

THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY OF
VIOLENCE

In the period from 1500 to 1800 the problem of violence necessitated asking fundamental questions and formulating answers about the most basic forms of human organisation and interactions. Violence spoke to critical issues such as the problem of civility in society, the nature of political sovereignty and the power of the state, the legitimacy of conquest and subjugation, the possibilities of popular resistance, and the manifestations of ethnic and racial unrest. It also provided the raw material for profound meditations on humanity and for examining our relationship to the divine and natural worlds. The third volume of *The Cambridge World History of Violence* examines a world in which global empires were consolidated and expanded, and in which civilisations for the first time linked to each other by trans-oceanic contacts and a sophisticated world trade system.

ROBERT ANTONY is Honorary Professor in the School of History and Culture at Shandong University. His research focuses on China's social, legal and maritime history, and his publications include *Like Froth Floating on the Sea: The World of Pirates and Seafarers in Late Imperial South China* (2003), *Pirates in the Age of Sail* (2007) and *Unruly People: Crime, Community, and State in Late Imperial South China* (2016).

STUART CARROLL is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of York. He is a three-time winner of the Nancy Roelker Prize awarded by the Sixteenth-Century Studies Society. In 2010 he won the J. Russell Major Prize from the American Historical Association for his third book, *Martyrs and Murderers: The Guise Family and the Making of Europe*.

CAROLINE DODDS PENNOCK is Senior Lecturer in International History at the University of Sheffield. Her first book, *Bonds of Blood: Gender, Lifecycle and Sacrifice in Aztec Society* (2008; paperback 2011) won the Royal Historical Society's Gladstone Prize. She is currently working on the neglected history of Native Americans in Europe and is involved in a major international project, based at the Museum of Cultural History in Oslo, titled 'Human Sacrifice and Value: The Limits of Sacred Violence'.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11911-6 — The Cambridge World History of Violence
Edited by Robert Antony, Stuart Carroll, Caroline Dodds Pennock
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

THE CAMBRIDGE WORLD HISTORY OF

VIOLENCE

General Editors

Philip Dwyer, *University of Newcastle, New South Wales*
Joy Damousi, *University of Melbourne*

This four-volume *Cambridge World History of Violence* is the first collection of its kind to look at violence across different periods of human history and different regions of the world. It capitalises on the growing scholarly interest in the history of violence, which is emerging as one of the key intellectual issues of our time. The volumes take into account the latest scholarship in the field and comprise the work of nearly 140 scholars, who have contributed substantial chapters to provide an authoritative treatment of violence from a multiplicity of perspectives. The collection thus offers the reader a wide-ranging thematic treatment of the historical contexts of different types of violence, as well as a compendium of experience shared by peoples across time.

VOLUME I

The Prehistoric and Ancient Worlds

EDITED BY GARRETT G. FAGAN, LINDA FIBIGER, MARK HUDSON AND
MATTHEW TRUNDLE

VOLUME II

500–1500 CE

EDITED BY MATTHEW S. GORDON, RICHARD W. KAEUPER AND
HARRIET ZURNDORFER

VOLUME III

1500–1800 CE

EDITED BY ROBERT ANTONY, STUART CARROLL AND
CAROLINE DODDS PENNOCK

VOLUME IV

1800 to the Present

EDITED BY LOUISE EDWARDS, NIGEL PENN AND JAY WINTER

THE CAMBRIDGE
WORLD HISTORY OF
VIOLENCE

*

VOLUME III
1500–1800 CE

*

Edited by

ROBERT ANTONY

Shandong University

STUART CARROLL

University of York

CAROLINE DODDS PENNOCK

University of Sheffield



Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11911-6 — The Cambridge World History of Violence
Edited by Robert Antony, Stuart Carroll, Caroline Dodds Pennock
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107119116

DOI: 10.1017/9781316340592

© Cambridge University Press 2020

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2020

Printed in the United Kingdom by TJ International Ltd, Padstow Cornwall

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Four-volume set ISBN 978-1-316-62688-7 Hardback

Volume I ISBN 978-1-107-12012-9 Hardback

Volume II ISBN 978-1-107-15638-8 Hardback

Volume III ISBN 978-1-107-11911-6 Hardback

Volume IV ISBN 978-1-107-15156-7 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of
URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,
accurate or appropriate.

Contents

List of Figures page ix

List of Maps xii

List of Contributors to Volume III xiii

Introduction to Volume III 1

ROBERT ANTONY (SHANDONG UNIVERSITY), STUART CARROLL
 (UNIVERSITY OF YORK) AND CAROLINE DODDS PENNOCK
 (UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD)

PART I

EMPIRE, RACE AND ETHNICITY 15

1 · Terror, Horror and the British Atlantic Slave Trade
 in the Eighteenth Century 17

TREVOR BURNARD (UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE)

2 · Violence, Slavery and Race in Early English and French America 36

CÉCILE VIDAL (ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES
 SOCIALES)

3 · Race and Violence in Portuguese America 55

HAL LANGFUR (SUNY: UNIVERSITY AT BUFFALO)

4 · Violence and Religion in the Ottoman Empire 77

MOLLY GREENE (PRINCETON UNIVERSITY)

5 · Human Sacrifice, Ritualised Violence and the Colonial Encounter
 in the Americas 96

WOLFGANG GABBERT (LEIBNIZ UNIVERSITY HANNOVER)

Contents

PART II
 CULTURES OF WAR AND VIOLENCE 117

- 6 · Chinese Ways of Warfare 119
 KENNETH M. SWOPE (UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN MISSISSIPPI)
- 7 · The Wars of Invasion in the Caribbean and Mesoamerica,
 1492–1547 138
 MATTHEW RESTALL (PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY)
- 8 · The Yogi's Way of War 156
 WILLIAM R. PINCH (WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY)
- 9 · Warfare in Europe 174
 PETER H. WILSON (UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD)
- 10 · War, State and the Privatisation of Violence
 in the Ottoman Empire 194
 TOLGA U. ESMER (CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY)

PART III
 INTIMATE AND GENDERED VIOLENCE 217

- 11 · Legal Understandings of Sexual and Domestic Violence
 in Late Imperial China 219
 MATTHEW H. SOMMER (STANFORD UNIVERSITY)
- 12 · Samurai, Masculinity and Violence in Japan 236
 CONSTANTINE N. VAPORIS (UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND,
 BALTIMORE)
- 13 · Gender and Violence in Early America 255
 JOHN GILBERT MCCURDY (EASTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY)
- 14 · Sexual and Family Violence in Europe 274
 DIANNE HALL (VICTORIA UNIVERSITY) AND ELIZABETH
 MALCOLM (UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE)
- 15 · Men Fighting Men: Europe from a Global Perspective 292
 PIETER SPIERENBURG (ERASMUS UNIVERSITY, ROTTERDAM)

Contents

16 · Suicide in the Early Modern World 311
 DAVID LEDERER (MAYNOOTH UNIVERSITY)

PART IV

THE STATE, PUNISHMENT AND JUSTICE 329

17 · Crime and Punishment in the Russian Empire 331
 NANCY S. KOLLMANN (STANFORD UNIVERSITY)

18 · Homicide and Punishment in Eighteenth-Century China 350
 THOMAS BUOYE (UNIVERSITY OF TULSA)

19 · Crime and Justice in Anglo-America 370
 JACK D. MARIETTA (UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA)

20 · Violence and Justice in Europe: Punishment, Torture and Execution 389
 SARA BEAM (UNIVERSITY OF VICTORIA)

21 · Legitimised Violence in Colonial Spanish America 408
 MATTHEW RESTALL (PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY)

PART V

POPULAR PROTEST AND RESISTANCE 427

22 · Rebellion and Violence in Vietnam 429
 GEORGE DUTTON (UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES)

23 · Piracy in Asia and the West 449
 KRIS LANE (TULANE UNIVERSITY) AND ROBERT ANTONY
 (SHANDONG UNIVERSITY)

24 · Riots, Rebellions and Revolutions in Europe 472
 JULIUS R. RUFF (MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY)

PART VI

RELIGIOUS AND SACRED VIOLENCE 491

25 · Religion and Violence in East Asia 493
 THOMAS DAVID DUBOIS (BEIJING NORMAL UNIVERSITY)

Contents

26 · Violence towards Heretics and Witches in Europe, 1022–1800 513
 ROBERT W. THURSTON (MIAMI UNIVERSITY, OHIO)

27 · Intercommunal Violence in Europe 531
 PENNY ROBERTS (UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK)

28 · Violence, Animals and Sport in Europe and the Colonies 553
 BRUCE BOEHRER (FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY)

PART VII
 REPRESENTATIONS AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF
 VIOLENCE 571

29 · African Ritual Violence: Close Combat in Western Africa and the
 Diaspora 573
 T. J. DESCH-OBİ (BARUCH COLLEGE, NEW YORK)

30 · Intercultural Emblems of Violence in the Spanish Colonisation of the
 Americas 591
 FEDERICO NAVARRETE (UNIVERSIDAD NACIONAL AUTÓNOMA
 DE MÉXICO)

31 · Spectacles of Violence in China 612
 ROBERT ANTONY (SHANDONG UNIVERSITY)

32 · Visualising Violence in Reformation Europe 634
 CHARLES ZIKA (UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE)

33 · Violence, Civil Society and European Civilisation 660
 STUART CARROLL (UNIVERSITY OF YORK)

Index 679

Figures

- 2.1 Marcel Antoine Verdier, *Châtiment des quatre piquets dans les colonies* (*Beating at Four Stakes in the Colonies*), oil on canvas, 1843. Source: The Menil Foundation, Houston, Texas. page 37
- 3.1 European witnesses to cannibalistic rituals condemned Brazil's coastal Indians as savage others, legitimating their slaughter and enslavement. André Thevet, *Les singularitez de la France Antarctique, autrement nommée Amerique* (Antwerp: Christophle Plantin, 1558). Source: John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, RI. 62
- 3.2 Racialised violence served pedagogical purposes in the shift to a plantation export economy increasingly based on Afro-Brazilian slavery. Simon de Vries, *Curieuse aenmerckingen der bysonderste Oost en West-Indische verwonderens-waerdige dingen . . .* (Utrecht: Johannes Ribbius, 1682). Source: John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, RI. 67
- 3.3 Corporal punishment administered alongside incentives provided slaveholders with a didactic tool, teaching slaves to conform in order to survive. Jean Baptiste Debret, *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil . . .*, vol. II (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1835). Source: John Carter Brown Library at Brown University, Providence, RI. 71
- 7.1 The stairway corner separating Columbus and the Spanish conquistadors from the Aztecs and their capital city of Tenochtitlan; mural painted by Roberto Cueva Del Rio in 1933–41 in the Mexican Embassy in Washington, DC, now the Mexican Cultural Institute. Source: Photograph by the author. 139
- 7.2 The Codex Durán's rendering of the Toxcatl Massacre – initiated by Pedro de Alvarado – in the central plaza of Tenochtitlan in the middle of the 1519–1521 Spanish–Aztec War. The hybrid Spanish-indigenous style conveys well conquest-era butchery by sword-wielding conquistadors of unarmed indigenous men. Source: Science History Images / Alamy. 146
- 7.3 Theodore De Bry's fanciful visualization, from the 1595 edition of Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia* (plate XIX), of the Spanish conquest of Mayas in northern Yucatán, led by Francisco de Montejo, depicted in the foreground unsheathing his sword, with the 'Indians' as naked (thus barbarian) victims of the invasion – all save one either surrendering or running away. Source: De Agostini Editorial / Getty. 150

List of Figures

- 13.1 'The Able Doctor, or, America Swallowing the Bitter Draught'. Cartoon [London, 1774]. Source: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, 97514782. 267
- 21.1 One of the engravings Theodor De Bry created to illustrate the 1595 Frankfurt edition of Girolamo Benzoni's *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (Plate III), depicting the excessive methods of punishment that Spaniards used to discipline and control indigenous and African slave workers. Note how the acts of torture and mutilation are legitimised by the presence of a presiding Spanish officer; his dress, chair, baton, and two attendants signify his position of authority and lend the proceedings a veneer of legalised and ritual legitimacy. Source: Reproduced courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. 411
- 21.2 In 1518, Spaniards claimed they saw a sacrificial altar on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico; by 1671, illustrated versions of that claim had evolved into this image, included in *America*, the great compendium of New World geography and history published in English by John Ogilby (1670) and in Dutch by Arnoldus Montanus (1671). Source: Reproduced courtesy of the John Carter Brown Library at Brown University. 414
- 23.1 'Captain Kidd Hanging in Chains', 1701. Source: C. Ellms, *The Pirates Own Book: Authentic Narratives of the Most Celebrated Sea Robbers* (Salem: Maritime Research Society, 1924). 451
- 23.2 'The Cruelty of L'Olonnais', 1668. Source: A. O. Exquemelin, *The Bucaniers of America* (London: Printed for William Crooke, 1684). 456
- 23.3 'Dangers of Mediterranean Seafaring'. Source: William Okeley, *Eben-Ezer, or a Small Monument of Great Mercy* (London: Printed for Nat. Ponder, 1675). 460
- 23.4 'Henry Morgan Sacking of Puerto del Principe in 1671'. Source: John Masefield, *On the Spanish Main* (London: Methuen & Co., 1906). 468
- 27.1 Iconoclasm: a fifteenth-century altarpiece in St Martin's Cathedral, Utrecht. Source: author's collection. 541
- 27.2 Detail of figure 27.1. Source: author's collection. 542
- 30.1 Jan Corneliz Vermeyen, *Charles V as Santiago Matamoros, Spain*, oil on canvas, 1538. Source: Estenssoro Fuchs and Juan Carlos, 'Construyendo la memoria: la figura del Inca y el reino del Perú, de la conquista a Túpac Amaru II', in Natalia Majluf et al. (eds.), *Los incas, reyes del Perú* (Lima: Banco de Crédito, 2005), pp. 93–173. 595
- 30.2 'The Spanish Horseman in the massacre at Cholula, Lienzo de Tlaxcala, Mexico', nineteenth-century copy of a sixteenth-century drawing on cloth. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City. 599
- 30.3 'The massacre at Templo Mayor', *Códice Durán*, illustration on paper manuscript, Mexico, sixteenth century. Source: Biblioteca Real de Madrid, Spain. 600
- 30.4 The city of Tlaxcala, main image of the *Lienzo de Tlaxcala*, Mexico, nineteenth-century copy of a sixteenth-century drawing on cloth. Source: Biblioteca Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City. 603
- 30.5 *La degollación de Juan Atahuallpa (The Delegation of Juan Atahuallpa)*, oil on canvas, probably eighteenth century. Source: Museo del Cuzco, Perú. 606

List of Figures

- 31.1 'Rock Fight during the Double-Nine Festival'. Source: *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Shanghai, 1886. 614
- 31.2 'Canton bargemen fighting quails'. Source: T. Allom, *China Illustrated* (London: Fisher, Son & Co., 1843). 619
- 31.3 'Snake-charmer and quack-doctor'. Source: W. Gillespie, *The Land of Sinim, or China and Chinese Missions* (Edinburgh: M. Macphail, 1854). 623
- 31.4 'Spirit medium dressed as a deity carried in procession'. Source: *Dianshizhai Pictorial*, Shanghai, 1885. 627
- 31.5 'Punishment of beheading and public exposure of the head'. Source: *Da Qing xinglü tu (Illustrated Penalties of the Qing Code)*, eighteenth century. 630
- 32.1 Johann Sadeler, after Maerten de Vos, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, engraving, 1581. Source: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Gift of D. H. Cevat, Guernsey (RP-P-1938-808). 636
- 32.2 Melchior Lorch, *The Pope as a Wild Man*, engraving, 1541. Source: Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (KKS11246). 638
- 32.3 Anonymous, *The Death of Thomas Cranmer at the Stake, burned for heresy in 1556*, woodcut, originally published in John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*. Source: Wellcome Collection, London, CC BY 4.0 (430901). 639
- 32.4 Anonymous, *The condemnation and execution of Christoff Windt*, coloured woodcut, in *Eigentliche verzeichnis der erschrecklichen und grewlichen Morththat* (Magdeburg: Leonard Gerhart, 1572). Source: Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Department of Prints and Drawings / Photo Archive (PAS 10/15). 642
- 32.5 Erhard Schön, *Turkish atrocities in the Vienna woods*. Reproduced from Geisberg, *Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschritt in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, München 1923-1930, (30. Lieferung, Nr. 1243). Photograph: Albertina Museum, Vienna. 645
- 32.6 Urs Graf, *Battlefield*, 1521, pen and ink drawing. Source: Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum Basel (U.X.91). 646
- 32.7 Jean Perrissin and Jacques Tortorel, *The massacre of the Huguenots by the Catholic population at Sens in 1562*, etching, in *Histoires diverses qui sont mémorables touchant les Guerres, Massacres & Troubles advenus en France en ces dernières années* (1570), plate 12. Source: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-78.770-14). 650
- 32.8 'Certain horrible acts of cruelty against Catholics in France, perpetrated by those whom the people call Hugenots', etching, in Richard Verstegan, *Theatrum crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp: Adrian Hubert, 1587), p. 51. © Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel (M: Tq 1300a). 652
- 32.9 Frans Hogenberg, *Spanish fury in Antwerp in 1576: the atrocities of soldiers*, etching, in *Engravings of Scenes from the History of the Netherlands, France and Germany*, series 7, *Nederlandse Gebeurtenissen*, 1576-7, plate 161. Source: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-78.784-147). 654
- 32.10 Jacques Callot, *Soldiers looting a large room inside a farmhouse and slaughtering the inhabitants*, etching, in *The Miseries and Misfortunes of War*, 1633, plate 5. Source: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (RP-P-OB-20.673). 657

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11911-6 — The Cambridge World History of Violence
Edited by Robert Antony , Stuart Carroll , Caroline Dodds Pennock
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

Maps

10.1	The Ottoman Empire, 1660–1913.	<i>page</i> 196
10.2	The Ottoman Rumeli, c. 1800.	203
22.1	Vietnam, c. late eighteenth century.	431
31.1	Coastal south China, c. 1800.	613

Contributors to Volume III

ROBERT ANTONY is Honorary Professor in the School of History and Culture at Shandong University.

SARA BEAM is Associate Professor of History at the University of Victoria, Canada.

BRUCE BOEHRER is Bertram H. Davis Professor in the Department of English at Florida State University.

THOMAS BUOYE is Associate Professor for the Henry Kendall College of Arts & Sciences at the University of Tulsa.

TREVOR BURNARD is a professor in the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies at the University of Melbourne.

STUART CARROLL is Professor of Early Modern History at the University of York.

THOMAS DAVID DUBOIS is Professor of Chinese History and Folklore at Beijing Normal University.

GEORGE DUTTON is a professor in the Department of Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of California, Los Angeles.

TOLGA U. ESMER is a social and cultural historian who teaches at the Central European University.

WOLFGANG GABBERT is Professor of Sociology at Leibniz University, Hannover.

MOLLY GREENE is Professor of History and Hellenic Studies at Princeton University.

DIANNE HALL is a senior lecturer in history at Victoria University, Melbourne.

NANCY S. KOLLMAN is William H. Bonsall Professor in History at Stanford University.

List of Contributors to Volume III

KRIS LANE holds the France V. Scholes Chair in Colonial Latin American History at Tulane University.

HAL LANGFUR is an associate professor of history at the State University of New York, Buffalo.

DAVID LEDERER is Senior Lecturer for Early Modern European History at Maynooth University, Ireland.

JOHN GILBERT MCCURDY is Professor of History at Eastern Michigan University.

ELIZABETH MALCOLM is an honorary professorial fellow and formerly Gerry Higgins Professor of Irish Studies at the University of Melbourne.

JACK D. MARIETTA is Emeritus Professor of History at the University of Arizona.

FEDERICO NAVARRETE is a historian and anthropologist at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

T. J. DESCH-OBI is Associate Professor of African and African Diaspora History at the City University of New York's Baruch College.

CAROLINE DODDS PENNOCK is Senior Lecturer in International History at the University of Sheffield.

WILLIAM R. PINCH is Professor of History at Wesleyan University.

MATTHEW RESTALL is Edwin Erle Sparks Professor of Latin American History and director of Latin American Studies at the Pennsylvania State University.

PENNY ROBERTS is Professor in History at the University of Warwick.

JULIUS R. RUFF is Professor of History at Marquette University.

MATTHEW H. SOMMER teaches Chinese history at Stanford University.

PIETER SPIERENBURG was formerly Professor of Historical Criminology at Erasmus University, Rotterdam.

KENNETH M. SWOPE is Professor of History and Fellow of the Center for the Study of War and Society at the University of Southern Mississippi.

ROBERT W. THURSTON is Professor Emeritus of History at Miami University, Ohio.

CONSTANTINE N. VAPORIS is Professor and Director of Asian Studies at the University of Maryland, Baltimore.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11911-6 — The Cambridge World History of Violence
Edited by Robert Antony , Stuart Carroll , Caroline Dodds Pennock
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)

List of Contributors to Volume III

CÉCILE VIDAL is Professor of History at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

PETER H. WILSON is Chichele Professor of the History of War at the University of Oxford.

CHARLES ZIKA is Professorial Fellow in History at the University of Melbourne.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-107-11911-6 — The Cambridge World History of Violence
Edited by Robert Antony , Stuart Carroll , Caroline Dodds Pennock
Frontmatter
[More Information](#)
