

# The Trade in Domestic Servants (Morianer) from Tranquebar for Upper Class Danish Homes in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century

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This paper explores the Danish East India Company's slave trade practice in Tranquebar in the first half of the seventeenth century. In particular it focuses on a practice of acquiring black *Morianer* (Moors) as prestigious servants for aristocratic homes. The court of the Danish king Christian IV was familiar with the exotic inlay of Morians as represented in pictures, theatre, carrousels, and other artistic manifestations of the upper classes of that time. In this sense, I suggest that Hans Hansson Skonning's *Geographia historica Orientalis* (1641) provides seminal clues about ideology justifying slavery and representations of Africa and Asia in Scandinavian countries before they entered the slave trade.

**Keywords:** Ostindisk Kompagni (East India Company), Tranquebar, Morians, slave trade, slavery, othering

## Introduction

It happens to any of us that when we read a book on a new topic all the details seem important and we underline and gloss the new singularities, which we would ignore if it were a matter already known. The same is true when we come across customs of remote people, for as anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup notes, they surprise us and we record their singularities.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, trade in prestigious black domestic servants (*Morianer*) for royal and upper-class homes in Denmark-Norway played a singular role in the Scandinavian history and imagination. In a portrait (Figure 1) hanging at the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, Queen Sophie Amalie is pictured together with an exotic white cockatoo and with her right hand posed delicately but firmly over the head of a young black man. The young man is a *hofMorian*, a precious enslaved servant, so popular at European royal courts at the time. The portrait, painted by Abraham Wüchters in 1667, illustrates a hegemonic version of the colonial encounter: conquering the exotic.



**Figure 1.** Portrait of Queen Sophie Amalie. Painted by Abraham Wüchters in 1667. Courtesy of the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle (inv. nr. A 4605).

Who were the page boys called *Mohr* or *Morian*, so popular among the upper classes in early modern Denmark? In the language of the time a man of dark skin was a *sortemand*<sup>2</sup> and black servants were called *Morianer*.<sup>3</sup> The presence of Morians in Denmark was a by-product of the colonial enterprise in Southern Asia and Africa. The term was used collectively for all people with dark skin of African, Indian, and Southeast Asian origin. In the case of the latter it was a result of the Danish East India Company's (*Ostindisk Kompagni*) activities in Tranquebar. A quote from *Kancelliets brevbøger* (chancellery's letter book) testifies about the presence of Morians in the country: "A royal missive to Otte Marsvin asking him to send the Morian, he has had at home, to return [to the royal court]."<sup>4</sup>

In recent years, historiography has taken an increasing interest in the first colonial encounter in Tranquebar.<sup>5</sup> The enrolment of *soerte mennesker* (black Tamils), free and enslaved, by Claus Rytter to sail from Tranquebar to Copenhagen on *Den Forgyldte*

*Sol (The Gilded Sun)* in the 1640s introduces questions of cultural interactions, difference, and social inequality in a time of historical change in Denmark-Norway. Early seventeenth-century slave trade and the presence of Morians in the streets of Copenhagen has been largely neglected in Danish historiography. The debate in Denmark has been centred on the transatlantic triangle route and African slave trade to the Caribbean, in spite of the fact that the first Morians—people of colour—in Denmark were from South Asia.<sup>6</sup> A polyphonic, interdisciplinary approach to the colonial encounter can afford new clues to a better knowledge of the period. In this perspective, Hans Hansen Skonning's *Geographia historica Orientalis* (1641) presents an important source on cultural encounter with the non-European Other.<sup>7</sup>

The article investigates the Danish trade of Morians in Denmark in the seventeenth century, tracing this practice to the first contacts of the East India Company with the Tamil population of Tranquebar. Secondly, it describes the employment of domestic servants in the metropolis and the ways Morians have been represented in Danish-Norwegian literature and art of the period. Finally Skonning's *Geographia* invites the reader to follow seventeenth-century Lutheran ideology of human differences in Nordic countries.

### **The Danish Overseas Companies on the Asian Route**

The Danish practice of slavery was linked to commercial activity in the colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean. Trade and management of the colonies was carried out by the overseas companies, corporations created with the support of the Crown. Two of the overseas routes operated by these companies involved trade with enslaved persons: the route between the coast of Guinea and the islands in the Caribbean (1660–1845), supplying slaves to the plantations, and the Asian route (1616–1830), supplying domestic servants to aristocratic homes.

The historiography of the colonial period has primarily focused on the foundation of the companies<sup>8</sup> and the triangular trade.<sup>9</sup> The Danish presence in Tranquebar in the first half of the seventeenth century and the associated slave trade has been practically tiptoed around by the historians.<sup>10</sup> Both the focus on the large-scale African slavery, common in the international historiography on slavery, and the interest in the activities of the more successful eighteenth-century *Asiatisk Kompagni* (Danish Asia Company) have influenced the postponement of the study of the activities of the East India Company.<sup>11</sup> This oversight has been attributed, in part, to the commercial failure of the company.<sup>12</sup> Most of the contemporary historiography turned indifferent towards the question of slave trade in Asia and the presence of Morians in the country, reducing their social impact to a footnote or an anecdote.<sup>13</sup>

In the Danish archives there are two sources of information about slave trading in expeditions to Tranquebar: official documents and travel literature. Most of the archives of the first two Danish trading companies have not survived.<sup>14</sup> On the one hand, there are published chancellery books (*Kancelliets brevbøger*) and unpublished material including Admiral Ove Giedde's archive for the period 1616–1650 (box B244), Captain Claus

Rytter's accounts for the period 1639–1650 (box 245), and documents of the Captain and Governor of Tranquebar Wilhelm Leyer from 1639–1648 (box 246). On the other hand, there is travel literature, including the description of Admiral Ove Giedde's navigation to India<sup>15</sup> and a diary of gunner Jon Olafsson's navigation to Tranquebar with the East India Company second fleet in 1622.<sup>16</sup> After the pioneering example of a Danish sailor Christiern Smeding (1558)<sup>17</sup> a number of Danish employees of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) published their accounts of travel. In 1669, Adam Olearius edited two separate diaries of sailors Jürgen Andersen (1644–1650) and Volquard Iversen (1655–1668).<sup>18</sup> In 1670, a diary of the sailor Mourits Christensen was published.<sup>19</sup> In 1672, Frederik Bolling and J. P. Cortemünde (Kerteminde) published their individual descriptions of their navigation to India<sup>20</sup> and in 1684 the story of Jens Mortensen Svejgaard, an accountant employed by the VOC, was published.<sup>21</sup> Besides being a historical record, these stories provide descriptions of the customs of Asia and the Dutch and Indian trading routes and they make isolated references to the slave trade.

The East India Company was the first joint stock company in Denmark, created on 17 March 1616 at the initiative of two Dutch merchants, Jan de Willum and Herman Rosenkrantz, to whom Christian IV granted the privilege of trading with Asia. It involved national potentates in addition to the participation of King Christian IV as the largest shareholder. According to the octroi (1616, Art. 28), it was not a slave company; its goal was to import spices and oriental products. Based in Tranquebar, the Danish trade network included small establishments in Macassar, Bantam, Masulipatam, and Pondichery, where the Danes traded gold, diamonds, spices (ginger, nutmeg, cloves, and pepper), Chinese silk, tin, and nitrate. The first diplomatic expedition, consisting of six ships—three chartered by the king and three by the company—sailed from Copenhagen in 1618, led by the young Admiral Ove Giedde. Despite initial disappointment in Ceylon, the intended destination, part of the expedition, with Roland Crappé commanding, went to the Coromandel Coast, where they reached an agreement with the Nayak of Tanjour, Ragunatha, to create a trading post in the place of Tharangampadi, which the Danish called Tranquebar, a place located in a fertile and densely populated rice-growing region. The company got permission to build the fort of Dansborg in exchange for an annual payment in rent.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Employment of Domestic Servants in the Colony of Tranquebar**

There was no specific Danish legislation regulating the legal status of domestic servants in Tranquebar in the first half of the seventeenth century. Slave ownership and trade was justified in light of the spirit of the times. In principle, the Danes adapted to the local and European customs in the region, within the limits of common sense, although proper treatment was required, including providing for the basic needs (food and clothing).<sup>23</sup> At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the slave trade in Asia was concentrated along two routes: Indian traffic to Europe, and inter-Asian traffic. Danes and other Europeans participated in both. The main reason for the inter-Asian slave trade was the economic demands of Europeans.<sup>24</sup> For the Portuguese, Dutch, and British

purchasing slaves was cheaper than hiring from the local labour force. The participation of the Danes in the slave trade was a function of demand and economic necessity. Danish sailors employed at the VOC were familiar with the routes crisscrossing the Indian Ocean. In his travel log, Danish sailor Jürgen Andersen (1669) wrote that he sailed to Mocca and the Persian Gulf on the VOC ship *Nassau* with a cargo of 120 enslaved persons. In *Geographia historica Orientalis* (1641) Hans Hansen Skonning describes how enslaved “Kaffirs,” or African slaves, were being trafficked between Mozambique and India. Remarkably, Skonning described the slave trade before the start of the slave-trading activities by the West India and Guinea Company (*Vestindisk-Guineisk Kompagni*, established in 1671), reproducing information from Jan Huyghen van Linschoten’s *Reysgheschrift*.<sup>25</sup> A copy of van Linschoten’s *Reysgheschrift* was part of the inventory of the expedition of Admiral Ove Giedde to Ceylon.<sup>26</sup>

On the east coast of India, there were two main areas where slave trading took place: one to the north, in the Arakan-Bengal-Orissa area, with a Muslim majority, and the other to the south, in Coromandel, populated by Hindu Tamil groups. The Arakan-Bengal-Orissa area was the main exporting region for slaves purchased by the Portuguese<sup>27</sup> and the Dutch<sup>28</sup> and transported to their factories and producing centres. The Danes had no production that demanded large-scale slave labour, so the East India Company did not, in principle, take an active part in this cheap labour piracy in the Bay of Bengal during the first half of the seventeenth century. However, the Danes from Dansborg sold soldiers captured in the conflict with the army of the rajah of the neighbouring kingdom of Bengal that took place during the government of Berndt Pessart (1636–1643). These actions were justified on moral and political grounds and by the necessity (debt).<sup>29</sup>

The other region, Coromandel, occupies a strategic position in the maritime traffic of South Asia. It was an important provisioning point for the ships participating in the inter-Asian trade. The earliest evidence of European slave trade off the Tamil coast corresponds to the arrival of the Dutch in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>30</sup> The export of slaves from Coromandel to Batavia was important in 1620–1630,<sup>31</sup> and it rebounded in 1640 and 1650 and around 1686.<sup>32</sup>

Bondage servitude and enslavement was a practice used by poor Asians to overcome life challenges.<sup>33</sup> The lower castes of Hindu society entered into domestic forced labour as payment for a debt, or as prisoners of war. As the peasants were subjected to a harsh system of feudal taxation they were often forced to sell themselves into slavery when harvests failed.<sup>34</sup> In *Geographia historica Orientalis* Skonning paraphrases van Linschoten’s *Reysgheschrift* to say that the slave trade is a part of the wild nature of people who kill, eat, or sell the slave of war.<sup>35</sup> Yet, we must not forget that the practice of slavery still held sway in Europe in the seventeenth century, as Article 24 of the 1641 bilateral agreement between Portugal and Sweden prohibiting mutual enslavement exemplifies.<sup>36</sup>

Yet, Tranquebar’s position as a centre of slave trade during the East India Company’s period remains unclear, as does the Danes’ attitude and participation in this development. A Dutch *Dagh-register* (daily journal) from Batavia has registered that in April 1629 an

East India Company ship made a stopover in Batavia, on the sail route between Macassar and Tranquebar. The ship was commanded by Roland Crappé. Among the twenty-six prisoners Crappé transported from Macassar was a merchant called Antoni Poulo. The register notes how Crappé volunteered to be a guarantor for Poulo's freedom after Poulo exchanged himself for a "swarte vrow en de haer kindt" (a black woman and her child) to pay his debt.<sup>37</sup> Most governors were involved in the slave trade. Governor Berndt Pessart had personal slaves,<sup>38</sup> and Bredsdorff records a cargo of 114 slaves pertaining to W. Leyel.<sup>39</sup> Governor W. Leyel, of Dutch origin, collaborated in slave traffic with his compatriots from the VOC, partly to use the profits to repay his debt of 156,000 thalers (*rigsdaler*) he owed to the Nayak of Tanjore.<sup>40</sup>

The slave trade continued as part of trading activity until the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>41</sup> By 1698, Tranquebar's governor, Claus Vogdt, allowed the company to make internal trips to Atchin in Sumatra to buy slaves before returning to Copenhagen.<sup>42</sup> Gérald Duverdier, using missionary sources, states that the "Danish colony was in fact a slave market" in the eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup> Only in 1753 was the slave trade officially prohibited in Tranquebar.<sup>44</sup>

Despite initial distrust of the local population, social interactions between the Danes and locals developed and resulted in working relations and mixed marriages.<sup>45</sup> Some of the Danes lived in free relations with indigenous women. The government eventually enforced regulation of this cohabitation. One of such cases was Pastor Niels Andersen Udbyneder, who was forced to get married to his partner, Monica.<sup>46</sup> Mixed marriages were beneficial for both partners. In Batavia, these unions offered an escape from poverty for the local women, and an access to the woman's local networks for the European men.<sup>47</sup> A case in point is Herman Clausen, the head of the Danish office in Bantam, who was married to Maria Lopez, a baptized local woman. Clausen made his fortune as a free merchant partly thanks to the connections he was able to establish with his wife's relatives.<sup>48</sup>

Slaves were also labouring in Tranquebar. The Danish governors relied on the working capacity of the Tamils, free and enslaved, who were employed as translators, construction workers, local police, and even as sailors.<sup>49</sup> Ove Giedde did not hesitate to use the Tamil workforce to repair the ship *Elephanten* in Ceylon.<sup>50</sup> At the beginning of the Danish presence in Tranquebar, Nayak's Indian soldiers, called *talliarer* (pl.), collaborated with Danish troops in the patrolling of Dansborg.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, in 1676, the Tranquebar garrison was mostly composed of black Indo-Portuguese soldiers, called *topaz*.<sup>52</sup> These *topaz* were considered of high status because they had access to guns. Between 1640 and 1643, Claus Rytter employed *soerte tieneris* (coloured servants) as members of the crew on the ship *Den Forgylde Sol* in its voyages between Tranquebar and Bantam. Claus Rytter recorded in his accounts the monthly salaries paid in thalers (*rigsdaler*) to these employees.<sup>53</sup> Out of a total amount of 924 *rigsdaler* in wages paid to the twenty-seven *soerti* (black) local workers in the period 1641–1643, Tamil workers Rafael, Jouvan, and Arrei received a total payment of 54 *rigsdaler* 3 mark each, Abdol received for 1641 and 1642 a total payment of 15 *rigsdaler* 2 mark, and Frantzescho received for 1641 9 *rigsdaler* 3 mark.<sup>54</sup> The ship's records from 1643

relating to the long route to Denmark via Madagascar and Pernambuco (Brazil) indicate that Francisco, Manuel, and Antonio, Tamil crew members, received a monthly salary, a Bengali *gingang* (cotton garment), shirts, and a travel blanket from Maslupatam.<sup>55</sup> Rytter's account shows a difference in treatment given to the Tamil employees and an enslaved man called Bras. He is listed without his last name, in contrast to the record of the Tamil employees: "Francisco Lafer travels enlisted as a cook, Antonio de Marese travels enlisted as a sailor, Bras as an assistant cook."<sup>56</sup> Their names suggest they were baptized Indo-Portuguese, probably Tamils.

Claus Rytter paid forty thalers in India for Bras; he acquired him for Christian IV in 1643. "On March 21, 1643 I purchased on behalf of Hermand Clausen for his Majesty the black slave who has to sail with us to Denmark working as an assistant cook on the boat and on the recommendation of Hermand Clausen I have paid 40 thaler".<sup>57</sup> At present I do not know what happened to Braes, if he died during the travel or whether he ended his life in Europe. According to Slange *Den Forgyldte Sol* was shipwrecked on the English coast on its way home from India in 1644.<sup>58</sup> All its wares were given to Albert Baltser Berndts, one of Christian IV's main suppliers. Forty thalers was the price of a healthy young male on the Bantam market according to the sailor Mourids Christensen. Market prices varied from trading place to trading place. In Coromandel a male cost twenty thaler but between forty and sixty thaler in Bantam. A "beautiful" woman in Coromandel cost ten to twelve thaler and twenty to thirty in Bantam, the same price as a middle-aged man (*gammell karl*).<sup>59</sup>

### The Employment of Morians in Denmark

Danish law did not regulate the Morians as a specific ethnic group—as it did in case of the Jews, Gypsies, Catholics, or Swedes.<sup>60</sup> Morians were employed as domestic servants, and their presence required administrative assimilation. As a worker the Morian was regarded as a personal servant, but it is unclear if Morians had the legal rights of a servant: the right to a wage and the right to voluntary terminate their employment.<sup>61</sup> The records show that Morians were loaned between members of the aristocracy.<sup>62</sup> Most Morians lived with their owners in countryside mansions, where they performed domestic and other duties. An illustration of their tasks and dependencies is provided in the commandments made by Christian IV to the local governors, recorded in the register of the chancellery from 1621 to 1623. In a missive from 1 May 1623 Christian IV urged Otte Brahe Pedersen, bailiff of Koldinghus, "to show the Indian the place where the pearls are in the Varde [i.e., Varde å, or river], so that they may be found." The Indian, presumably a Morian brought by the expedition of Ove Giedde, is given the Christian name of Peder. He was supervised by Peder Hansen, mayor of the town of Skamstrup, who received a salary of 3½ silver thaler (*rigsdaler*). It should be noted that nothing is said about the servant's wages. The Morian was clearly under the surveillance of Peder Hansen, but nowhere is it stated that he belonged to the mayor. Peder's owner was surely the king, and we have to understand the relationship under seventeenth-century conditions. The mayor is receiving a compensation from the king for "taking

care” of the Morian, who was working for the crown (the state) as a fisherman. Moreover, we have an idea of the harsh conditions Peder was working under because in a missive of 7 October 1623, it is communicated to the new governor, Gunde Langué, that the “Indian” has died and “it behoves us to now use local farmers to continue with the pearl activity.”<sup>63</sup>

The discordance between the social practice of slavery and the lack of an adequate administrative and religious law could not be more evident than in the case of the Morians imported by the captains of the East India Company. Christian IV opposed them bringing Asian servants on their ships, a practice popularized by sailors of the VOC repatriated to Amsterdam. He feared that this practice could jeopardize Danish trading affairs in India.<sup>64</sup> Despite his opposition, the first *sortemænd* from Asia came to Copenhagen as early as 1622 on Ove Giedde’s ship returning from Tranquebar. These were the Tamils Cathi and Mari, given to the schoolteacher Anders Christensen for their conversion to Christianity.<sup>65</sup>

In religious matters, the Morians were living in an administrative limbo before Christian V’s ordinance of 21 March 1693 on weddings and baptisms in the country, which prohibited extramarital residence and required baptism of all children.<sup>66</sup> H. D. Lind offers two brief notes with information about the baptism of Morians in Copenhagen’s Holmen Kirke in the period of Christian IV. The ethnic criterion is evident in the baptismal record of Knud, “a child of Morian Ulrik Christian” (“*Ulrik Christian Morian*”), and his second son, now referred to as “the Indian Ulrik Christian” (“*Ulrik Christian Indianer*”). The relationship of ownership is evident in the baptismal record of Frans Panirs, “Morian of Ernst Pricker,” baptized on 28 November. Pricker was a captain of the *Fortuna*, a ship sailing the Asian route. Inside Holmen church, founded by Christian IV, a baptismal font from 1649 decorated with ethnic motifs still remains. The font, made of wrought iron, enamel, and gold, rests on four Morian feet and four busts of Morian galleon faces alternating with the coat of arms of Christian IV which decorate the outside of the vessel.<sup>67</sup>

The Morians were not in control of their own bodies and destiny, and their fate remained in the hands of their masters, the monarch, or a provincial authority. In Denmark the Morians were treated as a precious commodity that needed to be taken care of—in the accounts of Frederik III the maintenance expenses of the Morian courtiers included food and appropriate clothing—but ultimately they were regarded as personal possessions. Following the fashion of other European courts at the time, Danish monarchs found it appropriate and desirable to own an exotic page.<sup>68</sup> The Morian pages were under the supervision of a footman from the royal palace, who was obliged to give him or her food and clothes. In 1683, Christian V ordered his footman to buy a pair of shoes for a Morian page named Hercules. A footman was also charged with taking care of him in case of illness (“Valet Voscam for supervision of the little morian, called Hercules, one and a half years 20 rigsdaler and attentions when he had measles 4 r., total 24 r.”)<sup>69</sup>

Besides serving as page boys, Morians were also employed as valets, mascots, ladies of the court, and specialist workers. At present it is difficult to estimate how many



Morians were imported to Denmark, but they were popular and fashionable among the upper classes in the seventeenth century. During absolutism, Morians began to play an intermediary role as a gift given by the monarch to his loyal nobility.<sup>70</sup> An entry in the royal chamber accounts from 1680 shows that Morians were used in royal gift policy in payment for services rendered to the country and reads: “Major Hechman was given a morian as gift by Christian V.”<sup>71</sup> The majority of them remain anonymous and only some—Cathi, Mari, Peder, Bras, Knud, Hercules—are known by their names, as recorded in administrative papers.

### The Morian in Danish Literature and Art

A taste for literature, theatre, fashion, porcelain, and portraits was common to the European upper classes in the seventeenth century.<sup>72</sup> In all these forms and artefacts Morians are referenced in a direct or indirect way. The former has a biographical connotation in one of Ove Giedde’s portraits (1648). The Morian figure, which is engraved on the base of the portrait frame (Figure 2) is probably an idealized image of a Tamil Morian. A clear reference to black slaves is visible in a seventeenth-century chair that decorates the entrance to room 42 in the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle (Inv. nr. B2009). The piece, which was acquired by the museum in 1910 from the antiquarian Moritz, is of unknown origin. The chair has two distinct parts: the upper part of the backrest is decorated with two heads of black slaves, easily identified by their gold collars, and in the lower part, the front legs are decorated with white angels with blue eyes. It is an object which explicitly shows subordinated otherness.

The chair operates with two distinctive categories of white and black. This language of distinction was familiar and operational in a wider society in Denmark and Tranquebar. In the outpost it was a common way in which Danish officials distinguished themselves from the native inhabitants. Already on 17 March, 1632, Mads Rasmussen, army chaplain of the ship *Perlen*, wrote in his journal that he celebrated his first mass in Dansborg for his countrymen and two hundred “*mænd sorte indianer*” (black Indians)—note the emphasis on racial difference, repeated in 1670 when the octroi described the frigate *Faeroe*’s encounter with the two hundred “*huide og sorte*” (white and black) men of the fortress.<sup>73</sup>

Skin colour is also reflected upon in Baroque literature. In a poem by Søren Terkelsen, *Denne holder med de soerte* (This supports the blacks; 1650), the poet praises his beloved white-skinned but dark-eyed woman. The poet does not reject the physical traits that deviate from the Nordic standard, although they are accepted by default: “*Naar de hvid'er 'alle borte, holder jeg mig til de sorte*” (When there are no whites, I’ll take blacks) to end with a comment on the beauty of his beloved: “*du est kjon / dog den eg, kiønnest / skjøn est du / dog dend eg, skionest*” (you are beautiful, but not the most beautiful). Blackness of the skin was sometimes associated with sin, which could be removed only by divine intervention, as is the message of Michaelis Severini’s popular song of 1625: “*En blaamænd omskifte Huden sin. Alting vaar aff til modstand, Hjælpln aff en naade din*” (A black slave changed his skin. All resistance



**Figure 2.** Portrait of Ove Gjedde. Etching by A. Haelwegh. Original painted by A. Wüchters, before 1650. Reproduced with permission from Det Kongelige Bibliotek (The Royal Library).

disappears with Your help). The social boundaries delimiting race were impassable for the Morian. In the biblical poem *Hexameron* (1661), the poet Anders Arrebo writes the following: “*Baadsmands viis sin Troje gennembløder. Dog som en Morian ej gjerne sig bespejler (Det gjør hans Ansigt vidt, hans skønhed Hannem fejler)*” (The boatswain shows his soaked shirt but, as a Morian, he does not want to look into the mirror [because his face looks white and this makes him look ugly]).<sup>74</sup>

Moorish, Indian and African references were incorporated into art exhibited and spectacles performed at North European courts. Courtly masquerades featured costumes and characters inspired by Asia and Africa. In a play performed at Whitehall, Ann of Denmark (1574–1619), Christian IV’s sister married to England’s Jacob I, played “The Masque of Blackness,” a court masque written by Ben Jonson and with costumes designed by Inigo Jones.<sup>75</sup> Morians, dwarves, and Sami were also incorporated into court scenery as fashionable curiosities and “living art.”

The African motifs in Karl van Mander III’s art, including *A Morian with a Turban and Armor*, in possession of the National Gallery of Denmark, and his cycle of paintings based on Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,<sup>76</sup> as well as paintings of prominent African visitors<sup>77</sup> represent the exotic glamour of early modern Danish art. Paintings by the Dutchman

Albert Eckhout depicting the peoples of colonial Brazil—Afro-Brazilian women, Tupinamba and Tapuya Indians, blacks and mulattoes—are on display at the National Museum in Copenhagen.<sup>78</sup> The figure of the exotic Morian, popularized by the portraits of the Turkish court by the Danish painter and traveller Melchior Lorck (1527–1588), gained a foothold as a motif in portraits of European aristocracy.

Paintings of black page boys were popular in the seventeenth century. Prominent people were portrayed in proud poses and flanked by one or two coloured servants in idealized and recognizably European scenes. Danish portraits representing black domestics in servile and even naïve poses follow European conventions of the time. Ann of Denmark was painted with her black page boy by the Flemish painter Paul von Sommer (1576–1621).<sup>79</sup> The richness of the motifs enhanced the splendour of the court not only as a curiosity but as a way to reaffirm the royal power.<sup>80</sup>

The masters of the genre were Karl van Mander III (1606–1670) and Abraham Wüchters (1608–1682), Flemish painters working in the service of the Danish court. The royal portrait of Prince Jørgen, painted by Abraham Wüchters around 1660, hangs in the National History Museum at Frederiksborg (inv. nr. 2402). It includes the figure of a Morian with boyish features behind his master. Small reproductions of these paintings decorated the houses of the petty provincial bourgeois.<sup>81</sup> The fashion of having portraits done with the Morian as a symbol of prestige was specially adopted by the members of the royal administration. The characters in *Double Portrait of Hannibal Sehested and His Wife Christiane* (Gavnø Castle) by Karl van Mander III are portrayed in a hunting scene with horses and accompanied by black pages wearing turbans and a pearl in the ear. In *Family Portrait of Eiler Holck with Wife, Children, and Servants* (Holckenhavn Castle), Abraham Wüchters immortalized Kronborg's governor. Dressed as a Roman emperor, he is accompanied by his wife, his daughter, a Danish female servant, and a kneeling black servant. In a gesture of power, the governor extends his right hand over her head.

In some cases, Morians became involuntary protagonists of political decisions at the highest level. In a picture hanging in Rosenborg Palace (inv. nr. 1042) representing Christian V meeting with members of the supreme court, probably in 1683, the painter included at the bottom of the picture a figure of a Morian looking at the group. One can speculate if the composition is an allusion to the issue of the socially invisible Morians in the context of the new legal code issued by Christian V that year.<sup>82</sup>

Morians also became popular in decorative arts. The oldest porcelain figurine of a Morian preserved in the Rosenborg Palace catalogue is dated to 1610. With the arrival of Sophie Amalie von Brandenburg, wife of Frederik III, to the court in the mid-seventeenth century the prestigious porcelain factory in Dresden becomes the main supplier of porcelain figurines of Morians. These pieces of porcelain, which become part of the circuit of gifts exchanged between the nobility, are accompanied by other stylized objects incorporating Morians. The figure of a Morian is also incorporated in the imagery and symbolism of the royal Order of the Elephant (*Elefantordenen*). The much debated pendant features a black man sitting at the head of an elephant (Figure 3).<sup>83</sup> The origin of elephant figure is not clear but it is likely that it was inspired by the Danish colonial project in Asia.<sup>84</sup>

### Morians and the Ideology of Slavery in Seventeenth-Century Denmark

Slavery was a product of the times, but there was no discussion of slavery in Denmark at the beginning of the colonial enterprise that could parallel discussions on Native American freedom in Mexico and Peru conducted by Spanish intellectuals a century before.<sup>85</sup> The Morians who arrived in Denmark represent the maximum expression of mercantilism: a luxury consumer product imported to satisfy the desires of the upper classes. What draws our attention to the Morians is their reduction to luxury objects obtained through a sale-purchase transaction. Labour conditions were also harsh for the commoners in the hierarchically organized Denmark, as exemplified by the *vorneds-kab* servitude, which bound the peasant to the owner of the land estates,<sup>86</sup> workhouses, and the use of forced labour at the shipyard of Bremerholm.<sup>87</sup>

Current research admits that Danish literature from the first half of the seventeenth century generally lacked the necessary depth and insight to engage with an intercultural dialogue. However, the seventeenth-century Danes were well aware of ethnic and cultural differences. The term “ethnic” first appeared as an entry in the dictionary of Christiern Pedersen in 1550. It was then used in the sense of non-Christian by the theologian Niels Hemmingsen in his private collection of Protestant sermons *Postilla* (the original in Danish is from 1562, the English version is from 1570). In accordance with H. H. Skonning, K. Smeding, and J. Olofsson’s Lutheran worldview, the negative living environment of the non-Christian—its coexistence with the devil—was nothing more than a reflection of the non-Christian ignorance and inability to find God. The *Cosmography* of Sebastian Münster (1544) was an antecedent of the moralising cosmography of Northern Europe. Human differences are described from the point of view of religion.

Skonning’s *Geographia* moves the notion of homeland as the centre of the world to a religious plane. In the introductory chapter, Skonning transfers the Lutheran conception of human orders to his cosmography. He distinguishes between a first Christian circle, characterized by the belief in “*den sande kundskab om den levende Gud*” (the true message of the living God), and a second outer circle, which is of plural composition. The second circle is composed of not only non-Christians—Jews, Turks (Muslims and Muscovites), and “pagans,” but also of believers in the Virgin, that is, Catholics. He acknowledges the universal legitimacy to seek eternal life, but argues that the inhabitants of the second circle moved astray from this goal by worshipping false gods. He assumes that the erroneous beliefs of the pagans were due to their ignorance, agreeing on this point with the idea of universal principles proposed by another roughly contemporary Danish thinker, Niels Hemmingsen.<sup>88</sup> In *De lege naturae* (1562) Hemmingsen argued that God has planted his seed in all human beings and only ignorance prevents the heathen from finding the spark of God in his soul.<sup>89</sup>

The reference to the ignorance of pagans is important in the context of the ideology of slavery. Whenever the subject of slavery appeared in *Geographia* it was seen as a consequence of ignorance. It is interesting to observe how Skonning operates with the language of a religious conception of human life when he calls the inhabitants of the second



**Figure 3.** Chancellor Christen Thomesen Sehested with the Order of the Elephant, oil on canvas painted by Johan Timm in 1635. National History Museum at Frederiksborg Castle (inv. nr. A7773). Reproduced with permission from the museum.

circle “unilluminated peoples.”<sup>90</sup> For Skonning and Hemmingsen the religious culture is a corollary of difference created by the deviation of sinners, such as “Turks and ethnics.”<sup>91</sup> Those who are outside the Christian circle seek on their own the kingdom of heaven but miss their way because they fail to conform to the rules of civilised society. Failure to obey is the cause of their illnesses—degeneration that makes them into slaves

of flesh and blood. In Lutheranism, obedience was key to the development of social virtues. In *Der große Katechismus* (Luther's Large Catechism, 1529), Luther develops a map of social orders that organize Christian personal relationships: *Hausregiment* (the house), *Weltregiment* (the state), and *Geislichregiment* (the church and school), and whose respective authorities (parents, the government, priests and teachers) the Christian has an obligation to serve, honour, and obey. Skonning did not intend to theorize about slavery, but he engaged with the subject nonetheless by reproducing Lutheran ideas of human differences and morality based on the recognition of God and obedience.

In theory and practice, the attitude of the Danish upper classes towards the Morians oscillated between paternalism of the officials<sup>92</sup> and curiosity of the illustrious man.<sup>93</sup> The case of the two Tamils, Cathi and Mari, brought to Copenhagen by Giedde is a good example of this attitude. They were baptized and entrusted to the school teacher Anders Christensen and the Rector of the Church of Our Lady. The religious expectations and ideas about ignorance and obedience shaped this cultural encounter and social experiment. Ultimately the effort of turning Cathi and Mari into proper Protestant subjects failed. We are told that the baptized Morians did not feel well in Denmark, because they could not take root in the country. The same happened to the Greenlanders brought by the 1605–1607 polar expedition commissioned by Christian IV.<sup>94</sup> In 1628, six years after Cathi and Mari arrived in Copenhagen, the church requested the withdrawal of its care of the two Morians. In the clothes, the tasks, and the upper class social environment there is violence and sovereign power over the Morian, and I hope that new sources and perspectives will allow researchers to start considering the Morians' awareness of themselves.<sup>95</sup>

### Conclusion

The streets of the residential neighbourhood of Nyboder in Copenhagen, built in 1631 on the initiative of Christian IV for the sailors of the royal fleet, have names that suggest the realities of the time: *Elefantgade* (Elephant Street), *Kamelgade* (Camel Street), and *Nellikegade* (Clove Street). In this social environment, Morians were another luxury commodity, as valuable as pepper, indigo, cotton, coffee, and tea imported to the metropolis by the trading companies. The Morians became prestigious and valuable gifts first brought from Asia via the trading post in Tranquebar to be sold, gifted, and exchanged between the upper classes, a fashion that ran parallel to the colonial enterprise of the seventeenth and the following centuries. That the destination of this trade was Copenhagen and not Amsterdam or London implies that the origins of the Danish slave trade should be moved in time and space to the Tranquebar of the first half of the seventeenth century.

Nordic historical thought about racial differences predates the entry into the triangular slave trade in 1660. The first half of the seventeenth century was a seminal period for developing the ideology of slavery in Denmark. Skonning's *Geographia* distilled Lutheran ideological representations and constructed qualitative differences based on faith and obedience, and considered the supposed innate ignorance of the natives as a condition of enslavement.

Besides the narrative of slavery, the consulted material on Tranquebar speaks about the colonial encounter between people with disparate cultural backgrounds and expectations.<sup>96</sup> Servitude was a European as well as an Asian tradition. Already in the seventeenth century, Tamil workers were employed by Danish colonial administration and ruling classes, while others were subjected to mistreatment as enslaved people. We can identify a continuity in attitudes that justified the cultural encounter in pragmatic terms. Take for example female servant Christiane Amalie: On 12 October 1697, a Black woman, Morinde Christiane Amalie “who has served Her Majesty the Queen ... got a salary to return home to India, is conceded by grace 100 r.”<sup>97</sup>

### Acknowledgements

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## Notes

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- 1 Hastrup, “Postscript I.”
  - 2 “Den 29. Dec (1620) var de sortes nyaarsdag, som kaldes bengelen” (On Dec. 29 it was the blackmen’s New Year’s day, which is called bengelen) Ove Giedde *Fortegnelse*, 103.
  - 3 Morians, in English plural form.
  - 4 “Miss. til Otte Marsvin om at sende den Morian, som han for nogen tid siden har haft hos sig herved ( ... )” *Kancellariets brevbøger*, 19 Sept. 1620, 909.
  - 5 Fihl, “Introduction”; Fihl, “Shipwrecked”; Venborg Pedersen, *Luksus*; Nordin, “The World in a Nutshell,” 1–20.
  - 6 For the most part, Danish historiography has limited the research on Danish slavery to the West Indian slave traffic and

- abolition in the period 1792–1803. The classic C. Alberti's "Den danske slavehandels historie," begins with the triangle route in 1657. Current scholars, such as Olsen, "Disse vilde karle"; Gøbel, *The Danish Slave Trade*; and Jensen and Martens, "Slavery," put focus on Africans as well.
- 7 Skonning, *Geographia*.
  - 8 Willerslev, "Danmarks første aktieselskab"; Gøbel, "Danske oversøiske handelskompagnier"; Gøbel, *Danske i det nederlandske*.
  - 9 Larsen, *Dansk Vestindien*.
  - 10 Subrahmanyam, "The Coromandel Trade," 41.
  - 11 After several commercial expeditions, mismanagement and lack of capital led the *Ostasiatisk Kompagni* to bankruptcy in 1650. The company could not compete with the strength of the neighbouring trading posts, the Portuguese Nagapatam (founded in 1507), the Dutch Pulicat (founded in 1600), and Masulipatam (founded in 1616). The company was resurrected in 1670–1729. In 1730 the *Asiatisk Kompagni* was created, which in 1779 passed into the hands of the king of Denmark. Until its liquidation in 1830, its biggest source of income was freight traffic with China. In 1845 the crown sold Tranquebar to the English East Asia Company.
  - 12 Hansen, *Sources*; Højbjerg, *Tranquebars*; Feldbæk, "Den danske Asienhandel."
  - 13 The morians appear here and there in aristocratic and military contexts. French traveller Jacques Vrigny writes about a little morian in a military parade in 1702. "Je remarquai pourtant parmi un petit more de 14 ou 15 ans, qu'on m'a dit avoir été a la reine mere quien asoin" (Seerup, "Jacques-Philippe Vrigny," 118). "Most of them, who were brought to Denmark to work as servants, free or slave, came from the Caribbean. There were only few of them from Danish outposts in East Asia, not so many who travelled from East Asia to Denmark as sailors in the ships of the *Asiatisk Kompagni*. From time to time, the company needed to recruit Asian crew members, to substitute Danish and Norwegian death losses. They returned home in the next ship." Danish original: "Langt de fleste af dem, der blev bragt til Danmark som tjenestefolk, der være sig frie eller slaver, kom fra De Dansk-vestindiske Øer. Der var kun få fra de danske besiddelser i Østasien, der i længere tid opholdt sig i det europæiske Danmark, en ikke så få, der gjorde rejsen fra Østasien til Danmark som søfolk på *Asiatisk Kompagnis* skibe. Der døde på hver ekspedition et vist antal af de danske og norske søfolk, der var forhyret i København, og indimellem blev skibenes besætninger til hjemrejsen suppleret med asiatiske søfolk, der så returnerede med næste skibe." (Olsen, "Fra Danmark," 255).
  - 14 Subrahmanyam "The Coromandel Trade," 42.
  - 15 Giedde, "Fortegnelse paa alt."
  - 16 Blöndal et al., *Jon Olafssons oplevelser*.
  - 17 Smeding and Høiris, *En sandfærdig beskrivelse*.
  - 18 Olearius, *Des Welt-berühmten Adami Olearii*.
  - 19 Christensen, *Skildringer*.
  - 20 Bolling, *Friderici Bollingii*.
  - 21 Gøbel, *Jens Mortensen Sveigaards*.
  - 22 Feldbæk, *Danske handelskompagnier*, 37n2.
  - 23 Vink, "The World's Oldest Trade," 134.
  - 24 Arasaratnam, "Slave Trade"; Allen, *European*.
  - 25 Chapter 50 of Skonning's *Geographia* is an unedited copy of chapter 41 of J. H. van Linschoten's *Reysgheschrift* (Itinerary) from 1595. Skonning amply cites van Linschoten in the chapters describing Ceylon (chap. 39), Sumatra (chap. 41), and the Cape (*De nigritter eller caffres*, chap. 50). J. H. van Linschoten's *Reysgheschrift* was a popular work at that time and had been translated into German (1598), English (1598), Latin (1599), and French (1619); see Koeman, *Jan Huygen*.
  - 26 Abd-el Dayem, *Det ostindiske eventyr*, 57. Van Linschoten benefited from the

- privileged information taken from the Portuguese *roteiros* that he copied in Goa when he was employed in the service of the Archbishop; see Koeman, *Jan Huygen*. Ove Giedde and H. H. Skonning may have acquired their copies at the popular market in Børsen, Copenhagen, where the well-known Dutch bookstore and publisher Elzevir was located. Alternatively, they may have acquired their copy through their contact with the theologian Holger Rosenkrantz from Aarhus.
- 27 Campos, *History of the Portuguese*.
  - 28 Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company*.
  - 29 Niebuhr in *Nogle efterretninger* reports the exchange of accusations: the Rajah of Bengal accused the Danes of piracy and the Danes accused the Rajah of being a tyrant (pg. 153). On page 153 he describes an episode of the sale of captured Bengali ship crew by the Danes for a price of between 5 and 10 piasters per head.
  - 30 Stephen, *Portuguese*, 156; Allen, *European*.
  - 31 Raychaudhuri *Jan Company*, 150–51.
  - 32 Raychaudhuri *Jan Company*, 166.
  - 33 Reid, *Slavery*.
  - 34 Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company*; Bredsdorff, *Willem Leyels liv*, 148.
  - 35 Skonning, *Geographia*, 692. The authors of the time find cannibalism and piracy more disgusting. “Within the limits of Barbary live man eaters, who cook men on a grill to eat them as food” (“*I udkant af Berberiet boer der Menneskeædere, der lægger Mennesker på Jernrister og steger dem til fode*”) writes Jan Olafsson, gunner of the *Ostindisk Kompagni* in his memoirs of 1622 (Blöndal et. al, *Jon Olafssons oplevelser*, 35). And in 1548 the sailor Karsten Smeding wrote to his friend Hans Eliebeke that in Goa “live dark-skinned people and in some places they eat men” (“*Der er sorte mennesker, og nogle Steder Aeder de mennesker*”); see Smeding and Høiris, *En sandfærdig beskrivelse*).
  - 36 Andrade e Silva, “Tratado.”, July 29th. 1641, art. 24.
  - 37 Colenbrander, *Dagh-register*, 13.
  - 38 Larsen, *Den dansk-ostindiske*.
  - 39 Bredsdorff, *Willem Leyels liv*, 149.
  - 40 Ibid, 148; Larsen, *Den dansk-ostindiske*.
  - 41 Struwe, “Dansk Ostindien.”
  - 42 Larsen, *Den dansk-ostindiske*.
  - 43 “*Car la colonie danoise était un marché d’esclaves*,” Duverdier “Portugais,” 116.
  - 44 Mentz, “Handelsstationen.”
  - 45 Distrust was mutual. This is what a local begger answered to Olafsson and his Danish fellows, when they refused to give him some alms money: “*I lader Eder kalde kristne og Sennores, men er saa karrige, at I ej kan afse et cash, men I burde kaldes Hunde og ikke mennesker*” (You let yourselves be called Christians and Lords, but you are so stingy that you do not even give a coin. You should be called Hounds and not Human beings” (my transl.) (Olafsson, *Oplevelser*, 86).
  - 46 Bredsdorff, *Willem Leyels liv*, 117.
  - 47 The benefits of mixed marriages, Jan van Campen points out in “The Hybrid World,” were presumably the same in other European trade ports within the region.
  - 48 Bredsdorff, *Willem Leyels liv*, 129. At present, the social origin of Maria Lopez is unknown to me. Further research on the status of the women who married the Europeans is needed.
  - 49 Bredsdorff, *Willem Leyels Liv*, 152.
  - 50 Abd-el Dayem, *Det ostindiske eventyr*.
  - 51 Olafsson *Oplevelser*, 87.
  - 52 Baldaeus, *A True and Exact Description*, 156.
  - 53 Dansk Kancelli; B245A: “Here follow black boats men’s wages, who have sailed and served in the ship while we were in India; it begins in fol. 89, and it ends in fol. 103.”
  - 54 Salaries are presumable in accordance to treaty with the Nayak. *Ostindik Kompagni’s* salaries for European sailors varied according to their position and tasks. *Den forgyldte sol’s* sailor Fredrich Smidt Stetin (Fol. 62r) received for 1641, 1642, and 1643 a salary of 17 rigsdaler 2 mark 22½ skilling, and carpenter Eschilt Olsen (Fol. 55v) received for 1641, 1642, and 1643 a total salary of 25 rigsdaler 2 mark 13½ skilling. The differences in salary between European and

- Tamil employees is unclear, and needs further research.
- 55 “21st. Marts. These black servants’ monthly salary and food allowance debit for 258 real in Achten, ( ... ) monthly paying to these black servants who have served us in our lodges in Maslepatan and Bantam, and the black servants food allowances, for having kept guard over our people at night in the lodge ( ... ) from December 5th, year 1640 and to Marts 21st., a total amount of 258 thaler.” Dansk Kancelli, B245A.
- 56 Dansk Kancelli, B245A.
- 57 Danish original: “Ao. 1643 21 Marti, hafuer ieg kiøbt paa hands Mayts. Wegne aff Hermand Claußen, denne Soerte Slaue, som schal fare med oß hiem til Dannemarck, for Kocks Maet paa schibet, haffuer ieg gieffuit for ham som Hermand Claußens beuiß vduiser 40 Richs dr.” Dansk Kancelli, B245A.
- 58 Slange, *Den stormægtigste konges Christian den Fierdes*, 1291.
- 59 Christensen, *Skildringer*, 69.
- 60 The old Danish word *morian* or *mohr* is used to designate a man of colour or an African man. The Danish sources employ *morian* and *indianer* indistinctly. These words are part of the colonial language of the time: Dutch/Danish/English: moore/morian/mohr, indianer/indier/indian, swarts/soerte/black. In the sagas the inhabitants of North Africa are called *blaamaend* (blue men). “Blå” (blue) as synonymous to “sort” (black) is still used by travellers in the seventeenth century to describe isolated groups of people who live away in the mountains. Cortemünde used the word: “*Ellers opholder sig ikke langt fra dette bjerg en slags små mennesker med blå hud, meget vilde*” (Not far from that mountain, there live small people with blue skin, very wild), Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, 129.
- 61 Danske Lov, 1683: Book 3, Chapter 19, Articles 9, 10, and 14.
- 62 Marquard, *Kongelige kammerregnskaber*, 81.
- 63 *Kancelliets brevbøger*, 593–4.
- 64 Olafsson explains the situation: “Due to the strong prohibition from Denmark, no Indian shall be taken home (to Denmark), because this could have a negative effect on our business in India, if one of them later runs his way and comes back to his fatherland. Therefore I got no permission to take my servant with me (to Denmark). Me and him were too sorry about that ( ... ) I miss him too much” (my translation) (Danish original: “*På grund af de strænge forbud, som generalen ført med sig fra Danmark, at ingen Indiere maatte bringes med hjem, thi man mente det kunde være til skade for vor Handel i Indien, hvis en af dem senere løb sin vej og kom tilbage til sit Frædeland, fik jeg ikke lov til at medtage min tjener, hvorover han og jeg blev meget bedrøvede ( ... ) Jeg har ofte savnet ham*”), Blöndal et. al, *Jon Olafssons oplevelser*, 123–4.
- 65 Rørdam, “De tidligste spor,” 157.
- 66 “Forordning om de reformeredis brudevielser saa og om deris og de catholiskes børnedaaß” (Regulation of Catholic weddings and christenings). Christian V’s ordinance of March 21, 1693.
- 67 Lind, “Daab,” 577.
- 68 Kuhlmann, “Ambiguous duty.”
- 69 “*Købte et par sko til morianen for 3 m 8s ... kammertienner Voscam til dend liden mor; Hercules kaldit, hans information udi 1 1/2 aar 20 r saa oc for hans opvartning, der hand hafde mæsling r. 4r; er 24 r;*” Marquard, *Kongelige kammerregnskaber*.
- 70 By changing into hereditary the succession system in 1660, Frederik III introduced Absolutism in Denmark, eliminating the Council of the Realm, and giving the absolute power to the monarch.
- 71 “*major Hechman blev foræret for en morian,*” Marquard, *Kongelige kammerregnskaber*.
- 72 Pedersen, *Luksus*.
- 73 “*(...) oc befantis dend tiid voris Skib Feröe did ankom, i det Ringeste sterck 200 Mand huide och sorte*” ( and upon its arrival, our ship Feröe meet not less than 200 men, white and black). Ostindiske Compagnie Octroye.

- Christianus Qvintus. 1670. In Feldbæk, *Danske handelskompagnier*, 37.
- 74 Anders Arrebo: *Hexaëmeron*, 1618: 233, in *Hexaëmeron. Lejlighedsdigte. Breve*. Udgave af Vagn Lundgaard Simonsen. Munksgaard. 1965: 229. The Danish poet L. Holberg uses the term Morian or *sortemand* in his work. In *Jeppe på bjerget* (1722) Jeppe says: “Speak Danish, you black dog” (*Tal Dansk, din sorte Hund*). The word Morian as an equivalent to sinister appears in a description of the days of the month in the comedy *Sganarels reyse til det philosophiske land* (Sganarel’s trip to the country of philosophy), 1758, 6V, and in his memoirs Holberg writes that one day “*Solen var blevet saa brun som en Morian*” (the sun was as black as a Morian). (“Holbergs tre breve til en fornem Herre. Holbergs levnetsbeskrivelse”. *Ludvig Holberg udvalgte skrifter*. Vøl 1. R. L. Rahbek (ed.). Copenhagen. 1814: 324).
- 75 Wade, “The Coronation,” 245; Jones, *Festival Designs*, fig. 4.
- 76 The cycle is composed of 9 pictures, which were ordered by Christian IV from van Mander III in 1640s. Spicer, *Heliodoros’s*.
- 77 E.g., Jasper Beckx’s *Portrait of Don Miguel de Castro, Ambassador of Congo*, ca. 1643, National Gallery of Denmark.
- 78 Albert Eckhout’s paintings came to Copenhagen in 1654 as a gift from Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, Dutch governor of Brazil, to his cousin Frederik III of Denmark. In reciprocation, Frederik III awarded Johan Mauritz with the insignia of the Order of the Elephant (*Elefantordenen*), which was included in his blazon.
- 79 Portrait of Laura Dianti, painted by Titian in 1523, is considered to be the first picture of an aristocratic lady with black slave in the history of European art. She was married to Duke Alphonso de Ferrara. The picture is now held in the H. Kisters Collection at Kreuzlingen (Switzerland). See Bindman, “Introduction.”
- 80 Kopplin, “Amoenitates exoticæ,” 318–415; Reindel, *Kronborgtapeterne*; Schreuder, “Zwarten,” 21–31.
- 81 Eller, *Kongelige portrætmalere*, 136.
- 82 The image of the black man in Western art is inseparable from Western political dynamics. This is Alain Locke’s argument (*The Negro in Art*, 139), who blames slavery for having “clamped on the Negro subject the stigma of inferiority.”
- 83 A Morian sits on the elephant Christen Thomesen Sehested wears on his chest. Christian IV’s own version of the elephant with a Morian is from 1634.
- 84 Münter, *Undersøgelse*; Bartholdi, “Broderskab.” Karsten Smeding describes the Asian elephant with a Morian guide: “A naked man like a child sits on the elephant that obeys him” (Smeding and Høiris, *En sandfærdig beskrivelse*, 18).
- 85 Danish Franciscan Frair Jacobo Daciano (or Johannes Gottorpius) (1484–1566) fought against sacramental inequality within the Iberian-Catholic natural law tradition of Francisco de Vitoria (*De Jure belli Hispanorum in barbaros*, 1532) and Bartolomé de las Casas (*Brevissima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, 1552). He did this in his writing “Declamación del pueblo bárbaro de los indios, que habiendo recibido el bautismo desean recibir los demás sacramentos” (Declamation of the Barbarous People of the Indians, who having received the Baptism wish to receive the other Sacraments) (my translation). (Rasmussen *Fray Jacobo*, 90). Otherwise, Danish authors followed their neighbor countries’ Reformation tradition referring to the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius, *De jure belli ac pacis*, 1625. (Sten Ebbesen and Carl Koch. *Dansk filosofi i Renæssancen*, 52.) Both natural law traditions reject the idea of natural slavery. Danish author Ludwig Holberg elaborates on Samuel Pufendorf’s idea of natural law (*De iure naturae et gentium*, 1672), and publishes the book *Introduction til Naturens og Folke Rettens Kundskab* in 1716. (Introduction to the knowledge of natural law and people), a book that founds modern Danish natural law. (Jens Anker Jørgensen (ed.). *Hovedspøret*, 216). “Ingen (siger Albutius hos Senecam) er fød frie, ey heller nogen

- fød en Slave, men saadane Navne har Lykken givet Enhver” (Nobody (says Albutius in Seneca) is born free, and nobody is born slave, but these names are given by fortune) (Holberg, *Introduction*, cap. VI, 1,89).
- 86 Ordinances of 1522, Chapter 111, issued by the last Catholic king, Christian II, prohibited the sale of the peasants by the landlord, but the change of religious regime the following year turned the law into a dead letter. Frederik I and Christian IV wanted to eliminate the *vornedskab*, but gave up because of the pressure from the big landowners. It was eliminated in 1702, only to be replaced by the *stavnslånd* (the obligation of young people between 17 and 36 years of residence in a fixed parish). Johannes C. H. R. Steenstrup: “Vornedskabet hos den danske Bonde”, 339-462.
- 87 Ole Mortensøn, *De danske galejer*, 15-18.
- 88 In *De lege naturae* (1562) Hemmingsen argued that God has planted his seed in all human beings and only ignorance prevents the heathen from finding the spark of God in his soul, see Ebbesen and Koch “Filippisme.”
- 89 Ebbesen and Koch “Filippisme.”
- 90 Skonning, *Geographia*, introduction.
- 91 “If they were to the turcs and ethnikes should be saved, of whom many have obeyed their teachers” (Hemmingsen. *A Postilla*. Eight Sunday after Pentecostes).
- 92 “Rector has recognised that he has talked to the Chancellor about the two mohrs, that other churches also contribute to their subsistence.” Danish original: “*Gav Magnificus tilkjende, at han taledede med hr. Cancellor om de tvende Morer, at de andre kirker besvære sig at give nogen udlæg for dennem til deres Underholdning.*” (Academiske acta consistori, 1623, 14. Feb., in Rørdam “De tidligste spor,” 158. The two mohrs are Cathi and Mari.
- 93 “It suggests a praiseworthy curiosity to investigate the rarities that both the Indians (people from India) and the other foreign peoples bring forth.” Danish original: “*Det tyder paa prisværdigt Videbegær at undersøge de sjældenheder, som begge Indier og de andre fremmede Folkslag frembringer.*” (Worm, “Breve til Thomas Bartholin i Roskilde,” 3.3. 1653, in Worm, *Breve*).
- 94 “The next we hear from them, is that the schoolteacher does not get anywhere with them.” “As we have seen so many times in the old times with similar experiments, this is what happens when you plant wild shots: they do not grow in the foreigner soil, and it results in a waste for their body and spirit.” Danish original: “*De næste vi hører om dem, tyder ikke paa, at Deres skolemester kunde komme nogen Vej med Dem.*” “*Men det gik her, som det saa ofte i ældre tid, er gaaet ved lignende velmente forsøg paa at omplante saadanne vilde skud: de have ikke kunne trives i den fremmede jordbund og ere enten legemlig eller aandelig sygnede hen og forkommede*” (Rørdam, “De tidligste spor,” 158).
- 95 As Fihl and Puri (15) point out, the one-sided, and teleological construction of the past encounter has to do with methodology. No Morian testimony is at hand, and at present historical Danish sources are scarce.
- 96 Fihl, “Shipwrecked,” 19.
- 97 Marquard, *Kongelige kammerregnskaber*, 12 October 1697.