with free labor due to these costs and the lack of stimuli from the slave system is highlighted. The introduction of machines and artifacts in farming, in addition to immigration, are presented as alternatives to the problem of lack of hands that could arise from the end of slavery.

Furthermore, there would be the prospect that these freedmen - gradually emancipated - would become more stimulated producers, which would mitigate eventual problems in production. The fear that these new producers could compete with the already

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[25] This Representation was published in France, in 1825, and in England, in 1826. It was later reproduced in different places in Brazil. Here we use the French publication of 1825.

[26] Bonifácio try to leave the blame for slavery and its ills to Portugal. According to him, "no nation, perhaps, has sinned more against humanity than the Portuguese".

established farms is allayed by Bonifácio. He argues that these former slaves would hardly have been able to establish properties with comparable productivity. He also claims that they could be incorporated either as free workers or as smallholders in agricultural colonies producing non-competing goods. Here, an important side of Bonifácio's sometimes dubious position: the transformation of freedmen into citizens. However, these would end up having a secondary position in society, even if efforts were undertaken by the government to prevent these inequalities from being too high. In any case, the main issue for Bonifácio was to eliminate from the future perspective the reasons that could lead to large-scale social upheavals. Again, the end of slavery was important to increase the homogeneity of the nation.

Slavery impeded national formation for three reasons: because it introduced an internal enemy and jeopardized internal security; for making the formation of an army unfeasible and, thus, threatening external security; for being incompatible with individual liberty and liberal government. In the latter case, the existence of non-free elements among the nationals is highlighted, as well as the existence of a power relationship between the free and the non-free, which reduced society's ability to control its members. In other words, slavery meant that the power of the State was reduced both over slaves, who were private property, and over the free, especially masters, who had, in practice, jurisdiction over lands and people.

The transformation of slaves into citizens would also allow Bonifácio to transform into allies those who were, at the time, internal enemies. Even though natural law theses are present, it is Haitianism, the risk of slavery or the fear of living with opponents who may definitively rebel, that drives the idea of the impossibility of building a nation on such bases. The same fear of an internal war based on "racial" differences we saw in Bolívar.

However, moving away from Bolívar, the form taken by the proposal to eradicate slavery brings José Bonifácio closer to the emancipators or moderate abolitionists and, at times, he is even confused with the reformers. Bonifácio defends a gradual eradication:

> "I say again that I do not want slavery to be abolished suddenly, such an event would bring great harm. In order to emancipate slaves without prejudice to society, we must first make them worthy of freedom, we must be forced by reason and law to gradually convert them from vile slaves into free and active men"[27].

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[27] Bonifácio (1825) (free traduction of the authors). "Torno a dizer que não desejo que seja abolida de repente a escravidão, tal acontecimento traria consigo grandes males. Para emancipar escravos sem prejuízo da sociedade cumpre faze-los primeiramente dignos de liberdade, cumpre que sejamos forçados pela razão e pela lei a convertê-los gradativamente de vis escravos em homens livres e ativos".

An absolute, one-time eradication is seen as harmful. Obviously, he agrees that this would destabilize the national productive system, and it would be necessary to allow time for it to prepare for the new conditions. On the other hand, it was also necessary to prepare the ground for the transformation of slaves into freedmen and citizens. In this case, it would be necessary to undertake changes in other institutions in the country and in a preparation made directly on the slaves themselves, in addition to that carried out on the masters who would no longer have this condition.

Thus, in Bonifácio's strategy, at first, it would be necessary to review the "master-slave" relations to reduce the power of the former over the latter. Such relationships should be regulated by the state. By withdrawing prerogatives from the masters, the State would be able to reduce arbitrariness, limit exploitation and submit disputes and the slave himself to its own jurisdiction. In this way, abolition is also a condition for the construction of the centralized State, reducing the very powers of the great Brazilian landowners. On the other hand, the decrease in discretion tended to decrease slave resistance and, from this point of view, would prevent internal rebellions and revolts.

Even though careful and progressive - aimed at constituent deputies who were slave owners and traffickers - the proposal for the abolition of slavery in Brazil made by José Bonifácio did not have legal tender. It was abandoned with the closing of the constituent itself by the loyal military and D. Pedro I in that same year of 1823. It will take decades for even abolitionist gradualism to be resumed in Brazil. In Bonifácio's period, provisions against trafficking were taken, but they became a dead letter[28]. His arguments (and his own image), however, were taken up by abolitionists and were present in campaigns in this direction throughout the 19th century.

IV. Final Considerations

As we have seen, the abolitionisms of Bolívar and Bonifácio have a more political and humanitarian character. Bolívar was a leader convinced of the evils of slavery and, when he acted in the wars for independence, he promoted abolition without gradualism, although he conditioned the liberation to the incorporation of the former slave in the ranks of the Liberation Army. This condition was not, in Bolívar's thinking, the result of a restrictive view of abolition, but a military imperative. For Bonifácio, on the other hand, the issue of slavery was an obstacle to the constitution of a nation and a difficulty in terms of internal and external security, as well as a problem in terms of progress and the realization of a homogeneous power in society.

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[28] The eradication of the international slave trade occurs in Brazil in fact only in the 1850s.

There is a turning point in Bolivarian reflection on slavery, in which what was a political conviction became an elementary part of his program for independence and of his conception of society that would emerge in America after the victory against the Empire: his passage through Haiti, in 1816. When he returned to the continent, Bolívar placed the end of slavery as a central element of his legislative and political work. In his view, republicanism, of which he was an adherent, was not compatible with the existence of slaves. Isonomy was a flag with which, in an America of Spanish colonization stratified in "caste", one could not compromise (Salcedo-Bastardo, 1977, 113).

Haiti, in particular Haitianism, is a landmark in Bonifacio's thought, but this is due to fear, and the difficulty that slave resistance can cause to the construction and maintenance of a nation. Bonifacio's abolitionism is quite moderate, and gradual and is eminently concerned with eradicating the sources of tension in the development of the new nation.

However, the abolitionism of Bolívar and his political group was as radical as it was ineffective. On the other hand, gradualism and Boniface's care did not have a better impact. Bolívar issued several abolition decrees and proposed constitutions in the same sense, going further: former slaves would also be citizens. But the strength of the big landowners prevailed. The same happens in Brazil and the destiny of the "Representação" presented by Bonifácio to the Constituent Assembly of 1823 is to become a reference for the later debates. The determinations of Bonifácio and Bolívar were either simply ignored, outside the law, or they were mitigated by the deputies of the new republics.

In other words, abolitionism was a banner of the Liberation Army and a part of the intellectuals of the new continent, fighting other local interests, and not unanimity among all the sectors that inherited America after the wars of emancipation. To a large extent, Bolívar's distrust of the Congresses that would meet and his insistence on institutionalizing the power of the force that brought about independence (which earned him the accusation of anti-liberalism) was due to the perception that the heart of the Army's project Liberator would not be implemented. Bonifácio was also accused of "despotism", even though he believed more than Bolívar that he could convince the legislators toward abolition.

Both of them, both trained in the Enlightenment, were convinced of the unsuitability of that institution and sought, based on their means and historical contexts, to abolish it. The strength of the three hundred years of slavery in America, engendering strong interests, is demonstrated in the face of the refusal and violence of those who finally inherited power in the new States, against the two leaders of independence.

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Bizarre Practices in Medicine Throughout History

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Introduction- Medical practice is not a modern phenomenon. Since prehistoric times, humans have sought to treat illness and injury through methods such as skull trepanation—the surgical drilling of the skull—and the use of herbal remedies. While today's medicine is grounded in scientific evidence and technological advancement, its origins are deeply rooted in the ancient world, where observation, belief systems, and empirical experimentation laid the groundwork for what would become the foundations of modern medical science.

The earliest recorded medical texts come from Mesopotamia, where clay tablets dating back to the third millennium BCE documented symptoms, diagnoses, and treatments. Ancient Egyptian medicine soon followed, known for its relatively advanced knowledge of surgery and pharmacology, as preserved in documents like the *Ebers* and *Edwin Smith Papyri*. Greek medicine, developed by figures such as Hippocrates and Galen, introduced the first formal systems of medical ethics and clinical observation. These works were later translated and expanded upon during the Golden Age of Arabo-Muslim medicine, which produced scholars such as Avicenna (Ibn Sina), Al-Razi, and Ibn al-Nafis, whose texts remained central in both the Islamic world and Europe for centuries.

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Introduction

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Simultaneously, Ancient India contributed through Ayurvedic medicine, a comprehensive system emphasizing balance, surgical techniques, and holistic health, while Traditional Chinese Medicine emerged with a focus on energy flow, herbalism, and body harmony.

Despite the scientific achievements of these civilizations, many of their practices were influenced by religion, mythology, and sociocultural beliefs, often resulting in methods that, by today's standards, appear unscientific—or even bizarre. From bloodletting and magic-based healing to the use of animal parts and spiritual rituals, these practices reflect the human effort to understand and manipulate health in the absence of modern scientific frameworks.

This paper explores those bizarre and unconventional practices, not to discredit them, but to understand their historical context and recognize their place in the long and complex evolution of medicine.

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I. Mesopotamia: The Earliest Civilization to Document Medical Practice

Mesopotamia is considered the cradle of recorded medicine, where the Sumerians and Babylonians began documenting medical knowledge as early as 3000 BCE. Medical texts inscribed on clay tablets in cuneiform script detailed symptoms, prescriptions, and treatment protocols, often blending empirical observation with supernatural beliefs. Among the most significant contributions is the Code of Hammurabi (circa 1750 BCE), which outlined medical fees and penalties for surgical errors, establishing one of the first known forms of medical ethics and professional accountability (Biggs, 2005). Mesopotamian medicine was deeply religious in nature; disease was commonly interpreted as a divine punishment or the result of demonic possession. Healing practices were therefore a combination of rational herbal remedies and magical rituals.

The Mesopotamians worshipped several deities associated with health, most notably Gula, the goddess of healing, often depicted as a woman surrounded by dogs, animals believed to possess protective and healing powers due to their observed behavior of licking wounds (Scurlock & Andersen, 2005). It is notable that they chose a female deity to represent medicine, symbolizing reverence for fertility, nurturing, and the origin of life. Healing was also linked to Enki (Ea), god of water, wisdom, and purification, who was said to have given humans the knowledge of healing.

Despite these spiritual underpinnings, many Mesopotamian medical practices appear bizarre by modern standards. For example, they used dried snake skins, crushed turtle shells, lizard fat, goat dung, and even human urine as therapeutic agents (Stol, 1993). The treatment of epilepsy involved placing a dead mole on the patient's head to drive out the demon thought to cause seizures (Scurlock, 2014). In other cases, exorcisms and incantations were recited over the patient while a lamb was sacrificed as a substitute for the afflicted person's sins. Diagnosis was sometimes based on liver divination (hepatoscopy), where the liver of a sacrificed sheep was examined to interpret divine messages about the patient's health.

These practices, while unscientific from a modern biomedical perspective, reflect the Mesopotamians' early attempts to understand and

influence health using the tools available to them—blending empirical knowledge, observation, and religious cosmology into a complex, multi-layered system of healing.

II. Ancient Egypt: A Civilization of Advanced Knowledge and Unusual Healing Methods

Ancient Egypt was one of the earliest civilizations to develop a structured medical system with a remarkable understanding of human anatomy, largely due to the practice of mummification, which allowed priests and embalmers to regularly interact with internal organs. This exposure, while not scientific dissection, gave them practical knowledge of the body's structure. Medical papyri like the Edwin Smith Papyrus (focused on trauma surgery and anatomy), the Ebers Papyrus (covering over 700 remedies), and the Kahun Gynecological Papyrus (the oldest known medical text on women's health, circa 1800 BCE), demonstrate that Egyptian medicine was organized, detailed, and partially based on observation and categorization (Nunn, 1996).

Egyptians didn't separate medicine from religion or magic. Heka, the personification of magical healing energy, was considered essential to all medical treatments. Even trained physicians (called *swnw*) often used incantations, amulets, and rituals alongside physical remedies. Some were deified, like Imhotep, a real physician and architect who became worshipped as a god of medicine centuries after his death.

However, many Egyptian medical treatments seem bizarre today. For example, they used crocodile dung as a contraceptive, mixed with honey and inserted vaginally (Ritner, 2001). Donkey liver, crushed bones, fly dung, and lizard blood were used to treat conditions like asthma or skin infections. Another recorded treatment for blindness involved applying human breast milk mixed with red ochre into the eyes (Nunn, 1996). In some cases, rotting meat or animal fat was placed on infected wounds, likely worsening infections by today's standards.

Diagnosis often involved supernatural beliefs. Diseases were thought to be caused by evil spirits, blocked channels (similar to Chinese meridians), or divine punishment, and treatments were sometimes based on dream interpretation or the advice of temple priests rather than clinical reasoning. Autopsy-like observations in the Edwin Smith Papyrus were rare—most healing was mystical in nature.

Despite this, Ancient Egyptian medicine was highly influential, with many of its practices passed on to Greece and the Islamic world. Its combination of spiritual healing and practical remedies marked an early step toward organized healthcare, even if many methods were questionable or strange by today's knowledge.

III. Ancient Greek Medicine: From Divine Punishment to Rational Theory

Ancient Greek medicine represents a turning point in the history of healing—a transition from supernatural explanations of disease to rational observation and systematic theory. Before this shift, illness in many cultures was understood as divine punishment or the result of ancestral wrath. However, Greek physicians like Hippocrates of Kos (c. 460–370 BCE) introduced the idea that disease had natural causes, not spiritual ones. He proposed the famous theory of the four humors—blood, phlegm, yellow bile, and black bile—believing that health depended on their balance. Though incorrect by modern standards, this theory dominated Western medicine for nearly two millennia and laid the foundation for clinical observation and diagnosis. Hippocrates is also credited with establishing medical ethics, and his name remains central today in the Hippocratic Oath, a symbol of the moral responsibility of physicians, though its modern version has been adapted.

Another giant of Greek medicine, Galen of Pergamon (129–c. 216 CE), expanded Hippocratic teachings and became a major authority in anatomy, physiology, and therapeutics. Through animal dissection (human dissection was mostly banned in his time), Galen wrote hundreds of treatises, some of which became the core of medical education in both the Islamic world and medieval Europe. He described the nervous system, circulatory mechanisms, and muscle functions, although many of his anatomical ideas were later corrected by Renaissance anatomists.

Despite these scientific advances, Greek medicine was not fully divorced from mythology. Healing was still associated with the god Asclepius, who was worshipped in temples known as Asclepieia, functioning as early hospitals where patients were treated with rest, diet, ritual purification, and even dream interpretation. Asclepius' daughters—Hygieia (goddess of health and

hygiene) and Panacea (goddess of universal cures)—symbolized prevention and healing. The Rod of Asclepius, a staff with a serpent coiled around it, remains a symbol of medicine to this day, used by the World Health Organization and many national medical associations.

Some ancient Greek treatments, however, would be considered bizarre now. Physicians prescribed therapies such as bloodletting, purging with herbs, or applying animal excrement to wounds. Epilepsy, known as the "sacred disease," was sometimes treated by forcing the patient to inhale burned animal hair or drink mixtures made from wild plants believed to expel demons (Lloyd, 2003). Despite these strange elements, Greek medicine marked a critical evolution: it created a logical framework to understand illness, introduced clinical reasoning, and passed on texts that shaped medical thinking for centuries.

IV. Arabo-Muslim Medicine: The Golden Age of Synthesis, Innovation, and Psychotherapy

The Arabo-Muslim medical tradition, flourishing between the 8th and 14th centuries CE, represents a pivotal era in medical history—one that not only preserved ancient knowledge but critically examined, expanded, and transformed it. Fueled by large-scale translation movements in Baghdad's Bayt al-Hikma (House of Wisdom), classical texts by Hippocrates, Galen, Dioscorides, and Indian scholars were translated into Arabic, often with commentaries and corrections that surpassed their original content. For example, Ibn al-Nafis (1213–1288) refuted Galen's theory of invisible pores in the heart and correctly described the pulmonary circulation of blood, a discovery that preceded European findings by nearly 300 years (Meyerhof, 1935). Likewise, Al-Razi (Rhazes) emphasized evidence-based medicine, distinguishing between measles and smallpox in detail never seen before, and introduced mental health wards in hospitals—pioneering the earliest forms of clinical psychotherapy.

What distinguished Arabo-Muslim medicine was its integration of science, spirituality, and ethics, coupled with the first truly public hospital systems (bimaristans), which provided free treatment and separated wards for mental illness, surgery, infectious disease, and convalescence. This progress, however, was not the work of Muslims alone. Many of the era's most brilliant scholars were Persians, Jews, Nestorian Christians, and even Indians living within or collaborating with the Islamic world. For instance, Hunayn ibn Ishaq, a Christian physician, translated over 100 works from Greek to Arabic and Syriac, forming the basis for many later breakthroughs. Others, like Maimonides (a Jewish physician in Cairo), served as court doctors while contributing philosophically to medical ethics. Some figures, such as Al-Farabi, may have accepted Islam later in life or remained private about their beliefs, yet their contributions were widely accepted and preserved.

Islamic theology itself played a complex but occasionally supportive role. The Prophetic traditions (hadith) encouraged the pursuit of healing and knowledge, framing medicine as a communal duty (fard kifayah). Caliphs like Harun al-Rashid and Al-Ma'mun actively funded hospitals and research. In certain periods—such as under the Abbasids—this synergy between religious patronage and scientific curiosity created an environment unmatched in medieval Europe.

But as with earlier traditions, bizarre treatments were not absent. Texts such as "Kitab al-Hawi" (The Comprehensive Book) by Al-Razi include prescriptions involving ground pearls, ambergris, lion fat, and pulverized scorpion bodies. One remedy for epilepsy included applying a burned hedgehog's spine mixed with vinegar to the skull. In another case, Ibn Sina (Avicenna) recommended aromatic therapy using musk, myrrh, and heated iron for "melancholy," believing the scent stimulated the brain and balanced the temperament. Mental illness was sometimes treated by reciting verses of the Qur'an over water, which was then consumed by the patient—a mix of spiritual healing and hydrotherapy. The boundaries between medicine, astronomy, and alchemy were often blurred: physicians relied on astrological charts to determine the best times for surgeries, and used concoctions containing lead, mercury, and animal bile, believing these could alter the body's "natures" or humors.

Despite the occasional reliance on now-discredited methods, Arabo-Muslim medicine was profoundly ahead of its time. It prioritized clinical observation, differential diagnosis, ethical conduct, and public accessibility, all while engaging with mental health in ways that would not resurface in the West until the 19th century.

V. Honorable Mentions in the History of Medicine

While the major medical traditions of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and the Arabo-Muslim world shaped the core of ancient and medieval healthcare, several other civilizations made notable contributions deserving recognition. Ancient India, through its Ayurvedic system, introduced surgical techniques, detailed anatomical classifications, and holistic treatment philosophies based on balance between bodily energies (doshas). Pioneers like Sushruta, often called the "father of surgery," described procedures such as rhinoplasty (nasal reconstruction) and surgical suturing centuries before their appearance in Europe (Zysk, 1991). Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM), dating back to the first millennium BCE,

emphasized energy flow (*Qi*), meridian theory, and therapeutic practices such as acupuncture, herbalism, and moxibustion. Works like the *Huangdi Neijing* remain foundational texts.

Outside Eurasia, pre-Columbian civilizations such as the Maya, Aztec, and Inca developed rich pharmacopoeias using plants like coca, peyote, and tobacco, and performed trepanation with surprising survival rates. In Sub-Saharan Africa, healing traditions combined herbal medicine with spiritual rituals, and some ethnobotanical knowledge remains unexplored by modern science. Even medieval European monastic medicine, though limited in innovation during certain periods, helped preserve Greco-Roman and Islamic texts and laid groundwork for later developments during the Renaissance.

Although these systems often blended myth and superstition, their empirical insights, environmental adaptation, and surgical experimentation underscore the diversity of medical thinking across human history.

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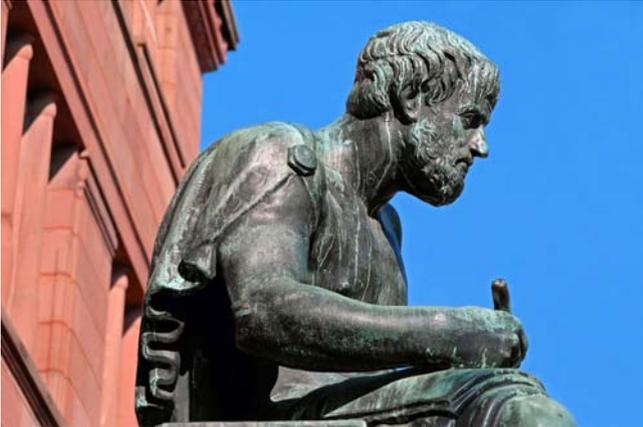
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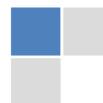
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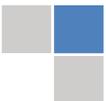
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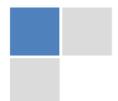
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Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

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Informal Guidelines of Research Paper Writing

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.

Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.

The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- o   Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- o   Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- o   Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- o   Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- o   Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- o   Describe the method entirely.
- o   To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- o   Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- o   If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- o   Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- o   Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- o   Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.

Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- o   Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- o   In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- o   Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- o   Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- o   Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- o   Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- o   Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- o   Do not present similar data more than once.
- o   A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- o   Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."

Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- o You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- o Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- o Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- o One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- o Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

The Administration Rules

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

Please read the following rules and regulations carefully before submitting your research paper to Global Journals Inc. to avoid rejection.

Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.
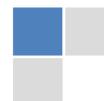
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CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

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Topics	Grades		
	A-B	**C-D**	**E-F**
Abstract	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
Introduction	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
Methods and Procedures	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
Result	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
Discussion	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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