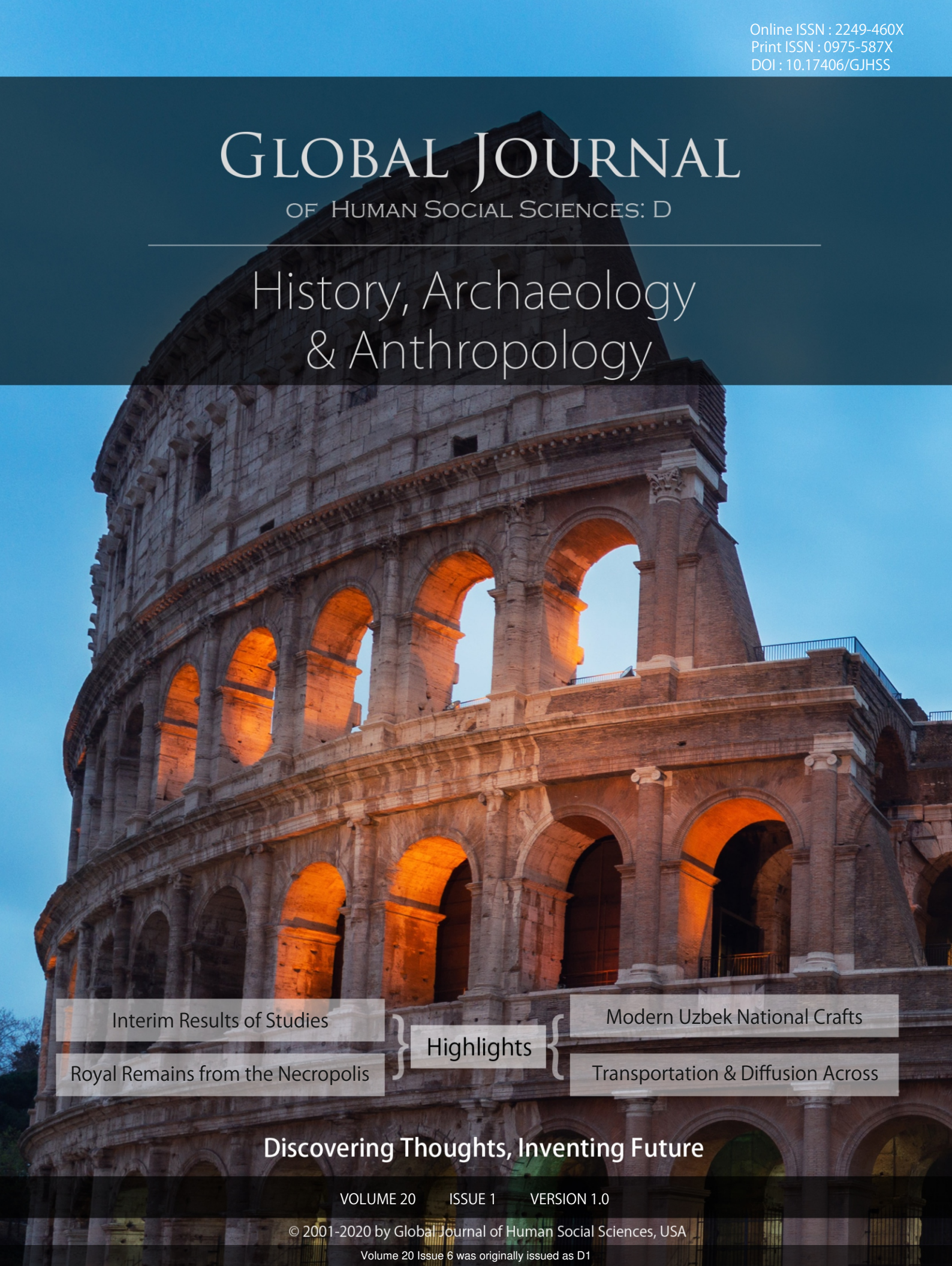
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Interim Results of Studies

Royal Remains from the Necropolis

Highlights

Modern Uzbek National Crafts

Transportation & Diffusion Across

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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By Sergey Aleksandrovich Golovin

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Annotation- The purpose of this article is to comprehend the results of the study of the remains from the burials of the female necropolis of the Ascension Cathedral by the historical necropolis research group (1994-2010), formed on the basis of the Moscow Kremlin Museum-Reserve.

This article reflects the main milestones of anthropological study of the remains of historical figures in the Soviet period of Russian history and in modern times. A special place is given to the history of the origin and evolution of the method of reconstructing a person's appearance on a craniological basis ("Gerasimov's method"). This technique was the result of the development of biological, historical, archaeological and social disciplines that consider a person in all its complex diversity (history, anatomy, anthropology, paleoanthropology and archeology).

In the preparation and selection of material, a wide and diverse range of sources of historiographic, biographical and bibliographic content was used. The article is of interest to people of various and not only humanitarian specialties and is of particular importance for museology and archeology in connection with the problem of anthropogenesis.

Keywords: anthropology, heavy metals, necropolis, tsarist and grand princely tombs, bone remains, reconstruction of the exterior, ascension cathedral of the moscow kremlin.

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Interim Results of Studies of the Royal Remains from the Necropolis of the Ascension Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin

Промежуточные итоги исследований царственных останков из некрополя Вознесенского собора московского Кремля

Sergey Aleksandrovich Golovin

Аннотация- **Целью данной статьи является осмысление результатов по исследованию останков из захоронений женского некрополя Вознесенского собора научно-исследовательской группой «Исторический некрополь» (1994–2010-е), образованной на базе музея-заповедника «Московский Кремль».**

В представленной статье отражены основные вехи антропологического изучения останков исторических личностей в советский период истории России и в новейшее время. Особое место в работе отведено истории зарождения и эволюции метода воссоздания облика человека на краниологической основе («метод Герасимова»). Данная методика стала следствием развития биологических, историко-археологических и социальных дисциплин, рассматривающих человека во всем его сложном многообразии (истории, анатомии, антропологии, палеоантропологии и археологии).

При подготовке и подборке материала был использован широкий и разнообразный круг источников историографического, биографического и библиографического содержания. Статья представляет интерес для лиц самых разных и не только гуманитарных специальностей и имеет особое значение для музееведения и археологии в связи с проблемой антропогенеза.

Ключевые слова: антропология, тяжёлые металлы, некрополь, царские и великокняжеские гробницы, костные останки, реконструкция внешности, вознесенский собор московского кремля.

Annotation- The purpose of this article is to comprehend the results of the study of the remains from the burials of the female necropolis of the Ascension Cathedral by the historical necropolis research group (1994-2010), formed on the basis of the Moscow Kremlin Museum-Reserve.

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In the preparation and selection of material, a wide and diverse range of sources of historiographic, biographical and bibliographic content was used. The article is of interest to people of various and not only humanitarian specialties and is of particular importance for museology and archeology in connection with the problem of anthropogenesis.

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I. Предыстория

На территории московского Кремля исторически располагалось несколько некрополей… Архангельский собор Ивана Калиты стал первой великокняжеской усыпальницей. Но к концу XV в. стеснённость храма погребениями оказалась столь велика, что Иван III решил разобрать родовую усыпальницу и построить новую, более просторную. Белокаменные саркофаги предков из старого собора князь приказал временно поместить в церковь Иоанна Лествичника. Через четыре года, после окончания возведения нового Архангельского собора (1505–1508) по проекту итальянского архитектора Алевиза/Aloisio/Нового /Фрязина/, каменные гробы перезахоронили на заранее определённых местах в заново построенной усыпальнице. Но первым в новом соборе был погребён великий князь Московский и всея Руси Иван III, скончавшийся 27 октября 1505 г.

В октябре 1508 г. великий князь Василий III повелел «уготовить места и перенести мощи прародителей своих Великих князей Русских» в новый Архангельский собор с указанием правил захоронения. Захоронения в нём датируются 1340–1730-ми гг., наиболее раннее — великого князя Московского и Владимирского Ивана I Калиты († 1340), последнее — российского императора Петра II († 1730). Всего великокняжеский (царский) некрополь

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в Архангельском соборе московского Кремля насчитывает 54 погребения, включая раки святых царевича Дмитрия Угличского († 1591) и князя Черниговского Михаила Всеволодовича († 1246), 46 белокаменных орнаментированных надгробий (44 надгробия и 2 памятные плиты, 1636–1637), латунные застеклённые футляры с накладными крестами и надписями (1903). Когда в начале XX столетия надгробия заключили в латунные застеклённые футляры, в отдельных надписях были допущены ошибки: некоторые удельные князья названы великими, а в ряде случаев приведены неверные даты смерти.

Особый статус Архангельского собора был оформлен учреждением особой архиепископии Архангельской (1599–1765), архиереи которой совершали отпевания и панихиды по умершим царям. В XVII в. возникла традиция класть челобитные на имя царя на гробницы великих князей и царей. Тем самым, похороненные в соборе правители признавались ходатаями за просителя перед царствующим государем.

Всемирно известная усыпальница русских великих и удельных князей, царей и императоров в Архангельском соборе — лишь малая часть захоронений на территории московского Кремля. По оценкам археологов музея-заповедника «Московский Кремль» на территории крепости, начиная с XII столетия, было погребено не менее 6 тыс. человек (на знаменитом Новодевичьем кладбище Москвы насчитывается 24 тыс. захоронений). При этом большинство кремлёвских кладбищ из-за постоянных перестроек резиденции в настоящее время недоступно. В результате периодических археологических работ обнаружено и идентифицировано лишь 324 захоронения. В советское время основная часть кремлёвских кладбищ была уничтожена (сровнена с землёй).

При необходимости перестройки Кремля аналогично, но менее масштабно, действовали и до русской революции 1917 года. Например, было утеряно захоронение второго правителя из московского княжеского дома, князя Юрия Даниловича Рыжего /Злого/ († 1325). В XVIII столетии при строительстве здания Сената под его фундаментом исчезли кладбище XVII века и остатки церкви Косьмы и Дамиана XIV столетия. Сейчас над этим погостом расположен 1-й корпус Кремля с кабинетом и личными апартаментами главы государства.

Из 16 кремлёвских некрополей, храмов-усыпальниц и кладбищ сохранились всего два — некрополь храма Успения Богородицы (Успенского собора) со склепами митрополитов и некрополь церкви Михаила Архангела (Архангельского собора).

В XVI в. складываются основные монастырские усыпальницы вне пределов Кремля Москвы. Боярские и дворянские роды определяют те или иные московские монастыри как место своего упокоения. Новоспасский монастырь становится местом упокоения Захарьиных-Юрьевых и их родственников — Черкасских, Сицких, Трубецких; Новодевичий — князей Воротынских и Кубенских, Захарьиных-Юрьевых; Симонов — князей Мстиславских и Головиных; Спасо-Андронников — Загряжских. В ту же эпоху закладываются аристократические дворянские некрополи отдалённых монастырей: Спасо-Тушинского, Иосифо-Волоколамского, Троице-Сергиева, Кирилло-Белозерского и др.

После 1963–1965 гг. никакие работы по вскрытию гробниц в мужском некрополе Архангельского собора не проводились. На сегодняшний день некрополи Успенского и Архангельского соборов недоступны (закрыты) для исследований. Однако в подвальном помещении Архангельского собора хранятся царственные останки из женского некрополя Вознесенского собора московского Кремля, уничтоженного в 1929 г.

Вознесенский монастырь — женский, 1-го класса (с 1764 г.), находился внутри московского Кремля, около Спасской башни и почти вплотную примыкал к кремлёвской стене; был основан между 1386 и 1393 гг. вдовою великого князя Димитрия Донского Евдокией Константиновной († 1407).

В эпоху Средневековья обитель являлась местом погребения представительниц московского великокняжеского/царского дома («монастырь, где погребаются царицы»). Также монастырь использовался как место жительства царских невест до свадьбы. Именно здесь вдова Ивана IV Мария Нагая /в постриге инокиня Марфа/, мать царевича Дмитрия Угличского, приветствовала Марину Мнишек, которая провела в обители несколько дней до свадьбы с Лжедмитрием I.

Первая Вознесенская соборная церковь была построена из дерева. В 1407 г. княгиня Евдокия удалилась в этот монастырь под именем Евфросинии и через несколько дней повелела заложить новый каменный Вознесенский собор на месте деревянного. Прожив в иночестве всего несколько недель, 7(20) июля 1407 г. инокиня Евфросиния скончалась и была погребена в строящемся соборе. Преподобную Евфросинию Московскую стали почитать покровительницей Москвы.

Её невестка, великая княгиня Софья Витовтовна († 1453), продолжила постройку, но успела лишь возвести стены собора. В 1415 г. собор выгорел дотла и, простояв 50 лет

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недостроенным, был восстановлен лишь в 1467 г. по приказу великой княгини Марии Ярославны († 1484), жены Василия II Тёмного.

В результате пожара 1482 г. Вознесенский собор вновь полностью выгорел и был разобран («ветхости ради»). В 1519 г. на его фундаменте по указу Василия III было начато возведение нового Вознесенского собора (существует версия, что архитектором был Алевиз Новый, окончивший к тому времени строительство 11 церквей на московском посаде). В 1588 г. при царе Фёдоре I Ивановиче Вознесенский собор строится вновь как архитектурная копия («реплика») Архангельского собора.

И в последующем собор неоднократно страдал от пожаров и не раз реставрировался: при Петре I, Анне Иоанновне и Елизавете Петровне. Однако во время наиболее сильного пожара в московском Кремле 1737 г. и разорения его французами в 1812 г. Вознесенский собор пострадал незначительно.

В Вознесенском соборе, главном храме монастыря, находилась особо почитаемая древняя икона Божьей Матери Одигитрии (Путеводительницы), которая, как считается, была спасена великой княгиней Евдокией во время разграбления Москвы в 1382 г. ханом Золотой Орды Тохтамышем. В 1482 г. эта икона сгорела, после чего знаменитый иконописец Дионисий написал на обгоревшей доске новый образ Богоматери. В двунадесятые праздники эту икону выносили навстречу царю и патриарху, и они прикладывались к ней у ворот обители. Сейчас этот образ хранится в Третьяковской галерее.

Вознесенский монастырь сильно пострадал во время боёв за московский Кремль в ноябре 1917 г.: снарядами были разрушены стены и купола его храмов. В марте 1918 г. в Кремль переехало советское правительство, и в октябре того же года монастырь был закрыт. Последние его инокини вместе с игуменьей нашли себе временный приют при церкви Лефортовской больницы. Они успели тайно, под мантиями, вынести из обители икону «Богоматерь Казанская» (одну из главных монастырских святынь), утварь, драгоценности и спрятать их на городском подворье монастыря, но во время обыска ценности были изъяты и сданы в Оружейную палату.

В декабре 1918 г. решением Комиссии по изъятию церковных ценностей главная чудотворная икона храма Вознесения Господня «Богоматерь Одигитрия» (обновленная в 1482 г. Дионисием) была перенесена в Крестовую (Мироваренную) палату Патриаршего дворца, затем её передали в Государственный исторический музей, а в 1930 г. — в Третьяковскую галерею.

В апреле 1929 г. по инициативе коменданта московского Кремля Р.А. Петерсона правительственная комиссия, в которую входили К.Е. Ворошилов, В.В. Шмидт и А.С. Енукидзе, осмотрела здания Чудова и Вознесенского монастырей и постановила снести их, очистив место для строительства Военной школы имени ВЦИК.

Предвидя подобный исход событий, Н.Н. Померанцев, известный архитектор и реставратор, возглавивший специальную комиссию в составе Д.Н. Сухова, В.К. Клейна, А.В. Орешникова, В.Н. Иванова и других специалистов, добился выделения денежных средств и в кратчайшие сроки организовал архитектурные обмеры, фотофиксацию монастырских построек, обследование захоронений великих княгинь и цариц и вывоз белокаменных саркофагов с останками в подземную палату южной пристройки Архангельского собора. Там они пребывают и поныне (кроме мощей Евфросинии Московской, которые были перенесены 28 мая 2008 г. в придел мученика Уара того же Архангельского собора).

На перенесение некрополя власти отвели месяц. Специальная комиссия, созданная Учёным советом Оружейной палаты, провела вскрытия и осмотр всех погребений. Согласно отчётам, было обнаружено около 70 захоронений, половина из которых детские. Вес саркофага более 2 т, его крышки — около 1 тонны. Белокаменные саркофаги с останками великих княгинь и цариц перевезли через площадь и через пробитое в стене отверстие спустили по доскам в подвалы южной пристройки Архангельского собора — помещение древней долговой тюрьмы. Всё делалось вручную, практически все крышки саркофагов оказались с трещинами. Некоторые саркофаги, например великой княгини Евдокии, жены Дмитрия Донского, когда их откопали и стали поднимать, развалились. В обстановке всеобщей суматохи и нехватки времени останки из разбитых саркофагов складывались в соседние уцелевшие гробницы. Соответственно, при вскрытии саркофага царицы Анастасии Романовой в конце XX – начале XXI вв. в нём было обнаружено два черепа, второй череп принадлежал как раз Евдокии Суздальской /Евфросинии Московской/.

При переносе захоронений в 1929 г. в Архангельский собор обнаружилось, что под полом Вознесенского храма оказалось намного больше захоронений, чем было надгробных памятников в его интерьере (35). Всего некрополь насчитывал 68 именных погребений цариц и великих княгинь, царевен и княжон, из них 4 мужских — князя Константина Даниловича Зьялова († 14 декабря 1526), князя Ивана Сисеева († 26 сентября 1557), княжича Фёдора Ивановича Вельского /Бельского/

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(† 18 июня 1568), сына князя Ивана Вельского; боярина Фёдора Петровича Салтыкова († 4 февраля 1696). Также в числе сохранившихся захоронений — более 10 безымянных саркофагов. Иными словами, историческая память о многих могилах удельных княгинь и их детей была утрачена достаточно давно.

Для сохранения иконостаса и древних икон Вознесенского собора Н.Н. Померанцев нашёл место в соборе во имя Двенадцати Апостолов. Собор Двенадцати Апостолов был меньшего размера, чем Вознесенский, поэтому иконостас целиком в него не вошёл. Оставшиеся части иконостаса — два его ряда с шестью иконами (три праздничного ряда и три страстного ряда) Померанцев разместил в фондах музея «Московский Кремль».

В том же 1929 г. Вознесенский монастырь взорвали; погибли все его церкви, в том числе и Екатерининская, остававшаяся единственным сохранившимся творением Карла Росси в Москве. На месте монастыря в 1932–1934 гг. архитектор И.И. Рерберг построил здание Военной школы им. ВЦИК, стилизованное под кремлёвский классицизм, чтобы оно гармонировало с соседними Сенатом и Арсеналом. Вскоре школа была выведена из Кремля, и в здании стал работать Президиум Верховного Совета СССР.

31 июля 2014 г. президент РФ В.В. Путин предложил не реконструировать 14-й корпус Кремля, а снести его и на этом месте восстановить исторические здания…[1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; 10].

Именно Вознесенский собор был усыпальницей для женщин великокняжеского (царского) рода. Среди похороненных в соборе: Софья Витовтовна († 1453, жена Василия I), Софья Палеолог († 1503, вторая жена Ивана III), несколько жён Ивана Грозного, (начиная с Анастасии Романовой и заканчивая Марией Нагой), царица Мария Владимировна /Долгорукова/ († 1626, первая жена Михаила Фёдоровича), царица Наталья Кирилловна /Нарышкина/ († 1694, мать Петра I), царица Агафья Семёновна /Грушецкая/ († 1681, жена Фёдора Алексеевича), царевна Евдокия Алексеевна (1669–1712, младшая дочь Алексея Михайловича и Марии Милославской, скончавшейся при её родах). Последние погребения в соборе относились к 1731 г., когда скончались царица Евдокия Фёдоровна /Лопухина/ († 27 августа 1731, первая супруга Петра I) и царевна Прасковья Ивановна († 8 октября 1731, дочь Ивана V Алексеевича).

Как и в мужском некрополе Архангельского собора, захоронения в Вознесенском соборе соответствовали чёткой сакральной христианской топографической схеме расположения сторон света (мiра). В христианской космологии стороной спасения традиционно считался восток, с чем связана ориентация и алтаря и христианского погребения лицом к востоку. Сходное по статусу почётное значение придавалось и югу. Соответственно, опальные княгини Елена Волошанка († 1505), жена Ивана Ивановича Молодого и невестка Ивана III; Евфросиния Старицкая († октябрь 1569), Евдокия Старицкая († декабрь 1569) и четыре княжны Старицких были погребены около северной стены и в северо-восточном углу Вознесенского собора

В связи с этим подчеркнём, что с точки зрения современной исторической антропологии ни одна страна мира не обладает сегодня подобными возможностями в изучении останков представителей правивших династий, какими располагает музей-заповедник «Московский Кремль».

II. Истоки Антропологических Исследований Исторических Личностей в СССР

Наиболее ранее свидетельство научного исследования останков исторических лиц в СССР относится к 1933–1935 гг., когда Михаил Константинович Ка́ргер (1903–1976), впоследствии известный историк русской архитектуры и видный археолог, а тогда начинающий сотрудник Государственной академии истории материальной культуры (ныне Институт этнологии и антропологии РАН) и учёный консультант Новгородского государственного музея, провёл детальное обследование Георгиевского собора (датируется 1119–1130) Юрьева монастыря близ Новгорода.

В ходе этих работ были вскрыты все погребения, находящиеся внутри храма, которые были идентифицированы как захоронения: братьев-князей Изяслава и Ростислава Ярославовичей († 1198), сыновей князя Новгородского Ярослава Владимировича († после 1207); князя Фёдора Ярославовича (1219–1233), старшего брата Александра Невского, и их матери княгини Феодосии /в иночестве Ефросинии/ († 1241/1244), второй жены великого князя Владимирского Ярослава Всеволодовича; новгородских посадников Мирошки Нездинича († 1204) и его сына Дмитра Мирошкинича († 1207); монашеские захоронения архимандритов [11].

В изучении этих останков принимали участие видный представитель довоенной ленинградской антропологии Григорий Иванович Петров (1903–1942); известный врач-рентгенолог, основатель научной школы рентгенодиагностики заболеваний костей и суставов Дмитрий Герасимович Рохлин (1895–1981) и его ученица А.Е. Рубашева.

В середине 1930-х гг., находясь в ссылке, к изучению останков пермских архиепископов

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обратился Михаил Петрович Грязнов (1902–1984), который в 1920-е – первой половине 1930-х гг. плодотворно занимался не только археологическими изысканиями, но и антропологическими исследованиями. Кроме того, известно, что он участвовал в экспертизе черепов, предположительно принадлежавших декабристам. После репрессий, обрушившихся на ленинградскую антропологию, М.П. Грязнов полностью посвятил своё научное творчество археологии.

Здесь необходимо отметить, что одной из акций советской власти в рамках осуществления общей антирелигиозной политики стала широкомасштабная кампания по ликвидации святых мощей, почитаемых в православии. Идея проверить мощи святых на «священность», то есть на их нетленность возникла у советского руководства сразу после учёта имущества Свято-Троицкого Александро-Свирского монастыря (Олонецкая губерния, Карелия). По сообщениям советской печати при вскрытии гробницы Александра Свирского († 1533) 22 октября 1918 г. обнаружилось, что вместо останков самого основателя обители, мощи которого были открыты для почитания в 1641 г. в серебряной 40-пудовой литой раке, подаренной (1643) царём Михаилом Романовым, была обнаружена восковая кукла.

Современные историки Церкви считают эти сообщения ложными и в качестве доказательства своей правоты приводят факт исследования мощей святого. Президиум исполкома Союза коммун Северной области 19 декабря 1918 г. принял решение «О посылке комиссии в Александро-Свирский монастырь для исследования “мощей”», в феврале 1919 г. экспертная судебно-медицинская комиссия Наркомата здравоохранения провела экспертизу черепа Александра Свирского. Историки Церкви подчёркивают, что мощи святого уцелели и были обнаружены в 1997 г. в Петербурге.

Однако в восприятии обыкновенного мирянина-гражданина, закончившего общеобразовательный курс средней школы, под «обладающими нетленностью мощами» понимается полная нетленность тела мёртвого человека. Церковь же на сегодняшний день мощами признаёт сохранившиеся останки костей скелета и черепа, волосяного и ногтевого покрова. В этом значении останки любого человека «нетленны» и здесь Церковь немного лукавит. Дело в том, что прекрасно зная о тленности мягких покровов человеческого тела, Церковь в XVII–XIX вв. при провозглашении нетленности останков святого и выставлении их в храме на относительно публичный показ, нередко придавала им внешний вид захоронения человека. Соответственно, когда в годы гражданской войны при вскрытии различных рак были обнаружены «одетые» (закамуфлированные одеяниями) кости скелета и черепа, это дало основание советской пропаганде провозгласить их «восковыми куклами».

Массовая организованная антирелигиозная кампания по проверке нетленности останков русских святых, провозглашённая декретом Наркомата юстиции от 1 февраля 1919 г., прошла в Советской России с февраля 1919 – по осень 1920 гг. В этот период было произведено 63 вскрытия гробниц и рак на предмет освидетельствования нетленности находящихся там останков.[1] Официальная процедура вскрытия предусматривала соблюдение определённых правил. В обязательном порядке велась фото- или видеосъёмка. При вскрытии должны были присутствовать уполномоченные работники советских госучреждений, учёные, медики, милиционеры, граждане и священники. Заранее уверенные в результатах вскрытий рак с мощами, советские чиновники настаивали на наличии множества свидетелей. По свидетельствам партийных функционеров того времени, именно акции с мощами были для повсеместно малообразованных граждан куда более действенной мерой в борьбе с религиозными предрассудками, чем просветительские книжки или лекции.

Вскрытые костные останки публично демонстрировались некоторое время, а затем, как правило, отправлялись в местные музеи, нередко создаваемые в храмах (соборах), где первоначально покоились останки. Это вызвало нарекания со стороны Наркомата юстиции и других органов советской власти, так как верующие продолжали приходить вереницей в храм (музей) и прикладываться к обнажённым останкам святых. В

[1] Среди них:
13 февраля 1919 г. — гробница великого князя Владимирского Андрея Юрьевича Боголюбского († 1174), Успенский собор Владимира;
15 февраля 1919 г. — гробница великого князя Владимирского Георгия (Юрия) Всеволодовича, погибшего 3 февраля 1238 г. на реке Сити в битве с войсками Бату-хана, Успенский собор Владимира;
3 апреля 1919 г. — гробницы предположительно Анны, первой жены князя Ярослава Мудрого; князя Новгородского Владимира Ярославича († 1052), основателя Софийского собора в Новгороде, сына Ярослава Мудрого; выборного (приглашённого) князя Новгородского Мстислава Ростиславича Храброго († 1180); архиепископа Новгородского и Псковского Иоанна († 1186), Софийский собор в Новгороде-на-Волхове (все);
9 апреля 1919 г. — гробницы князей Ярославских братьев Василия († 1249) и Константина († 1255/57) Всеволодовичей, Успенский собор Ярославля;
11 апреля 1919 г. — гробница Сергия Радонежского († 1391/92), Троицкий собор Троице-Сергиевой лавры в Загорске (1919–1930, Сергиев Посад, Московская область);
18 мая 1919 г. — гробница князя Тверского Михаила Ярославича Святого († 1318/19), убиенного на суде хана Узбека в Золотой Орде, кафедральный собор в Твери; и др.

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результате бóльшую часть изъятых у Церкви останков свезли с различных концов страны в Ленинград, в созданный в 1923 г. Музей отживающего культа, который передал свои антирелигиозные коллекции в образованный в 1932 г. под эгидой Академии наук СССР Музей истории религии и атеизма, откуда они были возвращены государством Церкви в конце 1980-х – 1990-е гг. (именно те мощи, которые были официально вскрыты, изъяты и переданы в музеи: св. Серафима Саровского, св. Иосафа Белгородского и др.).

Также отметим, что эта акция советского государства никак не согласовывалась с принципами декрета от 20 января 1918 г. «Об отделении Церкви от государства» и являлась грубым вмешательством в сугубо внутренние дела Церкви, попыткой регулировать каноны её жизни и богослужебной практики.

Факты участия антропологов в этих акциях неизвестны, вскрытия рак производились чаще всего в присутствии медиков различных специальностей. Поэтому неверно рассматривать начало антирелигиозной кампании в СССР как начало исследования останков исторических лиц в России (исторической антропологии). Тем не менее, нельзя отрицать определённую взаимосвязь между этими социальными явлениями в советской общественной жизни того времени. В результате этой акции антропологи получили первичный исследовательский материал о знаменитых деятелях русской истории, так как многие из них после смерти были канонизированы Церковью в лике святых.

В 1935 гг. Д.Г. Рохлин совместно с другой своей ученицей — В.С. Майковой-Строгановой — провёл первое исследование останков великого князя Владимирского Андрея Боголюбского [12; 13], убитого 29 июня 1174 г. в возрасте 63 лет в результате заговора бояр в своей резиденции-дворце в Боголюбово близ Владимира-на-Клязьме.

В дальнейшем в СССР в 1930–1960-е гг. создавались научные комиссии по вскрытию захоронений исторических лиц с целью «подлинной идентификации погребений и создания их объективных истинных портретов» (официальная формулировка). В январе 1939 г. специальная комиссия вскрыла в Софийском соборе в Киеве мраморную гробницу князя Ярослава Мудрого; в июне 1941 г. — захоронение Тимуридов в мавзолее Гур-Эмир в Самарканде, в августе 1944 г. — погребение адмирала Ф.Ф. Ушакова, в 1956 г. — могилу основоположника таджикско-персидской поэзии на фарси Рудаки в кишлаке Панджруд (Таджикистан), в 1963 г. — гробницу Ивана Грозного в Архангельском соборе московского Кремля. В состав этих специальных комиссий включались известные историки, археологи, антропологи, чиновники. И в каждую комиссию входил М.М. Герасимов — автор скульптурных портретов перечисленных исторических лиц и консультант всех приведённых выше комиссий…

Выдающийся русский антрополог Михаил Михайлович Гера́симов (1907–1970) является родоначальником методики восстановления внешнего облика человека на основе скелетных останков («метод Герасимова») [14; 15; 16; 17; 18; 19; 20]. С 1944 г. он жил в Москве, работал в ИИМК, затем в Институте этнографии АН СССР (ныне Институт этнологии и антропологии РАН), где основал Лабораторию антропологической (пластической) реконструкции (1950), которой руководил в течение 20 лет. В столице создал фундаментальные обобщающие труды в области реконструкции лица по его костной основе [21; 22; 23], защитил докторскую диссертацию (1956), стал лауреатом Сталинской государственной премии (III степени, в области биологии, 1950) и заслуженным деятелем науки РСФСР (1970), был награждён орденом «Знак Почёта» [24].

До его работ в научном мире считалось: воссоздать портрет по черепу невозможно, можно сделать только общий обобщённый тип. Подобные работы велись и за рубежом, но иностранные учёные были далеки от результатов советского учёного.

В реализации цели восстановления лица по черепу Михаил Михайлович Герасимов далеко обогнал своих предшественников и современников. Известный американский учёный-антрополог, руководитель антропологического отдела Калифорнийского музея естественной истории Генри Филд (1902–1986), приехавший в Москву на юбилейную сессию, посвященную 220-летию Академии наук СССР (15 июня – 3 июля 1945), осматривая стенд с результатами контрольных опытов Герасимова, в изумлении воскликнул: «Этого не может быть. Я отказываюсь верить собственным глазам!». [2]

[2] Американский антрополог Генри Филд (1902–1986) ранее побывал в СССР в 1934 г., возглавляя на Ближнем Востоке антропологическую экспедицию знаменитого чикагского естественнонаучного музея Филда, которая работала на территории Ирака (апрель-июль), Ирана (август – начало сентября) и СССР (Кавказ, вторая половина сентября). Разрешение, необходимое для свободного провоза оборудования экспедиции по территории СССР, обеспечили руководитель отдела Ближнего Востока Госдепартамента Уоллес Мюррей в Вашингтоне, американский посол Уильям К. Буллитт и председатель Всесоюзного общества культурных сношений (ВОКС) в Москве. Маршрут экспедиции по территории СССР: Баку – Тбилиси (Тифлис) – Орджоникидзе (Владикавказ, Дзауджикау) – Ростов-на-Дону – Харьков – ДнепроГЭС – Днепропетровск – Киев – Москва – Ленинград. [См.: Contributions to the anthropology of the Caucasus. (Материалы по антропологии Кавказа). Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A. Published by the Museum, 1953].

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На международном конгрессе Ассоциации по изучению четвертичного периода (INQWA) в 1969 г. в Париже была устроена выставка работ М.М. Герасимова, где демонстрировались 20 скульптурных реконструкций первобытных людей.

Исследования, как правило, он вёл в тесном сотрудничестве с доктором медицинских наук (1945), профессором (1949), ветераном Великой Отечественной войны, награждённым боевыми орденами и медалями, известным советским антропологом Вульфом Вениаминовичем Гинзбургом (1904–1969), бессменно работавшим с 1938 г. в секторе антропологии Ленинградского отделения Института этнографии АН СССР.

За годы долгой научной деятельности М.М. Герасимов принимал непосредственное участие во всех крупнейших событиях советской палеоантропологии и исторической антропологии…

Бóльшая часть его работ посвящена воссозданию облика древних людей…

В числе около 250 скульптурных портретов М.М. Герасимова наиболее известны реконструкции Ярослава Мудрого (1939), Андрея Боголюбского (1941), Тимура (1941), Улугбека (1942), Ф.Ф. Ушакова (1945), Ивана Грозного (1964), неандертальского мальчика из пещеры Тешик-Таш (1939), позднего неандертальца из грота Ла-Шапелль-о-Сен (Франция), кроманьонцев со стоянок Кроманьон (Франция) и Сунгирь недалеко от Владимира (Россия).

Менее известны реконструкции царя скифов Скилура (1946), мальчика из детского погребенья в Староселье (Бахчисарай, Крым, 1956), Ибн Сины /Авиценны/ (1956), Рудаки (1957), Иоганна Фридриха Шиллера (1961), Хаджи-Мурата (1964), царя Фёдора Ивановича (1965), архиепископа Новгородского Василия Калики, князя Курско-Трубчевского Всеволода Святославича, Шахруха, Мираншаха и многочисленные воссозданные портреты древних ископаемых людей [25].

Работы М.М. Герасимова и его учеников инициировали аналогичные исследования и создание портретных реконструкций и в других странах. С момента активного внедрения информационных технологий в Европе, США, Японии, России сам процесс реконструкции лица по черепу стал компьютеризирован. Сейчас учёный, как правило, имеет дело не с самим черепом, а с его образом — цифровой моделью, полученной в результате сканирования (Hi-Tech). Наращивание ткани на лицо осуществляется сугубо виртуально. С полученной светокопии черепа на его реконструированный профиль наносят контур мягких тканей при помощи небольшой штриховки, при которой учитывается рельеф черепа, степень уплощённости лица, степень выступания скул, их рельеф, выступание крыльев носа.

Иными словами, по «методу Герасимова» сегодня работают все учёные: они берут череп, и слой за слоем покрывают его мягкими тканями, ориентируясь на рельеф костей. Только одни делают это вручную, а другие предпочитают компьютерные технологии, позволяющие получить 3D-модель. Разработанные советским учёным-антропологом методические приёмы не претендуют на абсолютную точность. На сегодняшний день степень достоверности реконструкций по его методу не превышает 70–80%, во многом объективность воссоздаваемого портрета зависит от уровня профессионализма его автора.

III. Современные Исследования Останков из Некрополя Вознесенского Собора Московского Кремля

Деятельность Комиссии 1963–1966 гг. [26] и реконструкции М.М. Герасимовым внешности царя Ивана IV и его сына Фёдора положили начало обширному проекту по исследованию останков и воссозданию облика многих исторических личностей на основе захоронений некрополя Вознесенского собора московского Кремля…

В конце 1993–1994 гг. специально сформированная группа исследователей начала целенаправленные работы по исследованию останков из захоронений женского некрополя Вознесенского монастыря. Инициаторами комплексного исследования останков стали заведующая археологическим отделом музея-заповедника «Московский Кремль», специалист по русскому погребальному обряду эпохи Средневековья Татьяна Дмитриевна Панова (род. 1949) [27; 28; 29; 30] и главный специалист Бюро судебно-медицинской экспертизы Департамента (Комитета) здравоохранения Москвы Сергей Алексеевич Никитин (род. 1950). Здесь необходимо отметить, что в первый раз саркофаги великих княгинь привлекли внимание Т.Д. Пановой ещё в 1984 г., когда повторному вскрытию (после 1929 г.) подвергалось захоронение Софьи Палеолог.

Первоначально деятельность научно-исследовательской группы «Исторический некрополь», возглавляемой с момента создания Т.Д. Пановой, задумывалась как реставрационный проект, возникший в связи с необходимостью «привести в порядок палату [хранилище], саркофаги и находящиеся в них ткани, и останки великих княгинь и цариц». Проект предполагал реконструкцию внешнего облика и погребальных одеяний русских княгинь и цариц. Однако с течением времени его цели были значительно

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расширены в сторону всестороннего комплексного исследования останков.

На сегодняшний день в рамках данного проекта действуют различные реставрационно-исследовательские направления: архивно-археологическое (по реконструкции захоронений в некрополе Вознесенского собора), по восстановлению посмертных облачений (этой частью проекта руководит художник-реставратор высшей квалификации по тканям и коже Н.П. Синицына), антропологическое (С.А. Никитин, Д.В. Пижемский и др.), биохимическое (с привлечением специалистов из профильных научных учреждений).

Этап натурных исследований захоронений в подземной палате рядом с Архангельским собором был завершён в сентябре 2004 г., затем междисциплинарная рабочая группа исследователей приступила изучению материалов некрополя в лабораторных помещениях и анализу полученных результатов.

Результаты исследований захоронений XVI столетия из некрополя Вознесенского собора обобщены в трёх опубликованных томах (из четырёх запланированных; 2009, 2015, 2018) [31; 32; 33].

Архивный поиск по уточнению размещения погребений XVI в. позволил реконструировать топографию некрополя на момент его разрушения. Важным источником для решения этого вопроса послужили выявленные Т.Д. Пановой схематические зарисовки архитектора П.Н. Максимова, сделанные в августе 1929 г., и фотографии захоронений, отражающие их местонахождения перед переносом саркофагов из-под пола Вознесенского собора. Реконструкция и ревизия останков из некрополя Вознесенского собора косвенно подтвердили факт того, что Анна Колтовская не являлась законной женой царя Ивана IV. Анна Колтовская не была погребена в Вознесенском соборе, в отличие от Марии Нагой, также постриженной в монахини.

[Примечание. С уверенностью можно говорить только о четырёх жёнах Ивана Грозного: Анастасии Романовой (первая супруга), Марии Темгрюковны Черкасской (вторая супруга), Марфе Сабуровой (третья супруга), Марии Нагой (четвёртая супруга). Причём четвёртый брак был совершён по решению Церковного Собора Русской православной церкви, и царь понёс за него наложенную епитимию (церковное наказание). Четвёртый брак был разрешен ввиду того, что третий брак (с Марфой Собакиной) был только номинальным, царица умерла на 15 день после свадьбы, так и не став фактически супругой государя].

Группа палеоантропологов из Института этнологии и антропологии РАН под руководством С.В. Васильева провела краниологические и остеологические исследования останков.

Исследованием надгробных плит из некрополя Вознесенского собора и надписей-граффити на крышках саркофагов занимались Т. Д. Панова и А. М. Житенева.

Работы по реставрации саркофагов проводились отделом монументальной скульптуры с 2001 г. и до настоящего времени, они включали практически все консервационные мероприятия. Состояние сохранности части саркофагов было аварийным, многие из них были разбиты, была высока степень увлажнённости и засолённости известняка (материала саркофагов). Особую сложность представляла расчистка и склейка экспонатов (многие крышки саркофагов руинированы). В ходе работ были отреставрированы наиболее сильно разрушенные памятники, среди которых гробницы Евдокии Донской и Софии Палеолог. На сегодняшний день сотрудниками отдела монументальной скульптуры были исследованы и отреставрированы более 20 саркофагов из некрополя Вознесенского собора (руководитель работ — Е.И. Антонова).

В ходе реставрации погребальных одежд и саванов коллекции музея-заповедника «Московский Кремль» пополнилась уникальными образцами женской (светской и монашеской) и детской одежды XVI – первой половины XVIII вв.; с помощью биохимических исследований был установлен состав и цвет тканей; были обнаружены удивительные примеры одежды: головного женского монашеского убора — камилавки; у одного платья оказались поразительно длинные, почти 3-метровые рукава, присобранные на руке в мелкую складочку и др.

Биохимический и спектральный анализ останков великих княгинь и цариц показал наличие в них повышенного содержания различных элементов тяжёлых металлов. Обитательницы средневекового Кремля постоянно подвергались воздействию каких-то веществ с повышенным содержанием свинца, ртути, мышьяка, цинка, меди, бария.

В целом данные биохимического и спектрального анализа останков великих княгинь и цариц из некрополя Вознесенского собора соответствуют итогам экспертиз мужских останков из некрополя Архангельского собора. Общей характеристикой результатов химического исследования костных останков как из мужского, так и из женского некрополей является повышенное содержание в них различных элементов тяжёлых металлов (свинца, ртути, мышьяка, цинка, меди, бария). Иными словами, результаты проведённых химических экспертиз

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свидетельствуют об общем повышенном естественном содержании определённых элементов тяжёлых металлов в организме человека из среды русской аристократии в эпоху Средневековья. Данные химических экспертиз останков из царских некрополей Архангельского и Вознесенского соборов подтверждают сформулированный ещё в советской историографии вывод о широком применении в эпоху Средневековья строительных материалов, предметов быта, лекарств и средств косметики, изготовленных на основе ртути, мышьяка, свинца, бария, серы и других вредных для организма веществ [34].

Также результаты исследований костных останков показали, что представительницы царствующего дома были подвержены заболеваниями позвоночника, в частности остеохондрозом. Серьёзное заболевание костного аппарата, возможно наследственное, было зафиксировано у царицы Ирины Годуновой. У Елены Глинской вместо пяти положенных поясничных позвонков было обнаружено шесть позвонков (аномалия). Антропологическое исследование скелета Марии Старицкой, 10–11-летней двоюродной племянницы Ивана Грозного, дочери удельного князя Владимира Андреевича Старицкого, которая как считается была убита Григорием Лукьяновичем /Малютой/ Скуратовым-Бельским в 1569 г., показало явственные следы заболевания рахитом. Зато зубы у цариц, великих и удельных княгинь сохранились в очень хорошем состоянии.

По легенде вскрытие гробницы царицы Марфы Собакиной в 1929 г. обнаружило поразительный биологический феномен нетленности останков третьей супруги Ивана IV. Царская невеста лежала в гробу как бы живая, не тронутая тлением, несмотря на более 350-летний срок со дня погребения. Достаточно было нескольких минут, чтобы лицо её почернело и превратилось (рассыпалось) в прах. Этот рассказ передавали известный советский исследователь эпохи Ивана Грозного и Великой смуты, профессор Ленинградского государственного университета Р.Г. Скрынников и профессор Московского государственного университета М.Т. Белявский. Однако руководитель проекта по исследованию некрополя и главный археолог московского Кремля Т.Д. Панова категорически отрицает этот случай на основании отсутствия упоминаний об этом в дневниках участников работ лета 1929 г.

Костные останки сохранились в плохом состоянии. В большей части случаев сохранность черепов не позволила выполнить реконструкции облика (царица Анастасия Романова, царица Мария Темгрюковна, царица Евдокия Стрешнева, княгини Евфросинья и Евдокия Старицкие и др.). Например, от черепа царицы Анастасии остались только кучка праха и косичка. В других случаях реконструкция была крайне затруднена. У Елены Глинской почти полностью отсутствовала мозговая часть черепа, у Евдокии Суздальской /Евфросинии Московской/ была практически полностью разрушена нижняя челюсть.

На сегодняшний день С.А. Никитин, являющийся на сегодняшний момент одним из ведущих российских специалистов в сфере восстановления облика человека по его черепу, воссоздал 7 портретов русских великих княгинь и цариц и их ближайших родственниц: Евдокии Суздальской († 1407), Софьи Палеолог († 1503), Елены Глинской († 1538), цариц Марфы Собакиной († 1571) и Ирины Годуновой († 1603), княжны Марии Владимировны Старицкой († 1569), боярыни Ульяны Фёдоровны Захарьиной-Юрьевой († 1579).

С.А. Никитин внёс в методику реконструкции внешности человека по его костным останкам ряд уточняющих нововведений: по определению степени выступания глазного яблока, позиции углов глаз; по адаптации компьютерной программы сравнительного исследования черепа с прижизненной фотографии, позволяющей в значительной степени сократить время на проведение подобного исследования. Участвуя в международном конкурсе специалистов в области антропологической реконструкции, проводившемся в США в марте 2000 г., он выполнил контрольное восстановление портрета по черепу с лучшим результатом. Автор около 600 скульптурных и графических портретов, созданных в ходе судебно-медицинских экспертиз по восстановлению облика неопознанных лиц, и 28 скульптурных портретов исторических личностей.

После окончания Московского медицинского института им. Пирогова С.А. Никитин с 1972 г. занимался в лаборатории М.М. Герасимова. Во второй половине 1980-х гг. он работал в Киево-Печерской лавре, где выполнил реконструкции облика нескольких святых XI–XII веков, которые покоятся в Ближних пещерах лавры (считающегося первым врачом на Руси целителя Агапита, первого игумена лавры Варлаама, Нестора-летописца, Ильи-Муромца).

В 1986 г. С.А. Никитин восстановил по черепу облик советского лётчика, погибшего в 1941 г. под Москвой. Останки лётчика поисковый отряд нашёл в 1985 г. в окрестностях деревни Ильятино, куда в болото упал сбитый самолет. Воссозданный портрет был показан по телевидению и опознан как младший лейтенант Василий Яковлевич Косоруков. Останки погибшего лётчика были похоронены в Москве на Ваганьковском кладбище.

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В 1990-е гг. С.А. Никитин содействовал японской общественной организации, занятой поисками могил японских военнопленных времён II мировой войны с целью перезахоронения их останков на родине. Лагеря для военнопленных в СССР были смешенными (немцы, румыны, венгры, итальянцы, японцы), кладбища общими, могилы со временем стали безымянными. Поэтому определить, где среди захоронений умерших в плену находятся японцы, не прибегая к антропологической реконструкции, было невозможно.

С целью идентификации хранящихся Государственном архиве Российской Федерации (ГАРФ) костей с фотографией, сделанной в 1946 г. при обнаружении обуглившихся останков, С.А. Никитин проводил экспертизу черепа Адольфа Гитлера. Экспертиза подтвердила идентичность исследуемых объектов, во время исследования было обнаружено выходное пулевое отверстие на теменной кости вождя Третьего рейха.

Он участвовал в изучении погребений экспедиции 1648 г. атамана Семёна Дежнёва (†1673), архиепископа Арсения Элассонского /Елассонского/ († 1625), Василия († 29 августа 1736) и Татьяны († 12 сентября 1736)[3] Прончищевых, Владимира Каппеля († 1920),[4] уточнении обстоятельств смерти Сергея Есенина (1895–1925).

В 1994 г. С.А. Никитин выполнил свою наиболее известную реконструкцию облика исторических личностей. Участвуя в первой половине 1990-х гг. в работе правительственной комиссии по идентификации обнаруженных под Екатеринбургом останков семьи последнего российского императора, он провёл портретную экспертизу, восстановив облик людей по поднятым из шахты черепам. Иными словами, С.А. Никитин воссоздал по черепам портреты Николая II Романова, его жены Александры Фёдоровны, их дочерей Ольги, Татьяны, Анастасии, а также расстрелянных в Екатеринбурге вместе с царской семьёй в ночь с 16 на 17 июля 1918 г. врача Е.С. Боткина, горничной А.С. Демидовой и камердинера А.Е. Труппа.

В рамках так называемого Кремлёвского проекта С.А. Никитин является автором воссозданных портретов русских великих княгинь и цариц…

Великая княгиня Софья Палеолог предстала после реконструкции невысокой, ростом около 160 см, полной женщиной 55–60 лет. Её черты на скульптурном портрете свидетельствует о решительном и сильном характере. На лице Софьи Палеолог антрополог С.А. Никитин отобразил небольшие лёгкие усики на основании обнаруженных при исследовании её черепа на внутренней стороне лобной кости наростов — так называемого внутреннего фронтального гиперостоза. Это показатель гормональных нарушений, проявляющихся в излишней возрастной полноте и «омужествлении» лица. Исследуя черепа Софьи Палеолог и Ивана IV методом теневого фотоналожения их различных проекций, С.А. Никитин пришёл к выводу, что такие совпадения в строении черепа могут быть только у очень близких родственников (бабки и внука), сняв, тем самым, подозрения с Елены Глинской в супружеской неверности.

В его ближайших планах — реконструкции облика царицы Марии Нагой († 1611), царицы Натальи Нарышкиной († 1694), иконописца Андрея Рублева († ок. 1430)…

В связи с этим непонятна ситуация с восстановлением облика Андрея Рублёва, ведь его место погребения до сих пор не идентифицировано, и с портретом княгини

[3] Про́нчищев Василий Васильевич (1702–1736) — русский мореплаватель. Обучался морскому делу с 13-ти лет, окончил Навигацкую школу и Морскую академию, служил на Балтийском флоте. С 1733 г. — лейтенант и начальник Ленско-Енисейского отряда II Великой Сибирской (Северной, Камчатской) экспедиции по описанию берега Северного Ледовитого океана от устья Лены до устья Енисея. Погиб в 1736 г., возвращаясь из своей экспедиции (1735–1736). В плаваниях Прончищева участвовала его жена Татьяна Фёдоровна (1713–1736) — первая полярная путешественница.
Летом 1735 г. дубель-шлюп «Якутск» под командованием начальника Ленско-Енисейского отряда II Великой Сибирской экспедиции лейтенанта В.В. Прончищева спустился из Якутскапо Лене, обогнул её дельту и взял курс на запад вдоль побережья Северного Ледовитого океана. В конце августе того же года корабль вошёл в устье р. Оленёк, где встал на зимовку из-за обнаруженной течи. После зимовки, в августе 1736 г. «Якутск» достиг Хатангского залива, а затем направился вдоль восточного побережья полуострова Таймыр на север, достигнув мыса, впоследствии получившего имя Прончищева, и самой северной точки своего маршрута (77°29' с. ш.). На обратном пути 29 августа 1736 г. Прончищев умер, 2 сентября того же года «Якутск» вошёл в устье реки Оленёк, где 12 сентября скончалась и жена Прончищева Татьяна. Оставшиеся члены экипажа, который возглавил Семён Челюскин, похоронили супругов на берегу возле устья реки Оленёк. Могилы путешественников находятся в селе Усть-Оленёк.
В результате экспедиции (1735–1736) В.В. Прончищева была произведена первая инструментальная съёмка р. Лены (от Якутска до устья) и морского берега на запад от её устья до Таймыра. Во время его плавания были открыты острова Петра и восточная группа островов Самуила (ныне «Комсомольской правды») у северо-восточных берегов полуострова Таймыр.

[4] Генерал-лейтенант царской и белой армий Владимир Оскарович Ка́ппель (1883–1920), умерший 26 января 1920 г. от крупозного воспаления лёгких и гангрены нижних конечностей в румынском эшелоне близ разъезда Утай под Тулуном (Нижнеудинский уезд Иркутской губернии) и первоначально погребённый 20 февраля 1920 г. в Чите, был осенью 1920 г. перезахоронен в Харбине в ограде церкви Иверской иконы Божией Матери, возведённой в 1908 г. на улице Офицерской. В 1955 г. надгробие над могилой В.О. Каппеля (мраморный крест) по указанию из Москвы было уничтожено. По инициативе информационного агентства «Белые воины» российскими поисковиками по фотографиям 1946 г. были обнаружены 14 декабря 2006 г. останки В.О. Каппеля, перевезены в Москву, где идентифицированы при помощи судебно-медицинской экспертизы, и 13 января 2007 г. перезахоронены в Донском монастыре рядом с погребениями генерала А.И. Деникина (1872–1947) и философа И.А. Ильина (1883–1954).

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Анастасии Юрьевны († 1422), жены князя Юрия Галицкого и Звенигородского, матери Василия Косого, Дмитрия Шемяки и Андрея Красного. Как было заявлено достаточно давно, «по черепу из захоронения № Пн35 (предположительно это погребение удельной княгини Анастасии, жены звенигородского князя Юрия Дмитриевича) проводится работа по реконструкции облика. <…> Восстановление портрета осуществляет эксперт-криминалист С. А. Никитин»…

IV. Промежуточные Результаты Исследований

Таким образом, исследовательский проект «Исторический некрополь», предусматривающий целенаправленные работы по исследованию останков из захоронений женского некрополя Вознесенского монастыря московского Кремля уже сейчас, не смотря на промежуточные итоги, можно считать весьма успешным в научном плане. В ходе научных исследований были получены ценные археологические, антропологические и биохимические данные, позволяющие значительно расширить наше представление об эпохе русского Средневековья. Была осуществлена реконструкция внешнего облика и погребальных одеяний некоторых русских княгинь и цариц.

На территории снесённого правительственного корпуса, где ранее располагался Вознесенский монастырь, ещё до недавнего времени проводились археологические изыскания. Археология также получила ценнейший базовый первичный исторический материал и уже осмысливает полученные результаты.

Этот проект вдохнул новую жизнь и в деятельность всемирно известного исторического музея-заповедника «Московский Кремль». Очень приятно, что реставрационные и научные достижения, полученные в ходе реализации проекта «Исторической некрополь», отражены в экспозициях музея и на электронном сайте этого исторического музея-заповедника, которые периодически дополняются и обновляются.

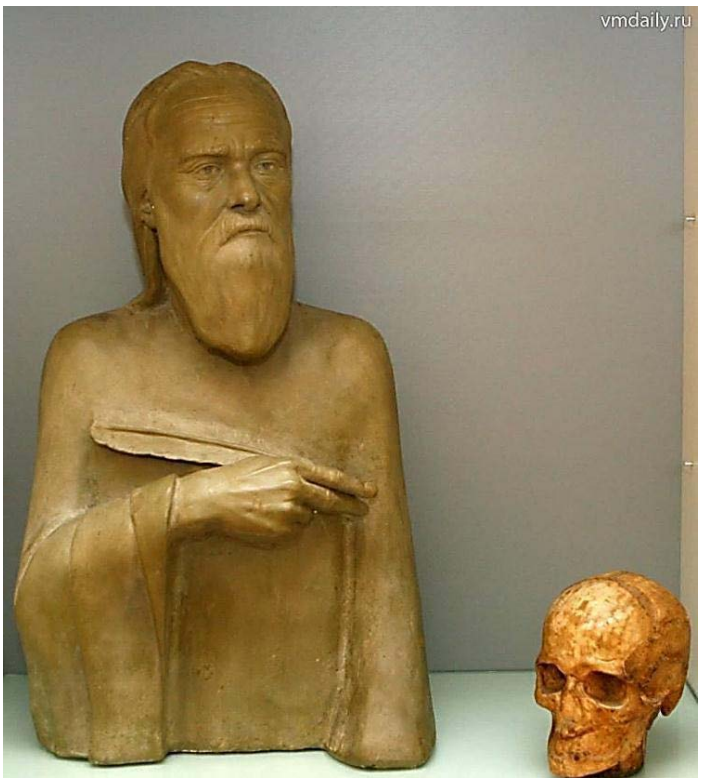
Фундаментальные научные результаты проекта «Исторический некрополь» отражены в трёх грандиозных по объёму сборниках трудов (из четырёх запланированных), которые по своей структуре представляют собой авторские (соавторские) научные статьи по итогам конференций. Этот издательский проект ещё не завершён, но уже сейчас его итоги можно признать фундаментальными с точки зрения получения первичного исторического материала. В результате многолетней совместной работы большого коллектива учёных различных специальностей и сотрудников музея был получен громадный базовый материал, который в большей мере ещё предстоит осмыслить.

Методология представленных в сборниках исследований основана на междисциплинарном синтезе, который включает в себя комплексный, сравнительный, критический и другие принципы познания на основе применения методов естественных наук. В аспекте такого междисциплинарного подхода отметим, что мы не всегда согласны с представленной исторической интерпретацией биохимических результатов проведённых экспертиз.

Биохимический и спектральный анализ останков великих княгинь и цариц показал наличие в них повышенного содержания различных элементов тяжёлых металлов. Обитательницы средневекового Кремля постоянно подвергались воздействию каких-то веществ с повышенным содержанием свинца, ртути, мышьяка, цинка, меди, бария. Однако, что касается биохимических результатов исследований, то ещё раз подчеркнём, что факт повышенного содержания ртути и мышьяка и других элементов тяжёлых металлов в костных останках и волосах человека эпохи Средневековья не может свидетельствовать о сознательном отравлении их носителя при жизни!

В целом данные биохимического и спектрального анализа останков великих княгинь и цариц из некрополя Вознесенского собора соответствуют итогам экспертиз мужских останков из некрополя Архангельского собора. Общей характеристикой результатов химического исследования костных останков как из мужского, так и из женского некрополей является повышенное содержание в них различных элементов тяжёлых металлов (свинца, ртути, мышьяка, цинка, меди, бария). Иными словами, результаты проведённых химических экспертиз свидетельствуют об общем повышенном естественном содержании определённых элементов тяжёлых металлов в организме человека из среды русской аристократии в эпоху Средневековья. Данные химических экспертиз останков из царских некрополей Архангельского и Вознесенского соборов подтверждают сформулированный ещё в советской историографии вывод о широком применении в эпоху Средневековья строительных материалов, предметов быта, лекарств и средств косметики, изготовленных на основе ртути, мышьяка, свинца, бария, серы и других вредных для организма веществ.

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Нестор-летописец, монах Киево-Печерской обители. Реконструкция С.А. Никитина (1980-е гг.)[5]

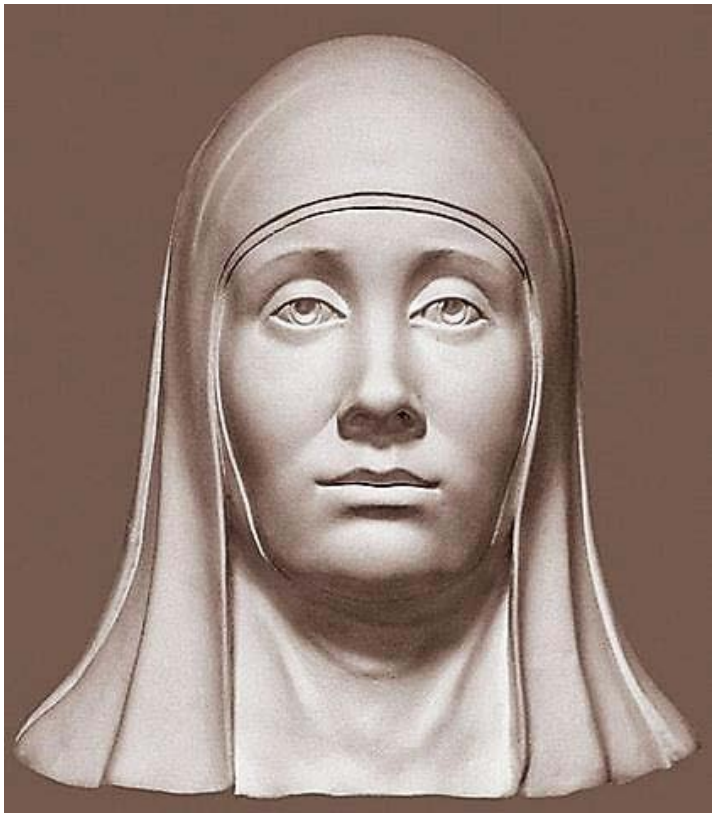


Боярыня Ульяна Фёдоровна Захарьина-Юрьева (†1579), мать русской царицы Анастасии Романовой. Реконструкция С.А. Никитина (2006)[6]

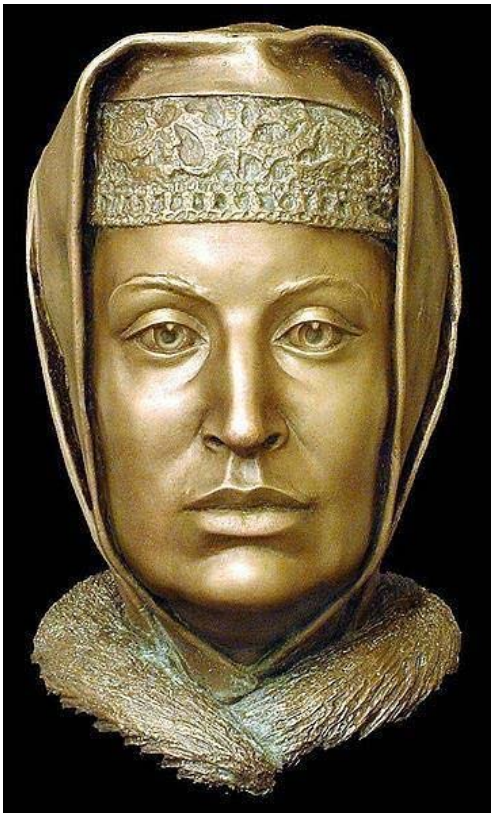
[5] Восстанавливая облик Нестора-летописца, С.А. Никитин видимо руководствовался описанием его внешности в русских «иконописных подлинниках»XVII–XVIII вв.: «Подобием сед, брада аки [Иоанна]Богословля, не раздвоилась, на плечах клобук, в правой руке перо, а в левой — книга и четки, ризы преподобнические». По асимметрии в развитии костей он определил, что исследуемый был правшой. Время жизни Нестора датируется концом XI – началом XII вв. («присутствовал на открытии мощей преподобного Феодосия в 1091 г.»). В связи с этим отметим, что впервые имя Нестора появляется на страницах исторической литературы в славянском печатном издании «Киево-Печерского Патерика» (1661). О времени канонизации Нестора ничего неизвестно (причислен к лику преподобных): его имени нет ни в древнейших «Месяцесловах», ни в «Прологах», ни в «Четьих-Минеях». Первое печатное издание церковной службы с прославлением его имени относится лишь к 1763 году («Преподобным отцем Печерским, ихже мощы в ближной и дальной пещере нетленно почивают»). Помимо «Повести временных лет», Нестору приписывается авторство ещё двух сочинений: «Чтение о житии и погублении блаженную страстотерпцю Бориса и Глеб» и «Житие преподобного отца нашего Феодосия, игумена Печерского».

[6] Иногда в Вознесенском соборе хоронили представительниц знатных семей из окружения русских государей. Мать первой русской царицы Анастасии Романовны, боярыню Ульяну Захарьину-Юрьеву похоронили в стороне от царских могил, в северной части усыпальницы, наименее почётной по средневековым эсхатологическим представлениям. Если над могилами великих княгинь, цариц и царевен всегда сооружали высокий памятник с эпитафией (как в Архангельском соборе Кремля, что можно видеть и сегодня), то могилы менее почитаемых лиц обустраивали проще: в полу помещали горизонтально массивную плиту с надписью. На такие надгробия могли наступать ногами прихожане, что, естественно, не говорило о желании унизить память упокоенного здесь человека, ведь сам факт выбора места для упокоения в правительственной усыпальнице являлся большой честью для усопшего. Так была похоронена и боярыня Ульяна, на её плите полностью стерлись две верхние строки эпитафии, местами пострадала и остальная часть надписи. Сохранилась часть надписи: «…великомученика Федора Стратилата преставися раба божия Романова жена Юрьевича Ульяна в иноцех инока скимница Настасья в первый час нощи».

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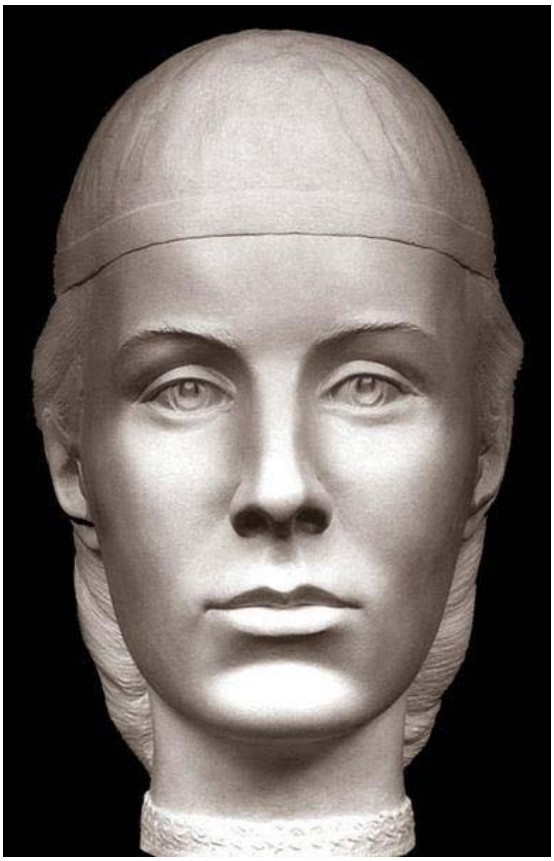


Великая княгиня Евдокия Дмитриевна (1353–1407), супруга Дмитрия Донского. Реконструкция С.А. Никитина



Великая княгиня Софья Фоминична Палеолог (1455 1503), вторая жена Ивана III. Реконструкция С.А. Никитина (1994)

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Великая княгиня Елена Васильевна Глинская (1508–1538),
вторая жена Василия III.
Реконструкция С.А. Никитина (1999)



Царица Марфа Васильевна
Собакина († 1571),
третья жена Ивана IV.
Реконструкция С.А. Никитина (2003)

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Царица Ирина Годунова (1557–1603),
жена Фёдора I.
Реконструкция С.А. Никитина



Княжна Маша Старицкая († 1569),
двоюродная племянница Ивана IV.
Скульптурная реконструкция лица девочки 10–11 лет
С.А. Никитина (2005)

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Slaves on the Return Voyage from the *Carreira da Índia* (1504-1610): From the Limited Permission to the Uncontrolled Transportation and Diffusion Across the Atlantic

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Abstract- From an early stage of carreira da Índia route, slaves embarked in the ships which performed the return voyage. It remains to be determined an exact figure, as well as how often did the slaves went on this voyage. They usually came from China, India and other parts of Asia, Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde. Most of them did not make it to Lisbon, as they were used in several illegal acts of trafficking and smuggling along the way, thus being mostly traded in the Azores, off the Portuguese coast, or even in Brazil and Galicia. Since mid-sixteenth century, at least, hundreds had been shipped: the sources record a single ship in which the total number of slaves amounted to 300. Despite Crown's policies aimed at putting a stop to illegal activities and slaves' mass transportation, the problem resurfaced throughout this period, even if it seems to have caused greater concern in early-seventeenth century.

Keywords: slaves, carreira da índia, return voyage, illegal trafficking, smuggling, diffusion across the atlantic.

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Slaves on the Return Voyage from the *Carreira da Índia* (1504-1610): From the Limited Permission to the Uncontrolled Transportation and Diffusion Across the Atlantic

Escravos na Torna-Viagem da Carreira da Índia (1504-1610): da Permissão Limitada ao Transporte Descontrolado e à Difusão pelo Atlântico

Marco Oliveira Borges

Resumo- Desde cedo que escravos foram embarcados nos navios de regresso da carreira da Índia, ainda que esteja por apurar qual a frequência e quantidades para a fase inicial. Oriundos da China, Índia e de outras várias partes da Ásia, de Moçambique, Angola e de Cabo Verde, boa parte deles não chegava a Lisboa, sendo envolvidos em actos de descaminho e contrabando e assim transaccionados ilegalmente nos Açores, na costa portuguesa ou até mesmo no Brasil e na Galiza. Desde meados do século XVI, pelo menos, que vinham embarcados às centenas, chegando a ser referidos 300 num único navio. Apesar das medidas da Coroa para tentar combater as actividades ilegais e o transporte massivo de escravos, o problema terá sido recorrente ao longo do período estudado, mas parece ter causado maiores preocupações em inícios do século XVII.

Palavras-chave: escravos, carreira da índia, torna-viagem, descaminho, contrabando, difusão pelo atlântico.

Abstract- From an early stage of *carreira da Índia* route, slaves embarked in the ships which performed the return voyage. It remains to be determined an exact figure, as well as how often did the slaves went on this voyage. They usually came from China, India and other parts of Asia, Mozambique, Angola and Cape Verde. Most of them did not make it to Lisbon, as they were used in several illegal acts of trafficking and smuggling along the way, thus being mostly traded in the Azores, off the Portuguese coast, or even in Brazil and Galicia. Since mid-sixteenth century, at least, hundreds had been shipped: the sources record a single ship in which the total number of slaves amounted to 300. Despite Crown's policies aimed at putting a stop to illegal activities and slaves' mass transportation, the problem resurfaced throughout this period, even if it seems to have caused greater concern in early-seventeenth century.

Keywords: slaves, carreira da índia, return voyage, illegal trafficking, smuggling, diffusion across the atlantic.

I. Introdução

Sendo um dos aspectos mais dramáticos da história da humanidade, a utilização de seres humanos como mercadoria, a privação da sua liberdade e a redução à categoria de objecto é uma realidade com mais de 3.000 anos[1]. Da África Negra para a África Branca, e, posteriormente, para a Mesopotâmia e todo o território asiático até à China, o fenómeno não se restringiu à utilização de negros, nem ao modelo desenvolvido pelas sociedades ocidentais. Até mesmo as principais sociedades ameríndias recorriam, em parte, a estas práticas, atestando a universalidade de um problema muito antigo, com várias geografias, cambiantes variáveis[2] e que não teve origem, ao contrário do que por vezes se esquece, com o tráfico negreiro associado à expansão marítima ibérica dos séculos XV-XVI.

A nível nacional, o tema da escravatura[3] tem ganho grande visibilidade desde 2017, vindo a adquirir projecção com a discussão pública decorrente em torno de um futuro museu que se quer fazer em Lisboa e que, inicialmente, fazendo parte do programa eleitoral de Fernando Medina para o presente mandato de presidente da Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, se pretendia que fosse o "Museu das Descobertas". Na verdade, de forma correcta, o que se queria dizer era um Museu dos Descobrimentos[4]. No entanto, dividindo posições entre investigadores e comentadores que se têm expressado em diversos artigos de opinião, largamente replicados nas caixas de comentários dos

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[1] Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão, "Comércio de escravos", in Francisco Contente Domingues (dir.), *Dicionário da Expansão Portuguesa, 1415-1600*, vol. I, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2016, p. 355.
[2] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 355.
[3] Inicialmente, a palavra "escravatura" era usada, em português, para designar o tráfico de escravos. Somente no decorrer dos séculos XIX e XX começou a ganhar outros significados, desde a compra e venda de pessoas até à sua utilização forçada, ou seja, à sujeição extrema e ao trabalho não-livre (João Pedro Marques, *Escravatura. Perguntas e respostas*, Lisboa, Guerra & Paz, 2017, pp. 15-16).
[4] Sobre este assunto, cf. Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *O drama de Magalhães e a volta ao mundo sem querer. Seguido de um Museu dos Descobrimentos: porque não?*, 2.ª ed., Lisboa, Gradiva, 2019, pp. 103-122.

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jornais *online* e nas redes sociais, tem sido frequente ver que o assunto tende a ser acompanhado de uma retroprojecção dos valores mentais do presente para um passado distante, erro de perspectiva que Lucien Febvre considerou, na década de 1940, o pecado mais grave do historiador: o anacronismo[5]. Consequentemente, a discussão, englobando não apenas historiadores, mas também sociólogos, antropólogos, outros investigadores e até meros comentadores pouco informados ou sem qualquer base de metodologia de investigação histórica, tem caminhado para uma flagelação e julgamento de uma parte do passado de Portugal à luz dos valores mentais do presente, isto quando a História não é um tribunal e o ofício do historiador não é o de um juiz[6].

Não entrando nessa discussão, mas estando intrinsecamente associado, o presente estudo traz uma primeira abordagem escrita a um tema que despertou interesse no âmbito das investigações que tivemos oportunidade de desenvolver para a nossa dissertação de doutoramento[7]. Retomando alguns dados apresentados numa comunicação em Sines[8], trazemos agora um resultado mais alargado, deixando outros assuntos para futuras oportunidades, caso das vivências dos escravos (homens e mulheres) a bordo dos navios. Assim, tentaremos compreender os primeiros tempos da vinda de escravos na carreira da Índia, as possíveis quantidades trazidas, os locais de origem e os destinos, tal como daremos alguma atenção ao descaminho e contrabando, bem como à posição da Coroa ao longo do período em estudo e à consequente legislação para combater as ilegalidades.

Desde cedo que surgem informações sobre escravos que vinham na rota de retorno da carreira da Índia, mas, apesar das várias indicações historiográficas, o assunto é pouco conhecido e, pelo menos para os séculos XVI-XVII, ainda não recebeu a devida atenção. De facto, apesar dos diversos dados contidos em alguns estudos, a verdade é que estes aparecem, de uma forma geral, quase sempre soltos e dispersos, sem haver investigações específicas e aprofundadas sobre o tema[9].

II. Escravos Nos Primeiros Tempos da Carreira da Índia

Se a viagem inaugural de Vasco da Gama (1497-1499) permitiu a descoberta[10] do caminho marítimo para a Ásia, contornando o Sul do continente africano, foi com Pedro Álvares Cabral (1500-1501) que teve início a carreira da Índia[11], ou seja, a deslocação

[5] Lucien Febvre, *Le problème de l'incroyance au xvi^e siècle. La religion de Rabelais*, Paris, Éditions Albin Michel, 1942, p. 6.

[6] "Não, o historiador não é um juiz. Nem sequer um juiz de instrução. E a história não é julgar, mas compreender – e fazer compreender. Não nos cansemos de o repetir […]" (idem, "Contra os juízes suplentes do vale de Josafat", in *Combates pela História*, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1985, p. 111).

[7] Marco Oliveira Borges, *O trajecto final da carreira da Índia na torna-viagem (1500-1640). Problemas à navegação entre os Açores e Lisboa: acções e reacções*. Tese de Doutoramento, vol. I, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa (a aguardar defesa).

[8] Marco Oliveira Borges, "Escravos na torna-viagem da carreira da Índia (1504-1635): uma primeira abordagem", comunicação apresentada no *Colóquio Sines e o seu porto. História e Património*, Sines, Centro de Artes de Sines, 8/09/2017. Estava prevista a entrega de um artigo, mas não tivemos oportunidade de finalizá-lo a tempo de integrar as actas do colóquio.

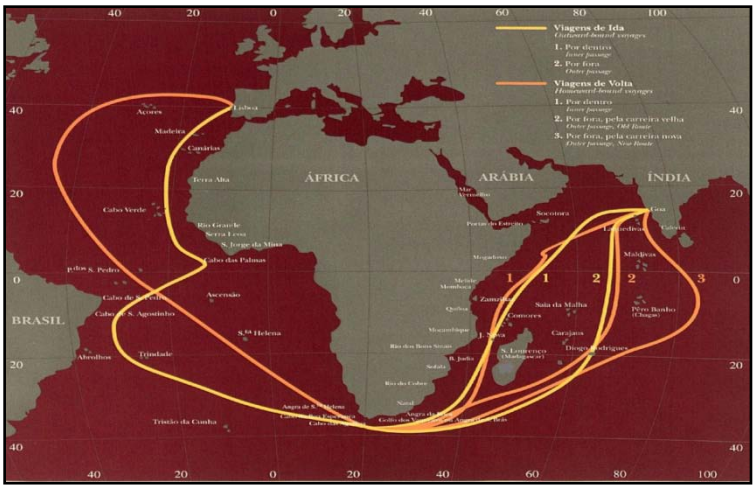
[9] Cf., *e.g.*, Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal*, t. V, Coimbra, Fortunato de Almeida, 1927, pp. 129-130 e 141; A. R. Disney, *A decadência do Império da pimenta. Comércio português na Índia no início do séc. XVII*. Trad. de Pedro Jordão, Lisboa, Edições 70, 1981, pp. 31-32; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, 2ª ed. correc. e amp., vol. IV, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1987, pp. 168-169, 198 e 204; A. J. R. Russel-Wood, "Men under stress: the social environment of the carreira da Índia, 1550-1750", in Luís de Albuquerque e Inácio Guerreiro (eds.), *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa. Actas*, Lisboa, Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1985, pp. 23, 29 e 34; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, "Os portugueses e a «carreira da Índia», 1497-1810", in *Mito e mercadoria, utopia e prática de navegar. Séculos XIII-XVIII*, Lisboa, Difel, 1990, p. 366; C. R. Boxer, *O Império Marítimo Português (1415-1825)*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 1992, pp. 214-215; Jeanette Pinto, "The decline of slavery in portuguese India with special reference to the North", in *Mare Liberum*, n.º 9, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1995, p. 236; A. J. R. Russel-Wood, "A dinâmica da presença brasileira no Índico e no Oriente. Séculos XVI-XIX", in *Topoi*, vol. 2, n.º 3, 2001, p. 24; Rui Landeiro Godinho, *A carreira da Índia. Aspectos e problemas da torna-viagem (1550-1649)*, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2005, pp. 53, 68-69, 93, 95-97, 128 e 216-217; Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e senhores na Lisboa quinhentista*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 2010, pp. 66-69 e 238; Caroline Ménard, ""Un esclavo que se llama Antonio": venta de dos esclavos asiáticos en Galicia a inicios del siglo XVII", in *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, n.º 125, 2012, pp. 233-244; Patricia Souza de Faria, "De Goa a Lisboa: memórias de populações escravizadas do império asiático português (séculos XVI e XVII)", in *Revista Ultramares*, vol. 5, n.º 9, 2016, pp. 91-120. No entanto, recentemente, saiu uma obra que dedica algum espaço aos escravos que vinham na carreira da Índia, parecendo ser o estudo mais completo que está disponível: Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *Escravos em Portugal. Das origens ao século XIX*, Lisboa, A Esfera dos Livros, 2017, pp. 47-65, 89-90 e 132-133. Isto não esquecendo, claro, que existe um ou outro trabalho que aborda a vinda de escravos, mas para cronologias já mais tardias. Cf., *e.g.*, Filipa Ribeiro da Silva, "O tráfico de escravos para o Portugal setecentista: uma visão a partir do "despacho dos negros da Índia, de Cacheo e de Angola" na casa da Índia de Lisboa", in *Revista de História*, n.º 29, 2013, pp. 47-73; Philomena Sequeira Antony, *Relações intracoloniais, Goa-Bahia, 1675-1825*, Brasília, FUNAG, 2013, pp. 218-220.

[10] Sobre o termo e a ideia de "descobrimento", cfr. Jaime Cortesão, *Os Descobrimentos portugueses*, vol. III, [Lisboa], Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1990, pp. 651-660; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, "A ideia de descobrimento e os descobrimentos", in *Anais do Clube Militar Naval*, vol. CXX, Lisboa, 1990, pp. 627-642; Francisco Contente Domingues, "Descobrimento", in *Dicionário da Expansão […]*, vol. I, pp. 333-337; Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-122.

[11] Joaquim Rebelo Vaz Monteiro, *Uma viagem redonda da carreira da Índia (1597-1598)*, Coimbra, Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1985, p. 1; Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Subsídios para a história da carreira da Índia. Documentos da nau S. Pantalião (1592)", in *Na rota da Índia. Estudos de História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Macau, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1994, p. 15; Francisco Contente Domingues, "Horizontes mentais dos homens do mar no século XVI.

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marítima anual feita entre Lisboa e os portos da Índia e que durou até 1863[12]. Esta ligação transoceânica foi considerada a maior viagem marítima e a mais árdua do mundo, conforme indicou o padre jesuíta italiano Alessandro Valignano[13], após as dificuldades por que passou em 1574, se bem que a torna-viagem dos galeões de Manila, fazendo uma rota transpacífica que, no seu todo, foi estabelecida em 1565, também fosse bastante difícil de executar[14], tendo chegado a ser referida, em finais do século XVII por outro italiano, como "più terribile e lunga navigazione che sia al Mondo"[15]. Outro padre que, por volta de 1580, considerou a jornada para a Índia como a maior que se fazia no mundo, foi o português Fernando de Oliveira[16].



Fonte: Francisco Contente Domingues, A carreira da Índia, p. 26.

Fig. 1: Rotas da carreira da Índia.

A arte náutica portuguesa e a ciência moderna", in Maria da Graça A. Mateus Ventura (coord.), *Viagens e viajantes no Atlântico quinhentista*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 1996, p. 205; idem, *A carreira da Índia*, Lisboa, Clube do Coleccionador dos Correios, 1998, p. 9.

[12] Idem, "Naufrágio com terra à vista. Estudo introdutório", in *Combate e naufrágio da nau Conceição (1621). Tribulações no mar e em terra*, Ericeira, Mar de Letras, 2012, pp. 11-12. No entanto, não se pode deixar de referir que, nos últimos tempos, a maioria dos navios vindos para Lisboa partiu do porto de Macau (cf. Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso e António Lopes, *As armadas da Índia, 1497-1835*, Lisboa, Comissão para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2002, pp. 38-39).

[13] "Este viage de Portugal para la India […] es sin nenguna contradicción la mayor y más ardua de quantas ay en lo [mundo] descubierto" (Alessandro Valignano S. I., *Historia del principio y progresso de la Compañia de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-64)*, Roma, Institutum Historicum S. I., 1944, pp. 9-11).

[14] C. R. Boxer, "The *carreira da Índia* (ships, men, cargoes, voyages)", in *O Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos e as Comemorações Henriquinas*, Lisboa, [s.n.], 1961, pp. 33-34; idem, *O Império Marítimo […]*, p. 205; Juan Gil, "Las rutas del Pacífico", in Maria da Graça A. Mateus Ventura (coord.), *As rotas oceânicas (sécs. XV-XVII)*, Lisboa, Edições Colibri, 1999, pp. 97-105; José Malhão Pereira, "Ventos e correntes e Expansão Marítima", in *Memórias 2014*, vol. XLIV, Lisboa, Academia de Marinha, 2016, pp. 247-248.

[15] Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Giro del Mondo*, pt. V, Napoli, Nella Stamperia di Giuseppe Roselli, 1708, fl. 150.

[16] Fernando Oliveira, *O livro da fábrica das naus*, Lisboa, Academia de Marinha, 1991, p. 85.

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O tempo de duração da viagem até à Índia dependia de vários factores, oscilando, por norma, entre cinco a sete meses, mas quando os navios eram obrigados a invernar nalgum local de escala poderia durar ano e meio[17]. Relativamente à população de bordo, uma nau da carreira da Índia era formada pela tripulação, por soldados enviados para a Ásia e passageiros[18]. Na viagem para o Índico embarcavam centenas de pessoas em cada navio, estando a média à volta das 500, se bem que algumas fontes refiram – por vezes de forma exagerada – que certas naus chegaram a transportar 800, 900, 1.000, 1.100 e 1.200[19]. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, por exemplo, indica que Rui Lourenço de Távora, que partiu para a Índia em 1576, chegou a levar 1.100 homens na sua nau, sendo que 900 acabaram por morrer antes da chegada a Moçambique[20]. Num outro caso, ocorrido em 1584, é referido que mais de 1.000 pessoas alcançaram a Índia na nau *Chagas*[21]. É preciso ter em conta que, em certas ocasiões, o carregamento de mais 200 ou 300 pessoas em Moçambique, fossem escravos ou portugueses de outra nau, poderia fazer com que se atingisse ou se aproximasse de tais números indicados à chegada à Ásia. Seja como for, apesar das dúvidas que se possam colocar, a quantidade de pessoas que embarcavam em Lisboa numa única nau da carreira da Índia era tal que "nada sem duvida encareceo quem a comparou a uma grande villa"[22].

Olhemos para números mais reduzidos. Em 1545, na viagem de ida, D. João de Castro referiu que na sua nau iam embarcadas 574 pessoas e que nenhuma morreu[23], enquanto que, na armada de 1564, outra fonte indica que uma das naus transportava perto de 600 pessoas, sendo que em Moçambique ainda entraram c. 200, se bem que não seja referido se se tratava de gente de outra nau portuguesa, de escravos ou de ambos. Neste último caso, o reduzido espaço útil que partilhavam intensificou as pelejas a bordo, "muytas dellas de ma maneira"[24]. Três anos depois, a armada que ia para Goa carregou, em Moçambique, 300 escravos cafres para servirem na Índia[25]. Em 1608, a carraca *Nossa Senhora da Salvação*, partindo do Tejo a 29 de Março e integrando uma armada de 14 navios, levava 400 homens brancos, 300 escravos negros e, pelo menos, 3 mulheres portuguesas[26]. Partindo nesse mesmo dia, a nau em que ia embarcado o viajante francês Jean Mocquet é indicada como transportando 900 pessoas[27], nas quais também se incluiriam certamente escravos.

Quantos escravizados fariam o sentido inverso? Se na viagem de ida havia um excesso de pessoas a bordo, para o retorno, marcado pelo descomedimento do transporte de mercadorias, costuma ser indicado que vinham muitas menos. No entanto, também existiam casos de excesso de passageiros na torna-

[17] Artur Teodoro de Matos, *op. cit*., p. 116.
[18] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 124.
[19] Cf. João de Lucena, *Historia da vida do padre Francisco de Xavier […]*, t. I, Lisboa, Impressa por Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600, liv. I, cap. XI, fls. 41-42; Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *Itinerário, viagem ou navegação para as Índias Orientais ou portuguesas*. Ed. prep. por Arie Pos e Rui Manuel Loureiro, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997, p. 85; Francisco Pyrard de Laval, *Viagem de Francisco Pyrard de Laval contendo a noticia de sua navegação às Indias Orientais [...]*. Versão port. correcta e anot. por Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara. Ed. rev. e act. por A. de Magalhães Basto, vol. II, [Porto], Livraria Civilização Editora, 1944, pp. 142, 151 e 203; Jean Mocquet, *Voyage à Mozambique & Goa. La relation de Jean Mocquet (1607 – 1610)*, 2.ª ed., rev. e corrig., pref. de Dejanirah Couto, texto fixado e anotado por Xavier de Castro, Paris, Editions Chandeigne, 1996, pp. 46-47; P^e^. Jerónimo Lobo, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos,* Lisboa, Livraria Civilização – Editora, 1971, p. 144; Artur Teodoro de Matos, *op. cit*., p. 124; Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso e António Lopes, *op. cit.*, pp. 55-56; Rui Landeiro Godinho, "Carreira da Índia", in *Dicionário da Expansão […]*, vol. II, pp. 221-222.
[20] Jan Huygen van Linschoten, *op. cit*., p. 85.
[21] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 286.
[22] João de Lucena, *op. cit.*, liv. I, cap. XI, fl. 42.
[23] *Obras completas de D. João de Castro*. Ed. crítica por Armando Cortesão e Luís de Albuquerque, vol. III, Coimbra, Academia Internacional da Cultura Portuguesa, 1976, p. 67.
[24] Cf. *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente*. Colig. e anot. por António da Silva Rego, vol. IX, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1953, p. 336.
[25] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos […]*, vol. IV, p. 204; idem, "Os portugueses e o Oriente", in *Mito e mercadoria […]*, p. 387.
[26] *Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções*, t. I, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1880, p. 243; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos […]*, vol. IV, p. 204. Sobre a presença feminina na carreira da Índia, cf. Fina d'Armada, *Mulheres navegantes no tempo de Vasco da Gama*, 2ª ed., Lisboa, Ésquilo, 2007; Marco Oliveira Borges, "Aspetos do quotidiano e vivência feminina nos navios da carreira da Índia durante o século XVI: primeiras mulheres, buscas e sexualidade a bordo", in *Revista Portuguesa de História*, t. 47, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016, pp. 195-214.
[27] Jean Mocquet, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

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viagem, por vezes devido a contingências da navegação[28]. Por outro lado, são frequentes as informações – directas e indirectas – sobre a presença de centenas de escravos a bordo. Embora seja compreensível que não existam fontes que permitam compreender o total de escravos que foram sendo carregados anualmente para o Reino, até porque grande parte deles nem sequer viria registada, alguns dados disponíveis mostram que desde cedo isso foi uma realidade.

Em 1505, D. Manuel I já ordenava que, no regresso ao Reino, os navios carregados de especiarias não trouxessem escravos de quaisquer partes. Quem desrespeitasse tal ordem, trazendo ou enviando, perderia os escravos e o soldo a favor da Coroa. Porém, caso houvesse falta de mareantes, seriam embarcados quantos escravos fossem necessários, homens ou moços, para ajudarem nos trabalhos a bordo, se bem que tivessem de ter idade suficiente para desempenharem as tarefas necessárias[29].

Em outras situações, o rei também poderia dar uma autorização específica para a vinda de escravos. Numa carta de 11 de Outubro de 1510, Afonso de Albuquerque ordenava ao almoxarife dos mantimentos de Cochim que, enquanto ali estivessem as 24 escravas da rainha que seriam enviadas para Portugal, deveria providenciar géneros alimentares a Gonçalo Afonso Mealheiro, homem que estava encarregado das ditas e que forneceria a sua alimentação[30]. Decerto que estas escravas seriam para embarcar no final do ano, ou já no início do seguinte, com o consentimento do monarca, isto quando a armada da Índia retornasse ao Reino, sendo que à chegada seriam entregues a alguém do círculo próximo de D. Maria.

Contudo, por um documento de 9 de Fevereiro de 1514, emitido em Moçambique, fica evidente que a vinda de escravos do Índico não era realizada apenas no tipo de caso atrás exposto, por autorização régia em casos específicos ou até mesmo com pedido expresso das tripulações, através de "liberdades" ou mediante o acompanhamento dos donos no regresso ao Reino, devendo pender, já nessa altura, igualmente para o negócio particular[31]. Por essa altura, Pero da Fonseca, alcaide e feitor de Moçambique, queixava-se, entre diversos aspectos, de ter sido deposto por Simão de Miranda, capitão de Sofala e Moçambique, e que este havia tomado escravos a mouros sem os pagar, pretendendo que viessem nas naus de torna-viagem[32]. São referidos apenas 3 escravos de Simão de Miranda, mas o próprio Pero da Fonseca também os tinha. Tendo em conta outras partes do Índico onde os portugueses estavam estabelecidos e as próprias pessoas que vinham na carreira da Índia, poderemos estar perante um tipo de situação mais alargada e que, por esta altura, já deveria visar fins comerciais particulares bem definidos. O aprofundar das investigações poderá vir a permitir validar a hipótese.

Igualmente em 1514, ao visitar Lisboa, o nobre flamengo Jan Taccoen, senhor de Zillebeke, assistiu à chegada de um navio carregado de especiarias, tendo destacado que o porão vinha com c. 300 escravos negros mouros de ambos os sexos:

> "Vi chegar um navio carregado de especiarias e que, em baixo, no porão, vinha cheio de Negros mouros, homens, mulheres, com os filhos, jovens rapazes e raparigas, de todos os tipos, em número de trezentos. Trouxeram-nos completamente nus, sem nada a cobri-los, porque não têm nenhuma crença ou vergonha. Vendem-nos a quem os quiser possuir, para serem escravos, servindo homens e mulheres toda a vida e revendendo-os sempre que o desejarem […]"[33].

[28] Em 1559, a nau *Garça*, que foi referida como tendo 1.000 toneladas, vinha a meter muita água, tendo sido forçada, antes de afundar perto do cabo das Correntes, a passar parte dos seus mantimentos e a totalidade das pessoas que vinham a bordo para a nau *Águia* (ou Patifa), isto depois de ambas já terem arribado a Moçambique e de lá terem invernado durante mais de sete meses e meio. Após o afundamento da *Garça* e feito o alardo a bordo da *Águia*, somou-se, entre fidalgos, soldados, gente do mar, escravos, mulheres e meninos, um total de "1137 almas". No entanto, a *Águia*, pilotada por um homem com experiência de 50 anos de vida no mar, mas já muito velha e podre, mesmo depois de ter sido concertada em Moçambique, acabaria por ter de retornar novamente a este local (P^e^. Manoel Barrabas, "Relação da viagem e sucesso que viveram as naus Águia e Garça vindo da Índia para este Reino no ano de 1559 […]", in *História Trágico-Marítima*, vol. II, Porto, Portucalense Editora, 1942, pp. 53-70). Outro caso parecido aconteceu com a nau *Chagas*, que, vindo para o Reino em 1593, teve de recolher, em Moçambique, parte dos bens e das pessoas das naus *Santo Alberto* e *Nazaré*, sendo indicado que vinham 400 pessoas a bordo, se bem que Pero Roiz Soares tenha referido que eram 1.000 (cf. Melchior Estácio do Amaral, "Tratado das batalhas e sucessos do galeão Santiago com os holandeses na ilha de Santa Helena […]", in *História Trágico-Marítima*, vol. VI, Porto, Portucalense Editora, 1943, p. 160; Pero Roiz Soares, *Memorial de Pero Roiz Soares*. Leit. e rev. de M. Lopes de Almeida, Coimbra, Universidade de Coimbra, 1953, cap. 92, p. 303).

[29] *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*. Dir. de Raymundo Antonio Bulhão Pato, t. II, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1898, p. 310.

[30] *Cartas de Affonso [...]*, p. 85.

[31] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos […]*, vol. IV, p. 169.

[32] *Documentos sobre os portugueses em Moçambique e na África Central, 1497-1840*, vol. 3, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1964, pp. 526-532.

[33] *Lisboa em 1514. O relato de Jan Taccoen van Zillebeke*. Coord. de Jorge Fonseca, Lisboa, Centro de História da Cultura da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014, p. 124.

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Embora o autor não tenha indicado a proveniência do navio, foi avançada a hipótese de que poderá ter havido falta de rigor nesta descrição ou que o navio tenha vindo provavelmente da costa da Guiné[34]. No entanto, outra possibilidade parece-nos bastante sugestiva. O nobre chegou a Lisboa no dia 11 de Abril, ficando ali até dia 20 do mesmo mês. Ora, logo no dia seguinte à sua chegada, vindo fora da época normal de viagem, aportou na capital a *Santa Maria da Conceição*, navio que havia retornado da Índia[35], pelo que poderá ter sido esse o caso indicado. Neste mesmo ano chegaram pelo menos mais seis navios da Índia a Lisboa, se bem que para dois deles não se saiba em que mês e o dia[36]. É possível que, face à hipótese atrás colocada, também tenham chegado escravos nesses navios.

Por esta altura, como veremos mais adiante, a Coroa permitia a vinda de escravos, embora de forma bastante limitada, quer em número, quer relativamente às pessoas que podiam trazê-los para o Reino. Contudo, pelo menos a partir de meados do século, conforme notou Jorge Fonseca[37], que começaram a ser trazidos às centenas nos navios vindos da Ásia, superando, em número, a população portuguesa de algumas naus, chegando a ser indicados c. 300 indivíduos. Assim, em 1552, o galeão *São João*, que era capitaneado por Manuel de Sousa Sepúlveda e vinha sobrecarregado, trazia c. 300 escravos, sendo que por dificuldades náuticas acabou por encostar a terra e desfazer-se nos rochedos da costa da África do Sul[38]. Num outro caso, ocorrido dois anos depois, a nau *São Bento*, que era capitaneada por Fernão de Álvares Cabral, veio a ter o mesmo destino perto do rio do Infante. Entre os sobreviventes contaram-se 98 portugueses e 224 escravos, pelo que o número de escravos inicialmente embarcados seria maior[39].

Estes dois exemplos – não esquecendo a possibilidade colocada para o caso de 1514 –, associados a outros que indicaremos mais adiante, trazem alguma luz a vários aspectos pouco conhecidos. Por um lado, permitem pôr de parte a ideia de que apenas no século XVII, associado a uma alegada insuficiência de mercadorias de luxo para abastecerem as armadas, é que o volume da vinda de escravos nos navios da Índia teve tendência para aumentar[40]. Na verdade, estamos perante navios de carga mista, sendo que, ao mesmo tempo que vinham toneladas de especiarias e de outras fazendas a bordo, parece cada vez mais claro que centenas de escravos também eram embarcados. Mas mais: é de enfatizar essa grande quantidade trazida por cada navio e não resultante do somatório de vários navios, deixando antever que seria uma prática corrente nas outras naus da Índia que retornavam ao Reino.

III. A Origem e o Destino Dos Escravos

A origem dos escravos que vinham embarcados era bastante variada. Poderiam ser adquiridos na costa oriental africana, sobretudo em Moçambique, na ilha de São Lourenço[41] – reservatório onde os comerciantes das cidades muçulmanas da África oriental e das cidades indianas já iam buscar escravos antes da chegada portuguesa ao Índico[42] –, mas também em diversos pontos da Índia, no Sueste Asiático ou provir da China, do Japão, etc. Relativamente aos escravos mouros da Índia, eram considerados os mais inteligentes de todos os escravizados, sendo grandes servidores, apesar de lhes atribuírem má inclinação e de os referirem como finíssimos ladrões[43]. Por sua vez, os japões e chineses eram descritos como exercendo todas as artes com bom entendimento, sendo de grande inteligência. A procura de chineses chegou a ser especialmente intensa, pelo menos no início do século XVII, porque eram fiéis e industriosos, muito diligentes no trabalho e excelentes cozinheiros[44]. Quanto aos japões, também

[34] Jorge Fonseca, "Lisboa de D. Manuel I no relato de Jan Taccoen", in *Lisboa em 1514 […]*, p. 101; Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 105.
[35] Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, *Livro em que se contém toda a Fazenda e Real Património de Portugal, India e Ilhas Adjacentes e outras Particularidades*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1859, p. 145; Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso e António Lopes, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[36] Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso e António Lopes, *op. cit.*, p. 94.
[37] Jorge Fonseca, *Escravos e senhores [...]*, p. 68.
[38] "Relação da mui notável perda do galeão grande S. João […]", in *História Trágico-Marítima*, vol. I, Porto, Portucalense Editora, 1942, pp. 15-28.
[39] Manoel de Mesquita Perestrelo, "Relação sumária da viagem que fez Fernão d'Álvares Cabral […]", in *História Trágico-Marítima*, vol. I, pp. 49-71.
[40] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
[41] *Documentos remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções (1625-1627)*, vol. I, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses/Centro de Estudos Damião de Góis, 2000, p. 82.
[42] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos […]*, vol. IV, p. 173.
[43] Idem, *ibidem*, vol. IV, p. 199.
[44] Idem, *ibidem*, vol. IV, p. 199.

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bastante apreciados, a sua compra e venda chegou a ser proibida pela Coroa[45].

Apesar destas diversas proveniências, parece ser em Moçambique que tinham lugar os maiores carregamentos, sendo frequentes, como vimos, referências a navios que, mesmo vindo em torna-viagem, ali carregavam entre 200 a 400 escravos. Ainda que este local de escala chegasse a ser desaconselhado, principalmente pelo perigo de entrada no porto local, mas também devido à falta de abastecimentos e às doenças tropicais endémicas nessa região, as ilegalidades acabavam por ser aliciantes, estando ligadas ao contrabando de escravos, ouro e marfim[46]. Neste sentido, é muito provável que a necessidade de se fazer escala em Moçambique, entre diversos factores, sobretudo as condições naturais adversas e o mau estado dos navios, também tenha estado relacionada com a ambição de se carregar escravos em grandes quantidades, uma das situações ilegais atrás descritas e que poderá ter contribuído para que existam poucos registos escritos de paragens naquele sítio[47].

Para o caso atlântico, os navios da Índia iam carregar normalmente a Angola. Sabe-se que Luanda, a partir do último quartel do século XVI, tornou-se o grande porto de exportação de escravos para as partes atlânticas. Segundo Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, esses escravos destinavam-se mormente ao Brasil e à América Central, sendo irrelevante o destino europeu, exceptuando pequenas remessas de escravizados que eram enviadas por particulares ou por eles trazidas quando regressavam ao Reino[48]. No entanto, a verdade é que ainda está por apurar o impacto comercial da passagem das naus da Índia por Angola e o consequente transporte de escravos para Portugal ou até para outros locais. Uma das razões para se proibir a escala em Angola – lugar com ligações regulares com o Brasil[49], havendo três rotas marítimas principais que articulavam os dois pontos atlânticos durante o século XVII[50] – residia precisamente no facto de as naus aportarem ali para adquirir escravos[51].

A passagem pelo arquipélago de Cabo Verde, sobretudo pela ilha de Santiago, também levou a casos de compra de escravos. Assim foi em 1504, durante a vinda de Afonso de Albuquerque da Índia e depois de quase dois meses de calmarias na área da Guiné, onde adoeceram e morreram muitas pessoas da armada[52]. Na ilha de Santiago os sobreviventes descansaram durante alguns dias, adquiriram água, alimentos e escravos para auxiliarem nas manobras náuticas da fase final do trajecto até Lisboa[53].

Considerados pelo italiano Giulio Landi, c. 1523, como aqueles que aprendiam as tarefas com maior facilidade, até a tocar luth, e estando aptos a manejar armas[54], os escravos que chegavam a Santiago eram provenientes, sobretudo, da costa da Guiné. Do comércio de mercadoria humana realizado entre as duas partes, uma certa quantidade era embarcada para Sevilha em navios castelhanos, mas a maioria seguia directamente para Portugal e, um pouco mais tarde, para as Índias de Castela[55]. Entre 1513 e 1515, foi registada a chegada de 3.160 escravos a Santiago, sendo que 520 seguiram para Castela, c. 2.000 para Portugal, enquanto que os restantes ficaram na ilha[56]. Porém, relativamente à carreira da Índia, não temos dados para compreender as quantidades de escravos que, em Santiago, chegaram a ser embarcados.

De uma forma geral, e à semelhança do que acontecia nos casos de descaminho e contrabando de especiarias asiáticas, não era apenas aos Açores e a Portugal que os escravos vinham parar, mas também ao Brasil. A. J. R. Russel-Wood refere que, ainda no

[45] Sobre os escravos adquiridos no Japão, cf. Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-49.

[46] T. Bentley Duncan, "Navigation between Portugal and Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries", in *Asia and the West. Encounters and Exchanges from the age of Explorations. Essays in Honor of Donald F. Lach*, Notre Dame-Baltimore, 1986, pp. 5-6; Rui Landeiro Godinho, *A carreira da Índia […],* pp. 152-153.

[47] Para um apuramento das escalas em Moçambique, cf. idem, *ibidem,* pp. 151-153.

[48] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[49] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 69.

[50] Para o Recife (com aproximadamente 35 dias de viagem a partir de Luanda), para a Baía (40 dias) e para o Rio de Janeiro (50 dias) (cf. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, "A rede económica do mundo atlântico português", in Francisco Bethencourt e Diogo Ramada Curto (dir.), *A Expansão Marítima Portuguesa, 1400-1800*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 2010, p. 125).

[51] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, "Os Portugueses e a «carreira da Índia» […]", p. 357.

[52] *Collecção de noticias para a história e geografia das nações ultramarinas, que vivem nos domínios portugueses, ou lhes são vizinhas*, t. II, n.º I e II, Lisboa, Academia Real das Sciencias, 1812, pp. 227-228; Marco Spallanzani, *Giovanni da Empoli un mercante fiorentino nell'Asia portoghese*, Firenzi, SPES, 1999, pp. 150-151; Alexandra Pelúcia, *Afonso de Albuquerque. Corte, cruzada e império*, Lisboa, Temas e Debates/Círculo de Leitores, 2016, pp. 131-132.

[53] *Collecção de noticias […]*, t. II, p. 228; Marco Spallanzani, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Alexandra Pelúcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-132.

[54] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos [...]*, vol. IV, p. 199.

[55] Maria Manuel Ferraz Torrão, "Formas de participação dos portugueses no comércio de escravos com as Índias de Castela: abastecimento e transporte", sep. de *A dimensão atlântica da África. II Reunião Internacional de História de África. 30-31 de Outubro a 1 de Novembro de 1996*, Lisboa, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2002, pp. 3-30; Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[56] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 76.

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século XVI, as naus portuguesas vindas da Índia paravam nos portos brasileiros, sendo ali desembarcados escravos oriundos da África oriental[57]. Para Castela também eram levados escravos vindos da Ásia, por intermédio de portugueses, estando atestada esse situação desde o início do século XVI, mais concretamente para Sevilha, Valência e Cádis[58]. Na Galiza eram igualmente vendidos escravos. Em 1507, um jovem escravo chamado António, que tinha vindo de Calecute, vivia na Galiza, tendo o seu valor sido estimado em 20 lbs.[59].

Reportando-se a 1527, aquando do seu retorno ao Reino numa nau da Índia, o pe. Francisco Álvares deixa perceber que, pelo menos em duas naus provenientes da Ásia, vinham embarcados escravos[60]. À chegada aos Açores, a nau em que vinha deparou-se com uma almadia com 9 homens quase mortos, 5 brancos e 4 escravos, tendo largado prontamente ao mar uma outra embarcação desse género onde alguns marinheiros e grumetes vieram a fazer o salvamento. Constatou-se, posteriormente, que os sinistrados eram homens que tinham vindo numa das naus da armada da Índia desse ano e que se tinha adiantado em relação à nau em que vinha Francisco Álvares. A explicação para o sucedido prendeu-se com o facto de que aqueles homens haviam sido destacados para comprar galinhas numa das ilhas açorianas em que eram baratas, visando abastecer os outros navios da armada, que estavam com dificuldades em alcançar a Terceira, local habitual dos provimentos. Porém, a almadia acabou por se virar e os homens ficaram naquele estado durante algum tempo, não tendo recebido apoio das outras naus da Índia[61].

Embora as informações sobre este caso sejam bastante lacónicas, o simples facto de que algumas pessoas saíram de uma das naus já era uma violação das disposições contidas nas *Ordenações da Índia*, sendo ainda de referir que, por lei de 1512, ficara estipulada a proibição de se desembarcarem fora do porto de Lisboa quaisquer escravos em trânsito para o Reino[62]. É possível que a versão referida neste caso de 1527 seja verdadeira e os homens tenham saído do navio com a intenção de adquirir as tais galinhas, mas também se poderia estar perante uma tentativa de descaminho ou contrabando de mercadorias.

Parecem ser escassos os casos de fontes que chegaram até aos nossos dias com a indicação específica do número de escravos que vinham embarcados, sendo que em algumas situações só se conhece um valor aproximado por intermédio de testemunhos estrangeiros. A fazer fé nos dados indicados por uma fonte inglesa, em 1587, apenas na nau *São Filipe*, que foi apresada por Francis Drake nos Açores, haviam sido embarcados pelo menos 400 escravos negros em Moçambique, local onde a nau havia invernado[63]. Cinco anos volvidos, a nau *Madre de Deus*, igualmente tomada por ingleses nas ilhas, também traria a bordo c. 400 negros. Após o apresamento do navio, os escravos foram largados nas ilhas do Corvo e Flores[64]. Desconhece-se o local onde estes escravos deram entrada, mas, com base em outros exemplos, é muito provável que tenha sido em Moçambique ou Angola.

Para acabar o périplo das naus atacadas por ingleses, a *Chagas*, vindo como capitânia, ardeu a 23 de Junho de 1594 ao largo do Faial [65]. Construída na Índia, de onde partiu em 1593, era capitaneada por Francisco de Melo Canaveado, sendo considerada uma das maiores do seu tempo. Vinha carregada com muita riqueza e pedraria, com bastante gente e excesso de carga[66]. Apanhou grandes tormentas na área do cabo da Boa Esperança, onde quebrou o mastro do traquete durante uma tempestade, pelo que teve de arribar a Moçambique, vindo a invernar. De volta ao Atlântico, a *Chagas* partiu de Moçambique ainda mais sobrecarregada, visto que recebeu toda a fazenda que foi possível da nau *Nazaré*, metendo água pelo cisbordo[67]. Além disso, também levava a pedraria de outras duas naus e 400 pessoas, entre as quais se contavam 270 escravos e 130 portugueses, se bem que também chegue a ser indicado que, só de pessoas católicas, o navio levava perto de 500[68]. Pero Roiz Soares indica, ainda que com bastante exagero, que eram mais de 1.000 pessoas a bordo[69]. Apesar das ordens em contrário, a nau *Chagas* fez escala em Angola, onde tomou água, mantimentos e muitos escravos, mas, seguindo a sua viagem, acabou por

[57] A. J. R. Russel-Wood, "A dinâmica da presença brasileira […]", p. 24.
[58] Caroline Ménard, *op. cit.*, p. 237.
[59] Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 237-238.
[60] Francisco Álvares, *Verdadeira informação das terras do Preste João das Índias*. Introd. e notas de Neves Águas, Mem Martins, Europa-América, 1989, pp. 276-279.
[61] Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 276-279.
[62] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
[63] William Monson, *The naval tracts*, vol. I, [s.l.], Navy Records Society, 1902, p. 150.
[64] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 291.
[65] *Relações da carreira da Índia. Navios da carreira da Índia (1497-1653), códice anónimo da British Library. Governadores da Índia, pelo Pe. Manuel Xavier*, Lisboa, Publicações Alfa, 1989, pp. 49-50 e 141; *Memorias das armadas da India*. Org., introd. e notas de João C. Reis, Macau, Edições Mar-Oceano, 1990, p. 260; Luís Figueiredo Falcão, *op. cit.*, pp. 180 e 196.
[66] Diogo de Couto, *Da Ásia. Dos feitos que os portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento dos mares [...]*, déc. XI, Lisboa, Na Regia Oficina Typografica, 1788, pp. 134 e 140-141; Melchior Estácio do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Luís Figueiredo Falcão, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
[67] Diogo de Couto, *op. cit.*, déc. XI, pp. 140-141; Melchior Estácio do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[68] Diogo de Couto, *op. cit.*, déc. XI, p. 141; Melchior Estácio do Amaral, *op. cit.*, pp. 159 e 169.
[69] Pero Roiz Soares, *op. cit.*, cap. 92, pp. 303-304.

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ficar retida na área de "grandes e doentias calmarias"[70] da Guiné, o que fez com que toda a gente fosse afectada pelo escorbuto, morrendo quase metade.

Outro caso a ter em conta, mas algo pormenorizado quanto à proveniência dos escravos e à sua distribuição por proprietários, ocorreu em 1603. Neste ano, as naus *São Roque* e *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, largando de Cochim, traziam 256 escravos declarados: cafres, bengaleses, canarins, bichos, corumbins, jaus e chinas[71]. O pessoal da tripulação, desde o capitão aos marinheiros, do capelão ao sangrador, quase todo trazia escravos. O mesmo acontecia com diversos passageiros, nobres, clérigos ou populares. Nestes exemplos, Artur Teodoro de Matos refere que a média de escravos trazidos por pessoa era baixa: c. 2%[72]. No entanto, existiam outros casos em que o número era bem mais elevado. Assim, António Martim da Costa trazia 26 escravos, Constantino de Menelau Godinho, capitão da *São Roque*, detinha 15, João Freire, piloto da *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, vinha com 9, enquanto que o capelão trazia 7 escravos, dos quais 5 morreram na viagem[73]. Estes são alguns dos escravos que vieram registados, mas muitos outros vinham para o Reino sem que fossem declarados, engrossando os problemas relacionados com o descaminho e o contrabando.

Embora ainda não esteja esclarecido qual o destino do grosso dos escravos que vinham nas naus da carreira da Índia, é muito provável que, atendendo a outros exemplos, boa parte deles acabasse a servir como remeiros nas galés e desempenhasse outras funções nos navios ibéricos, inclusive nos espaços ultramarinos[74]. Além disso, é de crer que boa parte dos escravos negros vindos de Moçambique e Angola fizessem parte dos grupos que, posteriormente, eram enviados para a Ásia. Se já vimos que em 1608 a *Nossa Senhora da Salvação* largou do Tejo rumo à Índia com 300 escravos negros, essa seria uma realidade muito mais antiga. No final de Novembro de 1513, Afonso de Albuquerque referiu que numa armada liderada por Diogo Mendes, sedeada e destacada para uma missão no Índico, iam embarcados 200 homens, a maior parte deles negros vindos da ribeira de Lisboa[75].

Por outro lado, na senda dos locais aonde os escravos poderiam ir parar, olhemos, por exemplo, para o que acontecia aos que vinham de Arguim (actual Mauritânia). Sabe-se que estes eram levados para Lisboa e Lagos, embora alguns também fossem vendidos na Madeira e nas Canárias, sendo que muitos escravos eram reexportados, através do Reino, para os mercados do Mediterrâneo, sobretudo para o Sul de Castela[76]. Aliás, como vimos, alguns escravos vindos nos navios da carreira da Índia também foram levados para Valência, Cádis e Sevilha. O que não se sabe é qual a frequência de tais destinos e as quantidades de mercadoria humana em questão.

IV. Descaminho e Contrabando de Escravos

Tal como outras carreiras marítimas, a da Índia, tanto na ida como na torna-viagem, esteve sujeita a roubos de mercadorias, ao desvio de bens sem serem taxados e ao transporte de fazendas ilegais ou defesas. Estas são as principais actividades ilícitas que surgem associadas à carreira da Índia, sendo punidas por lei consoante o caso e a gravidade. No entanto, do ponto de vista terminológico, e de uma forma generalizada, a historiografia tem usado o termo "contrabando" para definir, em simultâneo, essas situações ilegais atrás descritas[77], isto quando as fontes mostram estarmos perante actividades com termos e significados distintos – embora relacionáveis entre si e nem sempre claros –, não podendo ser englobadas num único termo redutor[78].

São diversos os problemas associados ao descaminho e contrabando de escravos que vinham nas naus da Índia – indicados sobretudo em documentação mais tardia –, assim como referências que mostram ou que dão a entender que continuavam a ser transportados às centenas. Em 1610, por exemplo, somente na nau *Nossa Senhora da Penha de França*, que trazia o ex-governador do Estado da Índia, André Furtado de Mendonça, vinham embarcados c.

[70] Diogo de Couto, *op. cit.*, déc. XI, p. 143; Melchior Estácio do Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[71] Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Novas fontes para a história da carreira da Índia. Os livros das naus *S. Roque* e *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* (1602-1603)", in *Na rota da Índia […]*, p. 247.

[72] Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 247 e 256. Chegados a 1623, o rei autorizou que Bento Gonçalves, sota-piloto da nau *Conceição*, que iria partir para a Índia na armada capitaneada por D. António Telo de Meneses, trouxesse de lá uma caixa de mercadorias que não fossem defesas e dois escravos sem que se pagassem fretes e direitos (ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Filipe III*, liv. XI, fl. 72v; pub. por C. R. Boxer, "On a portuguese carrack's bill of lading in 1625", in *From Lisbon to Goa, 1500-1750. Studies in portuguese maritime enterprise*, [London], Variorum, 1990, p. 191).

[73] Artur Teodoro de Matos, *op. cit.*, pp. 247 e 256.

[74] Cf. *Cartas e alvarás dos Faros [...]*, p. 126; José Gentil da Silva, "Alguns elementos para a história do comércio da Índia de Portugal existentes na Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid", in *Anais*, vol. V, t. II – *Estudos de história e geografia da Expansão Portuguesa*, 1950, p. 56; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos […]*, vol. IV, pp. 203-204.

[75] *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque seguidas de documentos que as elucidam*. Dir. De Raymundo Antonio Bulhão Pato, t. I, Lisboa, Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa, 1884, p. 123.

[76] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[77] De modo oposto, no *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, dir. Joel Serrão, vol. I, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1971, p. 802, o termo "descaminho" vem associado apenas à sonegação do tributo, dos direitos fiscais obrigatórios, não havendo qualquer associação à actividade de contrabando.

[78] Marco Oliveira Borges, *O trajecto final da carreira da Índia [...]*, vol. I.

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300 escravos negros[79]. Neste mesmo ano, partiram pelo menos mais 4 navios da Ásia, sendo que destes apenas 3 chegaram a Lisboa. No que respeita à nau *Nossa Senhora Jesus*, sabe-se que rumou a Bahia, onde descarregou, acabando as mercadorias por serem enviadas para o Reino em 4 navios de menor porte[80]. Crendo que nos 4 navios vindos da Ásia também terão sido embarcados escravos em grande quantidade, uma vez que era frequente que em cada nau viessem entre 200 e 300, o número total referente à armada da Índia de torna-viagem poderá ter atingido perto do milhar ou ultrapassado. Porém, face às extremas condições de vida a bordo, sentidas ainda mais pelos escravos, bem como pelo facto de que se pretendia que as naus viessem de rota-batida para Lisboa, piorando a situação, grande parte deles deverá ter sucumbido durante a viagem.

Embora os casos concretos de descaminho/contrabando de escravos sejam escassos para o trajecto entre os Açores e a costa portuguesa, pelo menos até ao momento, a documentação normativa deixa perceber que o problema era bastante sério e que as leis facilmente eram desrespeitadas pelas várias pessoas que vinham a bordo dos navios oriundos da Ásia. Para se compreender os locais de comércio e o destino dos escravos, é fundamental averiguar e fazer paralelos com as rotinas do descaminho e do contrabando de especiarias ou até mesmo dos metais preciosos vindos das Índias Ocidentais. Tal como os Açores, Cascais, Sesimbra, Setúbal e outros sítios eram usados para se desviar especiarias e caixas com ouro e prata, sendo estes habitualmente colocados em lojas, casas, armazéns, gaiolas, cobertas e outros esconderijos, algo que era feito com a conivência das gentes locais[81]. À semelhança do que se pensa para o caso das especiarias, é possível que já no reinado de D. Manuel I existisse um esquema de contrabando e descaminho de escravos entre os Açores e a costa portuguesa.

Todavia, mais difícil de tentar saber são os números envolvidos. Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, no que respeita a escravos indianos, refere que a quantidade transaccionada – legal ou clandestinamente – nos Açores pelas tripulações dos navios vindos da Índia era baixa[82]. Contudo, acrescenta que àquele arquipélago as naus da Índia também transportavam escravos negros vindos da costa oriental e ocidental africana. Ainda assim, o investigador indica que a maior parte dos escravos ali chegados vinha em navios portugueses oriundos da Guiné, de Cabo Verde e de São Tomé. Muito embora se chegasse a indicar na Casa da Mina a venda de alguns escravos nas ilhas, como aconteceu em 1525, 1526, 1532 e 1533, esta prática ia contra a lei de 1512[83].

Para o referido caso das naus *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* e *São Roque*, sabe-se que alguns escravos asiáticos vindos naquele ano de 1603 foram vendidos em Vigo, local onde, devido ao mau tempo que se fazia sentir, os dois navios tiveram de se refugiar. O primeiro a ser referido, tendo sido vendido por João Gonçalves, marinheiro de uma das naus da Índia e vizinho de Lisboa, aparece num documento de 29 de Setembro. Era um escravo negro igualmente chamado António, que tendo c. 10 anos havia sido adquirido em Cochim e vendido por 250 reais de prata castelhanos a Antonio Núñez Vela, um alferes de campo galego[84]. O outro, referido num documento de 2 de Outubro do mesmo ano, chamava-se Domingo, sendo de Bengala. Foi vendido a Juan Ochoa y Turrioz, vizinho da Corunha que morava na vila herculina, por Roque Fernandes Cantero, marinheiro de uma das naus da Índia, que, por sua vez, tinha adquirido o escravo a Manuela Lopes, vizinha da cidade de Cochim. Este negócio feito em Vigo foi no valor de 450 reais de prata castelhanos[85].

Assim, o facto dessas duas naus da Índia se terem abrigado em Vigo proporcionou que dois marinheiros vendessem escravos, mas outros poderão ter seguido o mesmo caminho. Tínhamos visto que nessas naus muitas pessoas traziam escravos, sendo de acrescentar que, devido ao mau tempo, tiveram de descarregar as mercadorias naquele porto. Todos os locais de passagem geravam uma oportunidade, ficando demonstrado o papel de elementos da tripulação no tráfico de escravos, que se integrava numa rede mais vasta[86]. Estamos perante um caso que mostra transacções directas num núcleo urbano portuário, sem haver lugar a intermediários, mas que revela que o interesse em tal mercadoria não se limitava às suas imediações[87]. Embora possa parecer irrisório o número de escravos transaccionados, a verdade é que não sabemos se foram apenas aqueles dois. O facto de diversas naus da Índia, ao longo do tempo, terem arribado à Galiza, poderá ter levado a que muitos escravos por lá tenham sido vendidos.

Vejamos agora mais um caso suspeito e onde poderão ter ocorrido actividades ilícitas com

[79] Jean Mocquet, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
[80] Cf. Luís de Figueiredo Falcão, *op. cit.*, p. 188; Paulo Guinote, Eduardo Frutuoso e António Lopes, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.
[81] Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz, *Comercio de España con America en la Epoca de Felipe II*, t. II – *La Navegacion, los Tesoros e las Perlas*, 2.ª ed., Valladolid, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputacion Provincial de Valladolid, 1986, p. 127; Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Os Açores e a carreira da Índia no século XVI", in *Estudos de História de Portugal,* vol. II – *Séculos XVI-XX. Homenagem a A. H. de Oliveira Marques*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1983, p. 102.
[82] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-133.
[83] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 133.
[84] Caroline Ménard, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
[85] Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 238-239.
[86] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 239.
[87] Idem, *ibidem*, p. 239.

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mercadorias vindas da Ásia. Em 1610, Jean Mocquet desembarcou em Cascais quando vinha na nau *Nossa Senhora de Penha de França*[88]. Teriam outras pessoas feito o mesmo? E quanto a actividades ilegais? Funcionando Cascais com anteporto oceânico de Lisboa e sendo um local activo de descaminho e contrabando de mercadorias[89], inclusive da carreira da Índia, não admira que tenham ocorrido ilicitudes naquele porto e que outras pessoas tenham passado a terra. Note-se que na referida nau vinham embarcados pelo menos c. 300 escravos e que os mesmos não poderiam chegar a Lisboa, visto que seriam detectados pelos oficiais da Casa da Índia. Nalgum lugar teriam que ser largados antes que aportassem no rio Tejo.

O porto de Cascais estava bem posicionado para dar azo a este tipo de actividades, sendo que o foral de 1514 já identificava a presença de escravos na vila[90]. Mas voltando a 1610, há que referir um caso concreto de descaminho de escravos envolvendo a nau da Índia *Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe*. Tendo arribado em Angola quando ia para a Índia, devido a ter perdido o leme e a estar muito destroçada[91], a nau aproveitou para carregar muitos escravos, sendo que antes do retorno a Lisboa algumas das pessoas que os traziam foram largando-os em diferentes partes para que não fossem obrigados a levá-los à Casa da Índia, onde teriam de pagar os devidos direitos fiscais[92]. Um documento indica que os locais das ocorrências foram Cascais, a praia das Maçãs e outras partes, mas sem especificar quais, ficando assim por saber exactamente quais os outros sítios que não são mencionados. Face a uma queixa surgida na altura, o monarca mandou tirar devassa para se apurar quem eram os culpados.

Em suma, a escala e a passagem por diferentes portos para abastecimento e abrigo acabava por ser motivo para dar azo a estas actividades ilícitas, mas alguns locais que não desempenhavam propriamente aquelas tarefas também podiam estar associados a descaminho e a contrabando. Por outro lado, as escalas forçadas, motivadas pela desculpa de mau tempo ou da presença de corsários, eram igualmente fundamentais para que as mercadorias fossem descarregadas antes que os navios chegassem aos seus portos de destino. No entanto, nem sempre eram feitas as paragens pretendidas para se descaminhar/contrabandear especiarias, pedraria e escravos. Previsivelmente, era nas situações em que as naus da Índia chegavam ao Tejo com tempo rijo e sem poder descarregar algures – nomeadamente em Cascais – que eram detectados mais casos em que as mercadorias vinham fora de registo. Sem possibilidade de os navios poderem aportar na costa para descaminhar as fazendas não registadas, conforme revela um documento de 1635, os oficiais da Casa da Índia acabavam descobrir com maior frequência estas situações ilegais[93]. É evidente que isso também aconteceria no caso dos escravos.

V. Legislação Sobre a Vinda de Escravos

a) *Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina*

O regimento que D. Francisco de Almeida levou para a Índia, em 1505, já continha ordens para que os feitores e escrivães das naus de carga procedessem ao correcto registo das mercadorias nos cadernos, visando evitar actos ilícitos durante a torna-viagem e garantir que tudo estaria em condições para posterior controlo dos oficiais da Casa da Índia, no momento da descarga em Lisboa[94].

Contudo, a fonte normativa mais antiga que ilustra as preocupações com a chegada das mercadorias da Ásia ao Tejo, os problemas inerentes ao seu descarregamento e a legislação para evitar as actividades fraudulentas já descritas, é o *Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina* (compilação de regimentos). O conteúdo deste *Regimento* divide-se em duas partes distintas: a primeira é constituída pelos regulamentos promulgados por D. Manuel I em 1509, bem como pelas demais providências expedidas até 1530 (em rectificação), enquanto que a segunda comporta disposições mais tardias, sendo constituída por documentos remetidos entre 1575 e 1697[95]. É na primeira parte, mais precisamente no *Titullo do Regimento do Feittor dambas as Cazas de Guiné y da India*, que são abordados os procedimentos que deveriam ser seguidos durante a descarga das naus da Índia para evitar ilegalidades e se proceder ao armazenamento das especiarias e demais mercadorias vindas da Ásia.

Relativamente aos escravos, o regimento, no cap. 159, elaborado ou revisto em Agosto de 1517, mostra que a Coroa permitia a sua vinda, embora de forma bastante limitada, quer em número, quer relativamente às pessoas que podiam trazê-los para o Reino (quadro 1). Assim, relativamente aos mestres e pilotos de naus entre 200 e 300 tonéis, cada um poderia

[88] Jean Mocquet, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
[89] Cf. Marco Oliveira Borges, *O porto de Cascais durante a Expansão Quatrocentista. Apoio à navegação e defesa costeira*. Dissertação de Mestrado em História Marítima, Universidade de Lisboa, 2012, pp. 61, 93, 104-105, 122-125 e 209; idem, "Caracterização e funcionalidade de um porto atlântico em finais da Idade Média: o exemplo de Cascais", in Adelaide Millán da Costa, Amélia Aguiar Andrade e Catarina Tente (eds.), *O papel das pequenas cidades na construção da Europa medieval*, Lisboa, Instituto de Estudos Medievais/Câmara Municipal de Castelo de Vide, 2017, pp. 292 e 295.
[90] *500 anos do foral manuelino de Cascais, 1514-2014*, Cascais, Câmara Municipal de Cascais, 2016, p. 104.
[91] AHU, *CU*, *Angola*, cx. 1, doc. 6.
[92] Idem, *ibidem*, cx. 1, doc. 11.
[93] Idem, *Reino*, cx. 8, n.º 34.
[94] *Cartas de Affonso […]*, t. II, pp. 298-301 e 305-306; A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 36-38.
[95] *Regimento das Cazas [...]*, p. XII.

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trazer 2 escravos, enquanto que o contra-mestre apenas 1[96]. Por sua vez, para o caso das naus entre 300 e 400 tonéis ou que passassem dessa tonelagem, cada mestre, tal como o piloto, poderiam trazer 2 escravos cada um[97]. Curiosamente, o contra-mestre não é indicado para estes últimos exemplos.

Quadro 1: Relação dos elementos das tripulações que poderiam trazer escravos

Navios (unidades)	Tonelagem (tonéis)	Tripulação	N.º de escravos
1	200-300	Mestre	2
		Piloto	2
		Contra-mestre	1
1	300-400	Mestre	2
		Piloto	2
		Contra-mestre	2
1	400 ou mais	Mestre	2
		Piloto	2

Fonte: Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina […], pp. 134-135.

Desde logo se pode concluir que o número de escravos que poderia ser carregado é muito baixo, sendo algo que dificilmente iria ser respeitado, até porque não eram estipuladas penalizações para possíveis infractores. Por outro lado, o transporte era apenas permitido a estes três elementos da tripulação, situação que seria igualmente difícil de cumprir. Não era trabalhoso contornar a lei e embarcar muitos mais escravos nos navios, sendo que somente à chegada a Lisboa, mediante a revista e contagem dos oficiais régios, é que se poderia confirmar quantos vinham a bordo e previamente declarados. Por isso mesmo, conforme tivemos oportunidade de indicar, antes da chegada à capital, o descarregamento de escravos poderia ter lugar em diversos locais, à semelhança do que acontecia com outros produtos vindos da Ásia.

Como não é referida nenhuma limitação quanto ao tipo de sexo dos escravos que poderiam ser embarcados, infere-se que se poderiam trazer tanto homens como mulheres. Relativamente aos direitos fiscais a serem pagos na Casa da Índia, e tal como no caso das caixas vindas a bordo, a Coroa isentava os referidos tripulantes, ainda que até aí não parecesse ser costume: "nam paguem os taes nenhuns direitos na nossa Caza da India, y os fazemos deles francos, posto que os houvessem de pagar, porque por lhe fazermos merce nos praz lhos quitar"[98].

As licenças do *Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina* terão levado a largos abusos[99], pelo que, por carta de 2 de Março de 1520, que seria levada na armada desse ano, D. Manuel I ordenava restrições a Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, governador do Estado da Índia, quanto à vinda de escravos. O rei alegava que o seu transporte era muito inoportuno, visto que não se tirava proveito dos escravos para trabalharem nas naus, acrescendo que consumiam muitos mantimentos e água, "afora outros inconvenientes de muyto noso deserviço"[100]. Assim, doravante, não poderiam vir nas naus do rei nenhuns escravos e escravas de particulares, mesmo que o rei tivesse passado provisões a algumas pessoas, alegando-se que o proveito que os particulares tiravam era muito pouco e o negócio do rei acabava bastante penalizado. Contudo, isso não se aplicava ao caso das naus dos mercadores com contratos para trazerem especiarias, tendo estes liberdade para embarcarem quem quisessem.

Em todo o caso, se fosse decidido pelo vedor da Fazenda, na Índia, que para maior segurança das naus do rei alguns escravos teriam de vir embarcados, D. Manuel I ordenava que fossem até 20 em cada nau, mas tendo de ter idade para servir nos aparelhos e não de outra forma. Por fim, o rei permitia a possibilidade de que o número de escravos por nau aumentasse, sendo carregados os necessários, mas apenas se fosse mesmo indispensável[101].

b) Ordenações da Índia

Igualmente em 1520, as *Ordenações da Índia* estipulavam o seguinte:

> "Item defendemos e mandamos: que nas nossas naos: nem de mercadores que vierem da india pera estes reynos com a carregua das especiarias: possa nenhuma pessoa trazer: nem tragua ninhuuns

[96] *Ibidem*, p. 135.

[97] *Ibidem*, pp. 134-135.

[98] *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. 5, pt. I, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1865, pp. 52-53, doc. 33.

[99] *Ibidem*, pp. 52-53, doc. 33.

[100] *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. 5, pt. I, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1865, pp. 52-53, doc. 33.

[101] *Ibidem*, pp. 52-53, doc. 33.

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> escrauos machos: nem fêmeas: posto que prouisam tenha do nosso capitam moor: nem veedor da fazenda: sob pena que quem o contrairo fezer os perca anoueados: a metade pera a nossa camara: e a outra pera os catiuos. E os que em naos de mercadores vierem: sera a metade pera eles; e a outra metade pera os catiuos. E porem os mercadores e armadores que por nossa liçença enuiarem as ditas partes suas naos: poderam trazer nellas como mercadorias quasquer escrauos machos que quiserem: porem não poderão dar lugar a ninhumas pessoas: pera nas ditas suas naos os trazerem: sob a dita pena: na qual eles ditos mercadores que a dita licença derem: encorreram: alem da pena em que emcorrerem as proprias partes: e neste caso sera a dita pena pera a nossa camara a metade: e pera os catiuos a outra metade: sem eles mercadores della auerem parte alguma"[102].

De forma sucinta, nos navios do rei era proibido trazer escravos, fossem do sexo masculino ou feminino, mesmo que tivesse havido autorização do capitão-mor ou do vedor da Fazenda, sendo que quem desrespeitasse tal imposição ficava sujeito a perdê-los. No entanto, os mercadores e armadores que, com autorização do rei, enviassem os seus navios à Ásia poderiam trazer a quantidade que quisessem de escravos machos. Ainda assim, ficava expresso que não poderiam ceder espaço dos seus navios para que outras pessoas trouxessem escravos, visto que aí seriam penalizados com a perda dessa mercadoria.

Portanto, comparativamente com o *Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina*, há uma mudança de paradigma em 1520, pretendendo-se que apenas os navios de particulares sob autorização régia pudessem trazer escravos, o que deixa prever que nos anos precedentes terão decorrido abusos e sido desrespeitadas as normas em vigor. Aliás, o exemplo da suposta nau da Índia chegada em Abril de 1514 com centenas de escravos a bordo poderá atestar essa situação.

Acresce, como vimos, que a própria presença de centenas de escravos acabava por constituir um encargo avultado no consumo de água e alimentos[103], se bem que estes passassem grandes privações. Além disso, como chegou a ser invocado anos mais tarde, o seu elevado número, em conjunto com a carga excessiva de especiarias e de outras fazendas, chegava a pôr em risco a navegabilidade e segurança dos navios[104]. Por outro lado, se o dito *Regimento* permitia que apenas fossem trazidos 2 ou 1 escravo por pessoa, isto dentro do lote de tripulantes que as normas especificavam, a partir de 1520 os mercadores e armadores autorizados poderiam trazer a quantidade que bem entendessem no seus navios, se bem que apenas de machos[105].

Apesar das restrições indicadas para os navios da Coroa, vimos que no tempo de D. Manuel I o rei deixava que alguns escravos viessem especificamente a bordo para fazer certos trabalhos nas naus. Isso é algo que também se pode confirmar, por exemplo, para o reinado de D. João III, sendo que, por regimento de 17 de Março de 1528, D. Nuno da Cunha recebeu autorização para trazer escravos que trabalhassem nos serviços da nau, caso de dar à bomba[106].

c) Algumas medidas de inícios do século XVII

Tal como as especiarias e outras mercadorias vindas da Ásia, os escravos também teriam de vir registados, algo que não era respeitado. Daí que a Coroa insistisse repetidamente em fazer pressão perante os oficiais da Índia para que as ordens régias fossem cumpridas. Assim, à saída de Cochim, o escrivão de cada nau deveria apregoar e colocar um escrito junto do mastro grande, anunciando a obrigatoriedade do registo do fato e dos escravos que não tivessem sido declarados na Índia. Dava-se um prazo de 15 dias para que a tripulação e passageiros normalizassem a sua situação[107].

Por carta de 23 de Fevereiro de 1608, remetendo para uma provisão de 7 de Março de 1602, a Coroa referia que estava informada sobre a liberdade que os anteriores reis haviam concedido de se carregar, na Índia, caixas e escravos isentos de direitos fiscais cobrados em Lisboa, mas os abusos tinham excedido largamente o tolerável. O alargar de liberdades por parte dos governadores e vice-reis aos oficiais fez com que, por sua vez, estes passassem a vendê-las aos comerciantes, levando a grandes prejuízos quanto à cobrança dos direitos régios. Neste sentido, em 1602, o rei mandou tirar essas liberdades e ordenou que os direitos fossem pagos:

> "[…] os governadores e viso-reys deram outras muitas [liberdades], que os officiaes vendiam cada anno a homens de negocio; e foi tanto em

[102] Luiz Fernando de Carvalho Dias, *As Ordenações da Índia*, sep. de *Garcia de Orta. Revista da Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigação do Ultramar*, 1956, p. 238.
[103] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, p. 61.
[104] Jorge Fonseca, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[105] Reportando-se a 1525, altura em que D. Duarte de Meneses, acusado de corrupção, veio para o Reino, Gaspar Correia refere que D. João III tinha ordenado que o fidalgo viesse numa nau capitaneada por outro homem e que levasse consigo apenas escravos de pouca idade para o servirem (Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*. Introd. e revisão de M. Lopes de Almeida, vol. II, Porto, Lello & Irmão, 1975 p. 853).
[106] *Regimento da Casa da Índia. Manuscrito do século XVII existente no Arquivo Geral de Simancas*. Introd. e pref. de Francisco Mendes da Luz, 2.ª ed., Lisboa, Ministério da Educação, Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1992, p. 116.
[107] Artur Teodoro de Matos, "Novas fontes […]", p. 246.

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crescimento que montavam os direitos mais de cincoenta mil cruzados, pelo que mandei, por provisão de 7 de março de 602, tirar as ditas liberdades, e se lhe paguem pelo rendimento do Estado, pelo preço que ordinariamente valerem, conforme a calidade de cada huma das ditas liberdades, que o viso-rey ou governador lhe fará pagar, que he huma tam grande despeza que em nenhum modo se pode cumprir, senão deixando-se de pagar outras de mais importancia, como são soldos e provimentos das armadas e fortalezas"[108].

Este era um assunto que, em Fevereiro de 1608, continuava a levantar problemas e gerava discussão, muito provavelmente devido a queixas ou a situações de flagrante delito, pelo que era pedido que fossem remetidas informações da Índia, sobretudo as antigas provisões e regimentos. Pretendia-se que pudessem ser analisadas no Reino e estabelecidos os procedimentos a adoptar daí em diante, visando saber quem teria direito a tais liberdades e a forma de proceder na Casa da Índia[109]. Porém, a 8 de Fevereiro de 1610, era referido que essas indicações ainda não haviam sido expedidas para Lisboa, acabando por ser ordenado que as devidas diligências fossem levadas a cabo[110]. Sem que aquelas informações chegassem a Portugal era difícil tomar uma decisão.

O problema acabava por ter contornos mais profundos já que, a juntar às desmedidas cargas de especiarias e outros produtos asiáticos, eram embarcados escravos em grandes quantidades. Por documento de 18 de Março de 1610, dirigido a Rui Lourenço de Távora, vice-rei da Índia, ordenava-se que se viesse de rota-batida para Portugal, sem haver lugar para escala em Santa Helena ou em qualquer outro local, pelo que havia que se carregar as naus com mais água do que o habitual[111]. Para que tal fosse conseguido, indicava-se que em cada nau de torna-viagem não embarcassem mais de 100 escravos, sendo que estes teriam de ter idade e características físicas apropriadas para auxiliarem nos trabalhos a bordo. É referido que quem não cumprisse as disposições deveria ser "castigado com rigor"[112] pelo vice-rei, mas as penas não são indicadas. Contudo, as ordens não estavam a ser respeitadas e o embarque massivo de escravos continuava.

VI. Em Torno de Possíveis Quantitativos (Século XVI)

Parece existir um consenso historiográfico de que o século XVI foi aquele em que mais escravos deram entrada em Portugal[113]. Mas quantos terão chegado ao Reino? Pergunta antiga, colocada por diversos investigadores, mas à qual, face à insuficiência das fontes disponíveis, não é possível responder de forma rigorosa[114]. Ainda assim, Vitorino Magalhães Godinho supôs que no século XVI tenham entrado anualmente em Portugal entre 2.000 a 3.000 escravos, às vezes até mais, sendo que a média anual deveria situar-se próxima do primeiro número avançado ou um pouco acima. Para o total da centúria, interrogou-se se teriam sido uns 250.000 cativos[115].

Olhando para o caso específico da mercadoria humana que vinha nas naus da Índia, e face ao actual estado do conhecimento, também não é possível estabelecer uma hipótese verosímil. No entanto, relativamente aos carregamentos em Moçambique, T. Bentley Duncan estimou que 60% dos navios vindos do Índico para Lisboa durante o século XVI tenham trazido escravos, transportando uma média de 1 por cada 10 toneladas, o que, segundo o autor, daria 18.000 escravos oriundos da África oriental a desembarcar na capital[116]. Todavia, conforme mostrou Rui Landeiro Godinho, estes cálculos e os resultados são muito duvidosos. Na verdade, Duncan, neste e em outros aspectos, caí em generalizações e extrapolações para corroborar ideias, isto quando se sabe que os dados disponíveis são incompletos e, na maioria dos casos, não sequenciados[117]. Aliás, Duncan chega a admitir que a quantidade da carga de escravos terá sofrido bastante com oscilações, não havendo dados suficientes para justificar o método de abordagem que usou[118].

Tendo visto que cada nau da Índia, já em meados do século XVI, poderia trazer mais de 200 ou de 300 escravos, que em 1587 e 1592 chegaram a ser referidas naus com 400 escravos, e se tivermos em conta a hipótese atrás colocada para 1514, acrescendo ainda que se comprova que alguns dos carregamentos

[108] *Documentos remetidos da Índia […]*, t. I, p. 198.
[109] *Ibidem*, t. I, p. 198.
[110] *Ibidem*, t. I, pp. 317-318.
[111] *Ibidem*, t. I, p. 387.
[112] *Ibidem*, t. I, p. 387.

[113] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 e 134.
[114] Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 134-140.
[115] Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *Os Descobrimentos […]*, vol. IV, p. 168.
[116] Para o mesmo século, e calculando 1 escravo embarcado por cada 8 toneladas, o autor indica que o número de escravos chegados à Índia através dos navios da carreira (70%) era mais elevado, estimando 33.000, isto porque as naus paravam em Moçambique e o comércio de escravos entre aquele local e Goa era mais intenso, sendo aquela escala considerada o principal porto de embarque de escravos da costa oriental africana (T. Bentley Duncan, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20, n. 11).
[117] Rui Landeiro Godinho, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 e 96.
[118] T. Bentley Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 11.

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indicados foram realizados em Moçambique, o número de escravos que chegaram a Lisboa nos navios da carreira da Índia com proveniência daquele destino deverá ter superado consideravelmente a estimativa de Duncan. Não se quer com isto dizer que em todos os anos daquele século vieram escravos de Moçambique, até porque se sabe que em alguns não chegaram navios a Lisboa, mas os vários navios das armadas da Índia em movimento ao longo da centúria poderão ter feito com que em certos anos a chegada fosse bastante alta. Além disso, como em Angola as naus também chegavam a carregar grandes quantidades de escravos, tal como muitos seriam embarcados na Índia ou até na ilha de São Lourenço e Cabo Verde, o número chegado ao Reino nos navios da carreira da Índia durante o período em foco terá atingido proporções bastante altas.

Ainda assim, é preciso referir que grande parte dos escravos em trânsito não chegaria a Lisboa, pois muitos deles sucumbiam durante a viagem. De facto, atendendo às extremas condições de vida a bordo, à alimentação bastante débil e à constante falta de água doce – chegando a ser bebida água do mar –, aspectos sentidos sobretudo no retorno e ainda mais pelos escravos, para os quais os alimentos chegavam a ser cozinhados com água salgada, levando mais rapidamente a que ficassem doentes e morressem[119], grande parte deles nem chegava a águas do Atlântico Norte. Estas condições decerto que se agravaram a partir de finais do século XVI, isto devido à actividade de corsários e à concorrência de ingleses e neerlandeses na rota do Cabo, passando a ser frequente que se ordenasse que os navios viessem de rota batida para Lisboa, sem haver lugar para escala de abastecimento de alimentos e água[120]. Por outro lado, convém não esquecer que grande parte dos escravos seriam envolvidos em descaminho e contrabando, não chegando a Lisboa, outro dos factores que importa ter em conta nas observações.

De entre todos os escravos vindos para Portugal, há que tentar compreender qual a diferença numérica entre os que provinham de Arguim, de Santiago, de São Tomé e de outras partes comparativamente com aqueles que chegavam nas naus da Índia. No entanto, tentaremos, de certo modo, explorar esse assunto numa outra oportunidade.

VII. Conclusão

Desde inícios do século XVI que escravos vinham na viagem de retorno da carreira da Índia, sendo que alguns até iam de Lisboa para a Ásia, ainda que esteja por apurar qual a frequência e quantidades para essa época inaugural. Somente para meados do século é que se consegue comprovar que vinham embarcados às centenas – chegando a ser indicados mais de 300 num único navio –, superando, em número, a população portuguesa de algumas naus de torna-viagem. Isto permite pôr de parte a ideia de que apenas no século XVII é que os escravos haviam começado a ser trazidos em grandes quantidades. No entanto, tendo em conta a hipótese colocada para o caso de Jan Taccoen, é possível que os c. 300 escravos que a 12 de Abril de 1514 chegaram a Lisboa tenham vindo numa nau da Índia. A ter em conta essa suposição, importava saber se se estava perante um caso excepcional ou se seria algo recorrente já nessa altura.

Oriundos da China, Índia e de outras várias partes da Ásia, de Cabo Verde, Angola e de Moçambique – sendo estes últimos dois locais os mais destacados –, alguns acabavam por ser usados nos trabalhos a bordo, enquanto que outros eram vendidos e rumavam a locais como Sevilha, Valência, Cádis, Galiza, isto quando não eram transaccionados ilegalmente no Brasil. Os Açores e Lisboa também eram locais de destino, mas está por apurar o que acontecia ao grosso dos escravos. Como desde cedo a Coroa restringiu a um número muito reduzido a vinda de escravos, o descaminho e o contrabando foram ilegalidades que permitiram contornar as leis. Espaços como os Açores e Cascais, à semelhança do que acontecia nos diversos produtos vindos da Ásia e até dos metais da carreira das Índias, terão tido importância destacada, mas Sesimbra, Setúbal, outros portos e pequenos ancoradouros – como vimos no caso da praia das Maçãs – deverão ter recebido igualmente escravos em diversas ocasiões. Assim, de futuro, para uma melhor compreensão deste tema, há que recorrer igualmente à história local e a estudos portuários, procurando indicações sobre a entrada e a venda de escravos.

Nos primeiros tempos da carreira da Índia, e com base no que vem referido no *Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina*, era permitido que apenas fossem trazidos 2 ou 1 escravo por pessoa, isto dentro do lote de tripulantes que as normas especificavam. Contudo, a falta de homens podia fazer com que houvesse uma necessidade urgente de se adquirir escravos para os trabalhos a bordo enquanto decorria a viagem, sendo que isso ocorreu logo em 1504, quando a armada de Afonso de Albuquerque retornava ao Reino e sofreu com as calmarias da Guiné, acabando por se aportar na ilha de Santiago. Neste sentido, o número de escravos que vinham nos navios poderia facilmente superar aquele que era permitido. Aliás, importa saber se neste tipo de casos era apenas embarcado um certo número de escravos que se julgava que seria

[119] ANTT, *Fragmentos*, *cartas para el-rei*, mç. 3, n.º 40; Jean Mocquet, *op. cit*., p. 148.
[120] Para uma problematização sobre as ordens e instruções relativas à torna-viagem, cf. Rui Landeiro Godinho, *op. cit.,* pp. 119-131.

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necessário para trabalhar nos navios. O mais provável é que, sendo estas situações igualmente uma oportunidade para se poder lucrar bastante, as quantidades de escravos compradas fossem maiores, não esquecendo que algumas passagens por Angola, embora para cronologias seiscentistas, deixam entender isso.

Por volta de 1520, e apesar das restrições anteriores impostas pela Coroa, a grande quantidade de escravos que estaria a ser embarcada prejudicava o transporte de especiarias e até mesmo de alimentos e água, pelo que D. Manuel I, não estando interessado nesse tipo de comércio através da carreira da Índia, pretendia evitar escravos nos seus navios. A única excepção acontecia quando se precisava de gente para trabalhar nos aparelhos das naus, sendo que aí o rei dava ordens para que pudessem ser usados até 20 escravos, mas com idade suficiente para desempenhar as tarefas associadas. Porém, no caso dos navios de particulares (mercadores e armadores) expressamente autorizados, o cenário mudava de figura: as *Ordenações da Índia* permitiam que fossem trazidos quaisquer escravos machos, ou seja, a quantidade que bem se entendesse. De qualquer forma, e apesar desta mudança de paradigma relativamente ao conteúdo do *Regimento das Cazas das Índias e Mina*, ficava estipulado que os particulares não poderiam conceder espaço dos seus navios para que outras pessoas trouxessem escravos. Duvida-se muito que as medidas restritivas, de uma forma geral, tenham sido devidamente respeitadas.

Em meados do século, naus de torna-viagem estavam a retornar com c. 200 e 300 escravos, número que chegou a ser superado em 1587 e 1592. Em inícios do século XVII, as preocupações da Coroa relacionadas com a vinda de grandes quantidades de escravos aumentaram, situação que se espelha na legislação e nas diversas indicações dadas aos vice-reis da Índia e aos capitães das armadas. De facto, por esta altura o problema agravou-se, havendo dois motivos principais. Por um lado, os abusos relacionados com a fuga aos direitos fiscais atingiam grandes repercussões. Apesar de nas décadas anteriores se ter concedido a liberdade de se carregar escravos isentos de direitos fiscais à chegada a Lisboa, a verdade é que os abusos acabaram por exceder largamente o tolerável. O alargar de liberdades por parte dos governadores e vice-reis aos oficiais fez com que, por sua vez, estes passassem a vendê-las aos comerciantes, levando a grandes prejuízos quanto à cobrança dos direitos régios. Ainda que em 1602 o rei tenha mandado tirar essas liberdades e ordenado que os direitos fossem pagos, os problemas continuaram, sendo que facilmente vinham escravos para o Reino sem que fossem registados. Daí que os escrivães das naus apregoassem no mastro grande de cada navio a obrigatoriedade do registo do fato e dos escravos que não tivessem sido declarados na Índia, dando-se um prazo de 15 dias para que a situação fosse normalizada.

Por outro lado, como agora havia concorrência estrangeira em todo o circuito da rota do Cabo, os navios portugueses tinham de vir carregados com mantimentos e água em abundância para terem autonomia e não serem obrigados a fazer escala, tentando que se evitasse prováveis encontros com inimigos, pelo que, pelo menos a partir de 1610, passou a ser proibido transportar mais de 100 escravos em cada navio. No entanto, o carregamento de escravos continuava a ser feito em larga escala.

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Changes in Modern Uzbek National Crafts

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Abstract- This article is devoted to the analysis of the development of national traditional handicraft in Uzbekistan over the years of independence. During this period, the demand and interest in the scientific study of national handicrafts, as well as various areas and branches of arts and crafts as an integral part, increased significantly. All the necessary legal and material conditions created by the Government of the Republic are a powerful incentive for the development of this industry in an evolutionary way, and such provides for the topicality of its scientific research.

The article deals with measures taken to restore handicrafts, develop national handicrafts in the region, create mentoring schools about some problems and ways to resolve them in the national handicraft industry, the impact of global progressive processes on this area, as well as the prospects for handicrafts.

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Changes in Modern Uzbek National Crafts

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Abstract- This article is devoted to the analysis of the development of national traditional handicraft in Uzbekistan over the years of independence. During this period, the demand and interest in the scientific study of national handicrafts, as well as various areas and branches of arts and crafts as an integral part, increased significantly. All the necessary legal and material conditions created by the Government of the Republic are a powerful incentive for the development of this industry in an evolutionary way, and such provides for the topicality of its scientific research.

The article deals with measures taken to restore handicrafts, develop national handicrafts in the region, create mentoring schools about some problems and ways to resolve them in the national handicraft industry, the impact of global progressive processes on this area, as well as the prospects for handicrafts.

I. The Revival of Traditional National Craftsmanship as a Value

Due to serious historical transformations associated with the attainment of independence, there appeared tremendous opportunities for an objective disclosure of the cultural history of the Uzbek people. From the scientific point of view, a lot of questions concerning the history of the homeland and culture find a new real and diversified solution. The necessary measures are being taken to comprehensively develop all types of handicrafts. Radically changed attitude to the national handicraft. This is due to a new ideological policy aimed at preserving the national heritage. Particular attention is paid to the types of national craftsmanship confirms the fact that after independence, culture experts began to turn more often to the artistic experience of past centuries. This, in turn, requires a new approach to the development of handicraft and opens the way for its further growth. The accumulated experience in the development of modern society shows the need to preserve the cultural heritage. It should be noted that over the past 25 years, the republic has accumulated a great deal of experience in reviving the traditional culture of handicrafts. After gaining independence of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the Uzbek people received tremendous opportunities to restore the ancient national artisan and applied art as its integral part. The heritage of national handicraft was perceived as a national cultural heritage. Therefore, respect for the legacy of handicrafts, created by the hands, labor and mind of the people as well as the restoration of forgotten species is an urgent and topical task of today.

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Consequently, the entire transformation of social life created by the national values of the traditional way of life of the original labor skills of our talented people requires consistent research. Based on the folk art experience formed over thousands of years and also based on the social and spiritual foundation for the development of craftsmanship in line with the traditional national art initiative of the President of the Republic and the government, decrees were adopted by the resolution to the evolutionary development of this industry in the years of independence. This is an important step in the process of national folk art and arts and crafts in restoring handicrafts and its further development, especially some forgotten species, branches of national handicraft, the beginning of the 21st century, the cities of Bukhara and Gijduvan turned out to be the centers of gold weaving not only in Uzbekistan but also throughout Central Asia. In the cities of Shofirkan, Vobkent, Ramitan and also in the Nurot region of the Navoi region, embroidery, pottery, stone carving, jewelry, carpet weaving are developed as a kind of school based on the tradition of mentoring. Chust district of Namangan region has long been a center of ancient handicraft. The following types of folk crafts such as embroidery, bakery, making knives, beshik and chests, leatherworking, embroidery, wood carving and blacksmiths are well developed in many kishlaks of this region. During the years of independence, the city of Samarkand and Urgutsky District are distinguished by the peculiarities of the development and restoration of national craftsmanship. Urgut has long been considered the birthplace of artisans there the craft of making knives, pottery, carpet weaving wood carving rose to the level of art and is famous for the dynasties of artisans. In Fergana, the following handicraft areas have long been developed: silk weaving, ceramics, embroidery of skullcaps, wood carving; Rishtan ceramics and the tradition of Kokand wood carving are developing [1.] (Kadzaeva L. Kh.1998). In the years of independence, embroidery in Shakhrisabz, pottery in Kasbah, weaving and blacksmithing in Koson and Karshi are developing noticeably. The Iroki embroidery and pottery in the Kasbah were restored again. The population of Dekhkanabad, Kashkadarya region, is mainly engaged in animal husbandry, so women in this region are engaged in the step-by-step work of carpet weaving like weaving, combing, spinning wool, baking, carpet weaving and felt. It should be noted, here are made types of stitched and carved felt. In order to demonstrate the Uzbek national handicrafts around the

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world, various festivals are organized. Conferences and symposiums in the area of aspirations In the years of independence, new opportunities have opened up for selling Uzbek national handicrafts in world markets in large cities that are centers of world trade. A system of shops selling Uzbek national handicrafts has been formed. . These stores opened in Istanbul, Tokyo, St. Petersburg, Almaty, New York and other cities [2.] (Macleod C., Mayhew B. 2008). Rishtan, Gurumsaray Bukhara, Gijduvan, Urgut ceramics, embroidery products from Shahrisabz, Samarkand, Bukhara, Boysun jewelry from Bukhara, Fergana Valley, Tashkent, gold-weaving from Bukhara Gijduvan and Samarkand, even the necessary utensils for the sale of ceramics are on sale at these outlets. with the company UzEKSPO Center, "Uzbektourism" and the Republican Union "Hunarmand" Uzbek artisans September 7, 2000 participated in the world exhibition "EXPO-2000" held in Hanover, Germany in particular click Weaver Muhammadjon Karimov Margilan demonstrated atlases woven by hand in addition artisan products made national zlatoshveem Shoira Soibovoy from Bukhara and Shavkat Zhumaniozovym wood carvers from Khiva left a deep impression on the Europeans.

II. Organizational and Legal Framework for the Development of National Craftsmanship

Along with the creation of a completely new political basis for building the state and society in the country, priority directions for the development of spiritual spheres were noted. In these historical years, a number of decrees and decrees were announced which served as an important factor in the development of folk applied art. In particular, the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated January 23, 1997 "On the organization of the Art Academy of Uzbekistan", Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated March 31, 1997 "On measures to support the state through the further development of folk art craft and applied art." In addition, guided by the above decrees and decrees, improving the working conditions of folk craftsmen and artisans, exemption from taxes paid for creative work, expanding the opportunities for many folk craftsmen to demonstrate in the country and abroad, measures associated with their promotion certainly have an important place in the development of national art. In order to develop and improve the industrial national craftsmanship in Uzbekistan, a number of activities were carried out. Preservation of the national culture of its development, restoration of production and traditions in the field of handicraft has become a natural process. Also, the processes of transition to market relations place and the role of enterprises and collective production has become important. Since the main condition for the transition to market relations is the creation of various forms of ownership of relations in the city of a mixed economy. The widespread management of market relations, the expansion of the economic independence of enterprises, the expansion of the production of consumer goods, products of folk art handicraft are a necessary condition for their initiative and enterprise.

The Union "Hunarmand" of folk craftsmen and artists of the Republic of Uzbekistan was founded on the basis of the presidential decree of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated March 31, 1997 "On measures to support the further development of folk artistic handicraft and applied art" and the craftsmen were exempt from paying strictly targeted taxes and duties. The number of members of the artisan union is growing. On the basis of this decree, handicraft products in 24 directions were exempted from the expert collection. Based on the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan dated April 26, 2012 No.327“On family entrepreneurship” under Article 22 in accordance with the procedure established in the legislative documents, the family enterprise is exempt from paying taxes for the proceeds, from the sale of products of folk art handicraft and applied art, as well as The list of 25 types of such products is approved by the Cabinet of Ministers. On the basis of the resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers of November 28, 2012 No. 2, the Department for the Privatization of Monopolization and the Development of Competition, together with the Khakimiyats of the Viloyat, for the successful organization of the activities of the “Hunarmand” departments and their centers. The premises were handed over. Under their operation and this contributed to the development of this area on September 14, 2006, the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan “On the organization of the activities of an exhibition of culture and art, built in the city of Tashkent” was announced. The construction of such an exhibition hall is a part of the propaganda of the general public in the fields of traditional handicraft, which were considered to be respect for them as the pearl of Uzbek culture and art.

III. Some Problems and Areas of Traditional National Handicraft

Despite the economic difficulties from the first days of independence, the state began to pay special attention to the development of culture and art. He strengthened the interest of the nation with its rich cultural heritage and traditional values. Considering the importance of craftsmanship in the socio-economic and spiritual-ideological life of the Uzbek people, as well as the deep roots of national craftsmanship and unique peculiar features, the government puts forward a number of tasks aimed at its further development, restoration of neglected species, and improvement of training in crafts. In particular, it is necessary to change

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the system of organizational management that has been preserved to this day. Training of specialists and real masters of the national handicraft game. Handicraft among local youth in rural areas.

Doelis cannot be controlled by local authorities and the state. Otherwise, it may not achieve the intended goal of the reforms implemented throughout the country during the years of independence, undoubtedly, can serve as a factor in ensuring the socio-economic growth of the Republic of Uzbekistan, as well as developing national craftsmanship, small businesses. Registration of traditional folk handicraft centers, craftsmen, products of artistic traditions - cataloging inventory today is topical not only in Uzbekistan as part of the global community. Therefore, at present the urgent task is the scientific study of traditional handicraft, a deep study of the artistic and technological features of handicraft in some centers and regions, the definition of folk craftsmen and lost crafts, and thus develop unique traditions of craft work. For example, due to the great attention being paid to artistic handicrafts, this industry brings huge profits in local and foreign markets, but research on these traditions is not enough. The article by G. Dombrovsky, written in 1995, provides general information about Shakhrisabz embroidery, but does not mention the embroidery skill of other regions [3.] (Dombrowski.G.1995). In 2005, Khakimov A.'s article provides general information on embroidery [4.] (Khakimov.A.2005). There are samples of embroideries from Uzbekistan, but there is no complete description of them. This means that the traditional craftsmanship of this region, in particular, the embroidery from a scientific point of view has not been sufficiently studied. One of the important sources in this area is the Art Atlas Handicraft of Uzbekistan published in English in 1999 as part of the International Institute for Central Asian Studies [5.] (Atlas of Central Asian artistic crafts and trades. 1999). But there, too, a number of mistakes were made. Embroidery as a subject of art history has not been studied for many years. Only in the catalog are embroidery catalogs of Uzbekistan of the XIX-XX centuries. Published by the State Museum of History of Uzbekistan, information about embroidery patterns is given short in the form of inventory. In the scientific works devoted to the applied art of Uzbekistan is also not mentioned about it. This indicates that a scientific expedition was not organized that would reveal one or the other side of the species that points to the exact local aspects of folk handicraft, today products of traditional handicraft also bring economic profit. However, the quality of traditional handicrafts manufactured for domestic use and marketing is deteriorating. Firstly, this is due to the neglect of traditional patterns, and secondly, the market "rule" negatively affects the quality of the product and the notion of "school".

When it comes to product quality, we notice how the craftsmanship traditions of the master are reflected in it, the products produced for the market and, for demonstration at exhibitions, try to reveal the craftsmanship traditions in their products. In the manufacture of products they use only traditional technologies and natural materials and paints. Therefore, the demand for such environmentally friendly products is always high. At the same time, artistic traditions are lost in these products. However, as the masters say, do not worry about the loss of "schools". They believe that traditions will be preserved. But one cannot hope for the prosperity of traditional forms, which are closely connected by collective activity, rather than the experience of a particular author. Naturally, on this occasion, too, need to do something. First of all, you need to create a union of workshops. In this case, you can establish control over the quality of products and the preservation in it of some local differences. Recognizing the positive results regarding the preservation and development of the artistic heritage, it is necessary to note some shortcomings and omissions, one of which is that the restoration of traditions is treated as a commercial project. Also, it is observed that international funds in their projects leave out of focus the peculiar side of the local region. For example, silk carpet production (UNESCO) and Khiva wall mural large suzane, with financial support from the British Council, Hunarmand Folk Crafts Union and the International Charitable Foundation Operation Mercy, while implementing this program, did not take into account the specific regionality of local handicrafts. Since in Bukhara they never searched for a carpet according to this design. And Khiva has never been a center for sewing suzani.

These same deficiencies are observed in the activities of public organizations. In their programs, women are taught a craft that is not inherent in a given region. By the way, a certain type of craft has been formed in each territory for a long time, and the demand for it remains. Due to not taking into account these parties, it is not restored. Activities of some local craft centers. For example, in ancient times in Dzhizak, a long-haired unique carpet was weaved, instead of preserving and developing this tradition, women are trained in gold-weaving.

Actions of public organizations and international funds for the restoration of forgotten crafts, professions and handicrafts, the joint work of international national experts in the field of art in many ways help to solve financial problems. With all this, given the regional peculiarity of the historical development of the craft, it is necessary to strictly coordinate joint efforts.

Extremely relevant is the ecology of national art. Preserving the peculiarity of local schools of "purity" of art is topical; this problem can be resolved with the

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help of specialists in this field. Unfortunately, the joint work of masters and art historians has not been established. The master makes the thing based on his experience and taste. As a result, the local distinctiveness of traditional art is lost. From this point of view, Registan pottery, embroidery, gold embroidery, lacquer miniature, Surkhandarya should be considered and critically analyzed.

Currently, there are problems associated with the development of decorative crafts. Accumulated experience suggests that the problems associated with the development of arts and crafts. The main problem is put forward in the management question, that is, there are no optimal conditions for the development of this art in the republic, insufficient attention is given to the activities of the masters. In this situation, it is necessary to coordinate the activities of art historians, managers, sponsors and the media, on whom the prospect of decorative applied art depends.

Projects to restore traditional handicrafts, taking into account local properties, should be sent to the exact address and specifically target development in the future. First of all, one should not allow a sharp distinction between the original state of the goods produced for the market and further innovations.

Of course, the originality of traditional art cannot be overlooked. Since "folk art reflects in itself not a peculiar style, and historicity, nationality, or peculiarity to a particular society."

The effectiveness of projects aimed at the support and development of traditional handicraft is visible when meeting the requirements of consumers who buy products of folk craftsmen, since this is the main goal of the projects. Therefore, regardless of who made the product and what quality and type, the main purpose of its implementation.

According to the indicators of the current artistic process, handicrafts are increasingly used in everyday life. In the beginning, these products are made for a collection of museums.

It should be noted that foreigners are the main consumers of handicrafts, a certain part of the intelligentsia, which is related to traditional culture, also makes extensive use of goods of this type, as local demand for handicrafts is low and craftsmen try to export their products abroad. From housing made of ceramics and textiles are exported to Kazakhstan, Russia and European countries. By this they not only sell their products, but also represent the culture of Uzbekistan. Promotion of the development of style and taste of the public in local markets does not include handicrafts.

The market, as in former times, is an accurate indicator showing the development of handicrafts today in the markets there is a great demand for textiles (embroidery, carpets, fabrics, products, gold-weaving, gold-embroidered robes, skullcaps), ceramics and bags, wallets, cosmetic bags, pillowcases with hand embroidery, clothes with sewing. From the national fabric of perfect design Margilan silk scarf. A new type of batik fabric created by artisans of our region made of traditional silk, mainly by creative approach to Margilan silk, soon became a hot commodity.

In the program, the UNESCO quality mark is distinguished by the need for modern handicrafts to comply with the law on labor of high quality innovation of ecology and the requirements of the market.

In Muslim society, handicraft has long been a kind of mirror reflecting the distribution of labor between men and women. Men were engaged in trade in the market and women were engaged in the manufacture of goods for the needs of the family.

In the pottery workshops, only men were engaged in the manufacture of fabrics, the sewing of clothes, wood carving, and only men were engaged in embroidering carpets - weaving with felt [6.] (Akilova K. 2005). They also made ceramic toys, tableware, fabrics made from cheap cotton. By the end of the twentieth century, such a traditional way of life has changed dramatically. Urban women completely ceased to engage in crafts only in remote villages, women retained the craft of their ancestors. Because of the needs of women began to actively engage in handicraft. In the conditions of economic instability, the occupation of the craft became an acceptable thing to get out of the crisis. Thus, the unexpected happened - women artisans occupied the market.

In the artisan business, women are very active. To attract women to new economic conditions, this process is supported by the state and international funds, the ultimate goal of raising the social status of women, increasing profits, and restoring applied art. The prospect of applied art is directly connected with each of us, who are its consumers. Handicraft products bring comfort, tenderness and originality to our life. Thanks to the traditional art in the process of globalization of our speed century, the originality and versatility of modern culture is preserved.

IV. The Impact of Globalization on the Prospect of Craftsmanship

In the years of independence, great attention was paid to the activities of small business and entrepreneurship. In accordance with the development program for this period, a lot of work has been done on the development of small business and private entrepreneurship, which continues to evolve even more today. In the countries of the world with a developed economy, entrepreneurship is developing at a rapid pace. In some countries of Western Europe, the share of entrepreneurship in the national gross output reached 70-80%. Over 70% of the country's population is engaged in activities in small businesses and private

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entrepreneurship. In Uzbekistan, a lot of work is also being done on the further development of entrepreneurship and the development of entrepreneurship and its spread in order for entrepreneurship to gain a wide scope, it is necessary to create an economic and legal basis. Today, entrepreneurship is seen as a factor stimulating economic progress, however, it is noted that it plays an important role in providing the population with jobs for supplying markets with consumer goods, developing the country's economy and increasing the well-being of the population. Now, as well as the early ones, international funds and organizations that promote the development of tourism and the economy of young states in the CIS are actively involved in restoring traditional handicrafts.

The main attention is removed from these activities to a specific type of artisan or to centers that were previously popular, but now extinguished. For example, in Uzbekistan (before-e), the UN project "Development of cultural and educational tourism and handicrafts", "Assistance to artisans" worked for the organization Counterpart Consortium of America. They held various seminars, fairs of applied art, invited foreign specialists to educate local craftsmen to use traditional technology in natural paints, supported projects related to the activities of local handicraft centers. In recent years, in this area are active. Switzerland's Office for Cooperation and Development, UNESCO Office in Uzbekistan, and the UNESCO National Commission [7.] (Uzbek art. 2001). One of the major events of this organization is the announcement of the Boysun district of the Surkhandarya region "The Pearl of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Mankind" (2002). The recognition to this day of folk culture, in particular. A unique place where handicraft has been preserved in the original. Creates the basis for its future development. This fact was the beginning of the implementation of activities aimed at the development of folk art.

Local craftsmen are participating in the "Handicraft Products with a UNESCO Quality Mark" program that includes Central Asian states (Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan) of South Asia (Bangladesh, India, Moldova, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) of East Asia (China, Japan, Mongolia, North and South Korea). As a result, the region's international handicraft products are recognized. In 2006, a wide white carpet fabric was awarded a UNESCO quality mark and, along with other winners, were placed on the websites of offices in the Beijing New Delhi and Almaty banks based on the UNESCO and JAPAN Mysterious Ceramics of Uzbekistan trust project. Within the framework of this project, seminars are held with the participation of famous masters and art historians of the Republic, foreign experts invited to exchange experience. In 2007, the exhibition was held Kattakurgan - in the center of the restored pottery. Pottery Denava 2003 and the once popular Nurata embroidery are also the object of the Swiss Cooperation and Development Bureau project. Naturally, the result of the first project did not satisfy the specialists. The second in the work on the restoration of Nurata applied embroidery is the training of young girls in embroidery and providing them with jobs. As a result of the project, a textbook was published. It will help local people to independently learn traditional embroidery.

Certainly the traditional and artistic heritage will be developed further. As in the country, the preservation of national cultural values is a matter of national importance. Public and international organizations and institutions also fully encourage traditional artistic heritage.

One of the important tasks in the preservation of the traditional heritage and the transfer to its future generation is the restoration of the artisan centers and their growth. You also need to pay attention to the quality of products. Goods manufactured today can be divided into two groups: for use in everyday life mainly in villages and for the market. Also manufactured products intended for participation in exhibitions. The number of goods intended for sale is growing. Today, the "Hunarmand" union numbers over 28,000 artisans, a number of shops have salons for sale and several galleries [8.] (Press conference of Hunarmand Association).

The presentation of tax benefits to national artisans, as well as measures for their support from the government, serves as a guarantor for this development. In particular, it is necessary to emphasize the decisions of the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On measures for the development and expansion of family and artisan activities without organizing a legal entity" and "Extension of the tax benefits for paying strictly targeted taxes for members of the Hunarmand Union to individual entrepreneurs." Attention focused on the development of national handicrafts can be expressed in often organized in the country and foreign fairs, where our artisans, by participating in their products, enter into contracts for the sale of products. Proof of this is the direct sale of handicrafts in historic cities and architectural monuments, which are often visited by tourists. According to sociological demand, it is revealed that the demand for handicrafts in the domestic markets of the country is growing, that is, over the past 8 years, the demand has grown by 30% despite all this, it is expedient to expand the export of national handicrafts to contribute to the output of national products to the world market. Therefore, it is necessary to study foreign experience and use the relevant parties, since these countries are ahead of us in this area. For example, the company Dinka of Argentina is looking for buyers of goods made by Argentine artisans delivering goods by customs formalities and in return receive a percentage of sales. Having established the company, it

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established cooperative relationships with Chilean stores, Peru, Ecuador, then entered into an agreement with the Texas distribution company. Today they are looking for new opportunities for collaboration with the markets of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. The annual turnover of the company is 1 million US dollars. Among Asian countries, special attention is paid to folk art in Vietnam. In 2003 alone, in terms of exports of handicraft goods, Vietnam took 8th place and received an income of 367 million dollars. At present, China and Germany are engaged in the export of handicraft products. Based on the experience of these states in our Republic, the export of foreign handicrafts is also required. The assimilation of new types of activities corresponding to market conditions and specialized in the production of new goods and services is a requirement of time. It is necessary to develop mechanisms that allow the transition of artisans and handicraftsmen from informal to official activities. Promoting among the population the activities of handicraftsmen of their advantages about the benefits and advantages provided by the government for the development of handicrafts would improve the image of handicrafts for the better, in particular, the use of advanced foreign experience in the development of handicrafts and handicrafts. along with this, the development of tourism services for the study of the historical, cultural and architectural heritage of the local Also economic space with the neighboring countries and the development of cross-border trade contribute to raising the level of employment work. Identifying the parties to the incentive in analyzing the development and efficiency of small business and gold entrepreneurship in the country's economy requires a precise definition of the factors and criteria affecting its criteria for the economic efficiency of small business and private entrepreneurship should reflect the efficiency of labor interrelation of the laws characterizing the satisfaction of growing demand, demand and proposals in the process of improving wages. Because the factors affecting the economic activity of entrepreneurship are interrelated with the general criteria of production efficiency. At the same time, the material support of small business and private entrepreneurship must meet the conditions of remuneration, its organization is carried out in parallel with the improvement of the whole system of the mechanism for organizing management and the management of the economy by the conditions of remuneration, otherwise it will not have the desired effect. Improving the efficiency of entrepreneurial and initiative activities in the form of wages must be linked with the employee's contribution.

Analysis of the entrepreneur. As well as methods for determining the economic efficiency of an enterprise occupy the main place in the methodology for determining the effectiveness of small business and private entrepreneurship. Since in this internal factors will be explored theoretical point of view, in the direction of actual results and loss, external conditions - a positive or negative impact on the activities of the entrepreneur. Therefore, all aspects of business should be comprehensively analyzed. In total, it can be pointed out that in the modern conditions of modernization of the country's economy, large-scale development and improvement of the activities of craft entrepreneurs their essence as well as expanding the scope of its tasks requires in-depth analysis and decision making aimed at development since it is important in ensuring the integration of the country's economy into the world community.

V. How and Where You Can Develop a Handicraft Business

On the basis of handicrafts, questions of the development of the national sphere are highlighted, issues of further development of the national craft sphere, issues of training, the role of women in the development of handicrafts.

Due to the fact that special attention is paid to the development of handicrafts ensuring the growth of the national craft and the generation of family income, creating conditions for providing the active part of the population not engaged in production in Uzbekistan with a legal basis for the development of communication bushes, in particular, a new wording of the law of 1 May 1998. and the announcement of the decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan on measures to improve the activities of bodies to increase employment and social protection of labor and the population proved to be an important event to protect the interests of citizens. For the first time, the days of independence, the question was raised about the creation of a craft academy. It was noted that the solution of tasks for the preparation of handicrafts is the creation of textbooks for teaching aids in the craft fields and is included in the authority of the academy. A number of decrees were announced by the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Uzbekistan on the provision of training in the field of national handicraft of modern training for future masters of handicraft and their retraining. These decisions have a positive impact on the staffing of the sphere. As a result, it became possible to thoroughly and comprehensively study the spiritual and material heritage created by the ancestors and pass on to future generations. The issues of reviving the mentoring traditions of a great heritage in the field of national handicraft have risen from the first days of independence to the level of state policy. As a result, the school was revived at the union of artisans. "Mentor-student", which operates in the field. During the years of independence, a number of non-state women's organizations were created in Uzbekistan today in the republic there are over forty different organizations on

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women's issues. Their activities address issues related to the improvement of women's labor in national crafts, legal protection, and so on. In this area, the Women's Committee of Uzbekistan, the Union of Women Businessmen and their departments in the viloyat of the Tashkent City Resource Center "Mehr Nuri" and other organizations, within their programs, have done some work on the development of the national handicraft industry as gold weaving, design designer, embroidery, embroidery skullcaps, embroidery tapes, tailoring, weaving, tailoring patches, carpet-making. Studies have shown that women in this area had difficulties as well as their lack of publicity by the relevant laws of the resolution and limited economic opportunities.

Through the development of national handicrafts, it is necessary to develop measures aimed at improving the economic social life of women in state and non-state organizations. It helps to identify the following tasks:

- In order to familiarize the regulatory documents relating to national craftsmanship, use the media effectively.
- Organize national handicraft centers for women in villages, districts and regions.
- The search for effective ways to establish national handicraft on the basis of handicrafts for the harmony of women's work and everyday life.

In large industrial enterprises of the Republic of Uzbekistan there are many types of handicraft work. To meet all the needs of the company, shrubs can make those items for which there is a possibility at home. In particular, tailoring of special clothes for the enterprise and sale (overalls, dressing gowns, aprons, gloves) and the manufacture of gifts from various materials. Sports facilities, packaging and collection of small materials, mark the brand of goods, is able to produce small items, dishes. In addition, now qualified accountants, as artisans, can perform accounting and clerical work at home. For example, electrical plants can rewind transformer motors and repair, cleaning plastics and brass products, making electrical wiring elements, and repairing household electrical equipment. On oil refineries can create handicraft. Manufacturing paper and plastic bags, molds from plastic products. The country has large chemical plants. You can also cooperate with them by organizing handicrafts. These include the production of polypropylene products (bags, shopping bags, and so on) of plastic gift items (collecting some parts) cardboard boxes for bulk materials, rubber products.

With the machine building plants developing in the country, handicrafts can produce hardware, parts and blocks for automobiles and bicycles (electric packages, bushings), collecting elements of automobile seats, plastic pulleys and plumbing equipment, minor repairs of household appliances, dividing tools into calibers, small household products (used in life, wooden boards, pens, and so on) Having signed an agreement with furniture factories, they can also produce furniture, furniture collection and cleaning of small parts from wood and pl astmassy, to make parts of desks and other school property and repair them. During the construction of handicrafts, it can develop work as the manufacture of raw brick (brick with straw), the manufacture of window frames and doors, as well as their parts, pottery and ceramic activities (including the preparation of blocks of igangi objects), wooden household items, and the manufacture of dishes. In light industry, handicrafts can be applied and developed in all sectors. Manual carpet weaving made of wool and silk, yarn and fabric dyeing, making blankets, pillows and towels, covers for household items, the production of gift and household items made of cloth (napkins, towels, kitchen mittens, aprons, etc.). The above work can be easily performed at home by organizing handicraft. This kind of work handicraftsmen can perform concluding an agreement with textile factories. For example, embroidery (machine and hand), processing of parts of clothing, tailoring for clothing accessories, tailoring for individual products. Shoe factories in conjunction with artisanal business can produce parts of shoes and process them, make gift items from shoes. Production of objects and parts from natural and artificial silk (cutting, flooding) of exclusive leather and imitation leather products, i.e. between the leather and haberdashery factory and handicrafts you can conclude an agreement and engage in the production of the above products. Aprons for picking cotton, gloves, mattresses, pillows, kurpacha, cotton weaving and stapling, gyro wool packaging can be made in collaboration with cotton processing plants. Confectionery products can be prepared in cooperation with food industry enterprises.

VI. Conclusion

Training of traditional national handicraft has been formed over the centuries, so the mentor-student schools that have been handed down from generation to generation should be formally perceived as a separate type of educational system. At present, the urgent task of the time is to attract rural youth and women to various branches of handicraft , provide them with responsible, independent working areas, give them the opportunity to identify their professional and spiritual opportunities Organization of the enterprise for the manufacture of tools, providing the handicraft industry with modern mechanization and technology, establishing paths for the production of complex and subtle mechanisms for the mechanization of processes requiring manual labor in collaboration with experienced craftsmen can be done on the basis of industry. The training of specialists and real national artisans for the

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handicraft industry among the youth of the rural youth is controlled by the state in conditions for the revival of the handicraft industries. For growth they have given exports abroad with natural handicraft products to equate to international quality standards by producing handicrafts of the Hunarmand alliance. With deeper introduction of market relations into our life, various forms of entrepreneurship begin to grow. The impetus for the development of family entrepreneurship is the great attention given by the government. The high rate of its development, the provision of the population with necessary products, the creation of jobs for the unemployed part of the population to grow their share in the gross domestic product is a peculiarity of handicrafts, for which there are all the necessary conditions. Marketing and its strategies play an important role in the development of family entrepreneurship. In the provision of work for an unoccupied part of the population, the creation and expansion of various forms of handicraft by entering into an agreement between an enterprise and an amateur is a requirement of time. Subjects and managers engaged in small business and private entrepreneurship, by developing their activities, strive to increase profits made jointly. Entrepreneurs in order to get more profit produce the necessary products for the population of the region of the city of the country contribute to the creation of new markets create new jobs for the unemployed. As a result, they contribute to improving the living conditions of the country's population. Having gained independence, the Republic of Uzbekistan received the opportunity to introduce domestic and foreign policies expressing the national interests of the state. An important direction of this policy is the development of national craftsmanship, which is the cultural heritage of the Uzbek people by defining its prospects to provide on a global scale. The growth of each nation is determined by the level of culture and art. In turn, the attitude of the state to art and culture determines the level of development and society. In Uzbekistan, with the development of tourism and a market economy, a market for the production of national handicrafts was formed, which constituted the basis of the gift market. Through the development of handicrafts, it became possible to attract the active and socially weak part of the population to production.

As a result, the implementation of a national training program created a system of new areas of specialized national craftsmanship in the system of vocational education. For the training of qualified teachers, engineers and artisan mentors, the experience of foreign countries is effectively used and short-term advanced training courses are being opened.

Also, colleges specialized to national handicraft are equipped with modern training equipment. The mentor-student system is being improved. To support and stimulate women, who make up the bulk of the country's population, they are pursuing a promising state policy, creating an organization of the Women's Committee of the Republic; unions of women entrepreneurs and other institutions, funds for women entrepreneurs are provided with economic and social protection. The craft centers of the Tashkent, Fergana Andijan Namangan Samarkand Bukhara and Khorezm regions in the years of independence began to flourish. During the transition to a market economy, the development of national craftsmanship in the republic is of paramount importance.

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The Amalgamation and the Rise of Ethnic Militias in Nigeria

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Abstract- The area later named Nigeria had long existed with diverse and autonomous ethnic Nationalities. These ethnic groups had its unique culture and political systems. The scramble for Africa by the European powers resulted in the British carving out the area later named Nigeria as its area of influence or territory. With over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups, the area was divided into two parts: the protectorate of Northern Nigeria and the protectorate of southern Nigeria, this was for the purpose of easy administration of the area. Each of the protectorates was made up of diverse ethnic groups. The decision to bring together the two protectorates and its diverse ethnic groups was purely that of the British without the consent of the people that constituted the area. People still gave their loyalty to their ethnic nationalities instead of loyalty to the federation of Nigeria after the amalgamation. The outcome of the amalgamation according to the research has been the agitation by minority ethnic groups and the rise and proliferation of ethnic militias which resulted in some sections attempting to secede. This article attempted to analyze the root causes of the proliferation of ethnic militias and insurgency in Nigeria. Relying on secondary sources and the historical and descriptive research method the paper examined the amalgamation of Nigeria as the reason for the rise of ethnic militias which has threatened the unity of the country. However, the paper maintained that the amalgamation can be sustained to enhance development which will take Nigeria to international limelight.

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The Amalgamation and the Rise of Ethnic Militias in Nigeria

Inwang Benson Utin

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I. Introduction

Nigeria is the only country in Africa that the term amalgamation was used to describe the unification of all the sections of the country into one nation. Before the unification, the entire area later named Nigeria was made up of many ethnic groups. Each ethnic group had its own bureaucratic principles which described their various administrations. Such City States included kanem Bornu, the Igbo City State, Idoma City State, Nupe City State and others, with distinct mode of political administration. Trading and relationship was carried out in the form of international relations.[1] Lord Lugard who came to Northern Nigeria in 1895 from Uganda was the architect of Nigeria's amalgamation. He came to Northern Nigeria at the instance of the military campaigns of George Goldie authorized Royal Niger Company (RNC). He contributed immensely to the conquering of Northern Nigeria for the Royal Niger Company. Sokoto, the seat of the Caliphate was the last Northern territory he captured for the British in 1903. He was appointed the first British high commissioner of Northern Nigeria. He later created the protectorate of Northern Nigeria. In 1862 Lagos Island became a colony of Britain and Mr. H.S. Freeman was appointed the Governor. Thirty two years after the formation of Lagos colony, in 1893; oil Rivers Protectorate was established and later renamed the Niger coast protectorate with *Calabar* as the capital. In 1890, British Reporter Flora Shaw later Flora Lugard suggested that the area occupied by the British be named Nigeria after the Niger River. In 1900 the Niger coast protectorate was merged with the Colony of Lagos and renamed the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. Lord Lugard proposed the merging of the two protectorates for easy administration. The idea of administrative convenience as the aim of the unification has been debated by Scholars over the years. Richard Akinjide noted the reason behind Lugard's amalgamation bid: "He said that the north is poor and they have no resources to run the protectorate of the North. That the South has resources and that they have educated people".[2] This imply that the amalgamation was done so that the resources from the South could be used to run the entire administration of the country including the north with limited resources.

The amalgamation bid was deliberated for a long period before implementation, therefore; it was not a spontaneous thing. He had the idea of merging the different part of the country ten years before his appointment as Governor General of Nigeria. He noted the tribal acrimony that existed between the different part of the country and how enactment and execution of National policies were delayed. Lord Lugard was not alone in the advocacy for amalgamation. For instance, Sir William Macgregor (Governor of Lagos) and Sir Raph Moore (High Commissioner of Southern Nigeria) agreed with him and strongly advocated for the amalgamation even though the Queen of England never saw the need for it[3]. Lord Lugard submitted his amalgamation proposal to the secretary of State for the colonies, Mr Lewis Vernon Harcourt who was unanimous with him that the merger was of utmost importance for effective administration of the area. In his response, Harcourt advise Lugard to carry out an in-depth field work of the country and therefore determine if the different regions should be unified. The colonial Secretary further urged him to get acquainted with the local condition of the two protectorates before finally submitting the amalgamation

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proposal to the Queen of England. This was carried out by Lord Lugard before finally submitting the detached proposal in may 1913 to the Queen of England. Lord Lugard was appointed Governor of both the Northern and Southern protectorates during the transition period of amalgamation to enable him conduct the task of amalgamation effectively. There was intense correspondence and negotiations between Lugard and Harcourt almost on every issue, from boundary adjustment to taxation policy and even down to individual appointments to various positions in the new unified civil service.[3] Between 1912-1913, the processes leading to amalgamation were formalized in formal document which included the formal unification of the geographical entities into one, the formal unification of the administrative structures and institutions such as the civil service, army, Police, railway and others, the appointment instrument of Lugard as Governor General of the unified territories, enactment of legal instrument for the territory, appointment of key political officers such as L. C. Temple as Lieutenant Governor of Southern Nigeria, the appointment of Sir Edwin Speed as the first Chief Justice of Nigeria and other ancillary provisions. On first January 1914, the Northern and Southern protectorates were finally unified in a historic amalgamation ceremony held in both Lagos and Zungeru. The ceremonies were conducted in the Supreme Court building at Tinubu Square, Lagos - Island on 1st January 1914 and Zungeru on 3rd January 1914. Zungeru was the then capital of Northern Protectorate[5].

Nigerian Scholars have critically faulted the unification of over two hundred and fifty ethnic nationalities into one entity called Nigeria. Akinjide attribute the root causes of Nigeria's problem to 1914 amalgamation[6]. The British amalgamated the administration of the territory under their controlled and not the people of different ethnic nationalities. The objective was that with a unified administration of the country, it would be possible to construct a railway line from the North to the South for easy convergence of raw materials and other goods from all sections of the territory before finally shipping to their industries overseas. Lord Lugard through his field work and under study of the entire territories under British jurisdiction realized that the South was very rich in natural resources with access to the sea. The North was not very lucky with these natural endowments apart from agricultural resources whose revenue was quite low. Therefore, it was their well thought out plan to unify the entire territories together so that the huge revenue of the south could be used to run the entire administration of the country including the North[7]. Also Joseph Garba argues that

Lugard had no intention of revolutionizing the social, political and economic institutions of the territory where he reigned. But he was determined primarily to conserve and tightened British hold on the area known as Nigeria. Lugard had similarly no desire to forge unity between the diverse peoples of Nigeria and wield them into a common people[8].

Similarly, Akinola Aguda posits that the British wanted a large and expansive market for their developing manufacturing concerns[9].

The amalgamation of the country still left some sections of the country to the Nationalism of their ethnic groups. Most of the things done especially in the 1950's were carried out on ethnic lines. In the field of politics, when the Northerners formed a political party, they named it The Northern People's Congress instead of Nigerian People's Congress. Aminu Kano formed The Northern Element Progressive Union. There was no political party in the North that had a nationalistic outlook. Obafemi Awolowo and Nnamdi Azikiwe were patriots the Nigerian amalgamation. They formed the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM), and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroun (NCNC) respectively. The political parties of both Awolowo and Azikiwe were true Nigerian political parties considering the names of the parties. But even with these, the political parties were formed on ethnic nationality basis. The National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) formed by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe was to promote the political interest of the people of the South East, the Northern People's Congress (NPC) by virtue of its name was an exclusive political party of the people of Northern Nigeria while the Nigerian Youth Movement (NYM) was formed and led by Obafemi Awolowo for the political interest of the people of the South West[10]. The emergence of ethnic based political parties as mentioned above later led to the formation of ethnic based militia groups to protect and propagate the interest of their ethnic groups. Some of the ethnic militias were formed as militia wings of the political parties, to protect the party's interest during election.

II. Ethnic Consciousness and The Rise of Ethnic Militias in Nigeria

The unification of all the ethnic groups of the Northern and Southern protectorates of Nigeria in 1914 did not alter people's loyalty and commitment to their ethnic nationalities. It is always contended that Lord Lugard unified the administrative structures of the country and not the over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in the country. The people were still conscious and owe allegiance to their ethnic groups. After the amalgamation of the country, three major ethnic groups were prominent among all the ethnic groups that make up the country. These were the Hausa/Fulani, Igbo and Yoruba. The Hausa/Fulani people occupied a greater part of the North, Yoruba people occupied the West while the Igbo dominated the Eastern part of the country. There was unity of purpose among members of

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each of the major ethnic groups even after the amalgamation of the country. For instance in 1947, Alhaji Abubakar Tafewa Balewa in support of the Hausa/ Fulani stated that "he decided to make it clear to all, that if the British quitted Nigeria now at this stage, the Northern people would continue their conquest to the sea". Similarly and in response to Balewa's statement, Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe made a shocking statement that perverted his national outlook and undermine his nationalistic feelings and reputation; a very dangerous ethnic remark:

> It would appear that God of Africa has specially created the Igbo nation to lead the children of Africa from the bondage of the ages… the martial prowess of the Igbo nation at all stages of human history has enable them not only to conquer others, but also to adapt themselves to the role of preserver… the Igbo nation cannot shirk its responsibility[11].

The statement by Azikiwe has prompted scholars to analyze his intention leading to the conclusion that Nigerian elites right from the period of colonialism were tied to their ethnic groups instead of commitment to Nigeria as a nation. The false amalgamation of Nigeria and the consciousness of ethnic groups reflected in the establishment of media organizations such as newspapers during the colonial period. The three major ethnic groups had Newsprints in which they used as a mouth piece to propagate their activities. The West African Pilot was an Igbo organ used in presenting the interest and aspirations of the Igbo people and the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC). Also, the Daily Service was the weapon of war of words for the Yoruba and the Action Group (AG).[12] The confrontation assumed a greater magnitude almost degenerating into ethnic conflict between the Igbo and Yoruba. Onigu Otite captured it thus: between July and September 1948, the Igbo-Yoruba hostility assumed such high proportions that extremist on both sides bought up all available machetes in the Lagos markets in anticipation of ethnic violence. Although violence did not erupt, growth in ethnic prejudices, identification and sentiments had increased beyond a tolerable threshold.[13] The statement above affirms ethnicity and ethnic loyalty in Nigeria. Political parties during the colonial period were formed based on ethnicity. Each of the parties promoted and protected the interest of the ethnic group they represented. The political parties of the period emerged from the cultural associations of the ethnic group. The Northern People's Congress (NPC) represented the interest of the Hausa/Fulani ethnic group. The National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC) represented and protected the interest of the Igbo ethnic group. While, The Action Group (AG) was the dominant political party of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria, concerning these ethnic cultural based political parties, Onigu Otite notes: …

> It has been noted that political parties were strengthened by the respective ethnic cultural associations of the Hausa/Fulani in the North, the Igbo State Union and the Egbe Omo Ododuwa of the Yoruba… pre independence politics in Nigeria represented this political triangle.[14]

The people of the Middle Belt dominated mainly by the Tiv in the Benue and Plateau regions exonerated themselves from the main stream Northern group – the Hausa/Fulani. They were described by the Moslem Hausa Fulani as pagan people with pagan culture. Their indigenous interest were put forward when they formed a political party known as the United Middle Belt Congress (UMBC) led by J.S. Tarka. On the whole, indigenes of certain sections of the country formed political parties to articulate the interest of such areas. Alhaji Aminu Kano mobilized for the exclusiveness of the Kano area and therefore formed the Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU). It is noted that these ethnic affiliations of political parties were done to enhance the national interest of the entire ethnic group or component unit concerned and to preserve the identity of such ethnic group.

Ethnic based politics also reflected in 1979 during the second Republic where the five political parties that contested the 1979 election were formed based on ethnic enclave. Party officials and supporters of these political parties were also from ethnic domain. Some of the parties were reincarnate of the defunct parties of the 1950's. The National party of Nigeria (NPN) was a replacement of the Northern People's Congress (NPC) and majority of the party's members and supporters were from the Hausa /Fulani of the Northern section of the country. Unity party of Nigeria (UPN) was a Yoruba ethnic based political party. Membership and supporters spread from Ondo, Oyo, Kwara, Lagos and Ogun. Unity Party of Nigeria (UPN) was led by Chief Obafemi Awolowo. The party replaced the defunct Action Group (AG) of the 1950's. Also, the defunct National Council of Nigerian Citizens (NCNC) was replaced by the Nigerian Peoples Party (NPP) led by Dr Nnamdi Azikiwe, party's officials, members and supporters were from and among the Igbo people of the South East. Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU), formerly led by Aminu Kano was replaced by the Peoples Redemption Party (PRP) and its based was in Kano area among the Hausa/ Fulani and some other minority ethnic groups in the area. In 1976, following the creation of Borno State, the Kanuri people of the State broke away from the NPC/NPN and gave full support to Alhaji Waziri Ibrahim who formed the Great Nigerian people's Party (GNPP).[15]

The analysis on ethno nationalism and the formation of political parties has shown that people pay

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more attention to ethnic groups than the unity of the country as an entity. Nigeria is a plural society with over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups. Three major ethnic groups, Hausa/Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo are more prominent. Within each of these major ethnic groups are smaller ethnic groups usually referred to as minority. The minority groups are still subjected to domination by the major ethnic groups leading to fear on their part on what are their stakes in the polity. The fears of the minority have been the bane of the operation of Federalism in Nigeria since the colonial period. The Richard constitution of 1946 divided the country into three major regions taking into consideration the conspicuous cultural, linguistic, territorial and historical dissimilarities within these regions. This Colonial decision laid the foundation for the crisis that engulfed Nigeria immediately after independence. Sir Richard also failed to give consideration to the smaller ethnic groups within the three major regions. For instance in the Northern region of Nigeria the minority ethnic groups include the Kanuri, Tivs, Angas, Idoma, Nupe and others apart from the Hausa Fulani, the largest and majority in the region. In the Eastern region, apart from the Igbo being the majority, there are the Ogoni, Ijaw, Ibibio, Efik and others. In the western region, the Yoruba are the majority while the minorities include Urhobo, Edo, and Bini.[16] The minority ethnic groups towards independence became agitated and conscious of their position and place in the scheme of things in the Federation. This was due to the procedure and the modus operandi of the Colonial Government especially its working relationship with the major ethnic groups. This created the consciousness on some groups as belonging to the minority. These ethnic minorities had earlier before 1946 constitution formed ethno cultural associations to propagate its interest. The Ibibio Union was the first cultural organization in Nigeria even though without a clear and explicit political agenda because the issue of Federalism and marginalization were not evident in its agenda or program. Later, other ethnic minority unions such as Edo National Union, Calabar Improvement League and the Ijaw Progressive Union emerged with a clear cut political character. The minority unions wanted representation in the political process of the federation. They also agitated for the creation of exclusive region independent of the majority ethnic group.[17] Increased agitation of the minority attracted the attention of the colonial Government. To address the issue, the colonial secretary of Nigeria Alan Lennox Boyd set up the minority commission headed by Sir Henry Willink on September 25th 1957 to examine the grievances and demands of the ethnic minorities and proffer solution. The Willink commission was the first and the most comprehensive attempt at resolving multi ethnicity in Nigeria. It generated a rich collection of document, legal draft, reports and opinions from its sitting held in different parts of the country. The memorandum submitted, have become a valuable data for understanding minority agitation in Nigeria. The commission created awareness and a resurgent of minority agitation in Nigeria. The commission realized two major fears of the minority: the division of the country into three regions and each region with a major ethnic group with large population, second, with the then approaching independence; the minority feared that they may not be quite significant. The report of the commission was a major gateway to the long debate and agitation for ethnic balancing in Nigeria federal system. The minority ethnic group expected that the commission would recommend for the creation of a separate State for them in each region. The colonial government quite agreed with the findings of the commission but opted for the massive infrastructural development of the area as the best way to end the agitation and fears of the minority[18]. The commission was unable to resolve the fears of the minority during the late 1950's, hence the emergence and proliferation of political instability in Nigeria from the eve of independence to the outbreak of the civil war. Lack of implementation of the recommendation of the Willink Commission by post independent Government has resulted in the formation of ethnic militias in both the majority and minority areas due to marginalization.

Post independent ethnic militias started in 1966 when Isaac Adaka Boro formed an armed militia consisting mainly of his fellow Ijaw ethnic group in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. Isaac Boro observed the exploitation of his people where the oil revenue derived from petroleum resources of the Niger Delta was used by the Federal Government of Nigeria to provide infrastructures in other part of the country. The people of the area were marginalized and subjected to various environmental hazards as a result of oil spillage. Boro's contention was that the people of the region deserved to be given a fair share of the proceeds of the oil wealth. He formed the Niger Delta Volunteer Force (NDVF). Boro and his group declared the Niger Delta Republic on February 23 1966, attacked police stations in Yenegoa, raided the armory and kidnapped some security officers including police officers who were in charge of the command station. The militia group also blew up oil pipelines and gallantly fought the Federal forces for twelve days but finally they were subdued and arrested by the superior and well trained Federal forces. Isaac Boro and his associates were tried on a nine count charge of treason felony at Port Harcourt before Justice Phil Ebosie and condemned to death by the Aguiji Ironsi's regime. Isaac Boro and his associates were however granted amnesty by Gen. Yakubu Gowon on the eve of the civil war in May 1967.[19] Loyalty to ethnic nationalities reflected again during the first republic in Nigeria. This resulted in a military coup, cooked and executed by officers from the Eastern region on 15th January 1966. Majority of the victims of the coup were Nigerian leaders from the Northern part of

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the country. This resulted in discord and hatred between the North and people of the Eastern region. The discord heightened when the first republic was truncated bringing the military into power under the leadership of General Aguiji Ironsi of the Eastern region. This created suspicion that the coup was targeted at the people of the north resulting in a counter and revenge coup of July 1966. The coup was planned and executed by officers of northern region against officers and the people of Eastern region. The Head of States Gen. Ironsi and other officers of Igbo origin were murdered in cold blood. This resulted in anti Igbo pogrom in the North. This provided a basis for the secession of the Eastern region from Nigeria and naming the area Republic of Biafra. This plunged the country into a civil war that lasted up to January 1970 when Biafra surrendered to the Nigerian forces[20].

Renewed militia activities and ethnicity erupted in the late 1980's and early 1990's during the regime of former military president Gen. Ibrahim Babangida. The annulment of the June 12 1993 presidential election by the Military President, open up ethnic militias in an unprecedented scale. The presidential election was internationally acclaimed to be the freest and fairest election in the political history of Nigeria. It was won by late Chief M.K.O Abiola of the defunct Social Democratic Party (SDP), a Yoruba of the South West. President Babangida who annulled the election with no justifiable reason was of the Hausa Fulani of the North. This threw the two ethnic groups into untold acrimony. Tension in the country grew to the magnitude that President Babangida stepped aside in August 1993 leaving the country in the hands of Interim National Government (ING) headed by Ernest Shonekan. The ING maintained the same structure of Government put in place by Gen. Babangida. In a palace coup, Ernest Shonekan and his interim government was toppled on 17th November 1993. General Sanni Abacha became the Head of states and refused to restore the electoral mandate of Chief Abiola, the winner of June 12th presidential election. In an attempt to sit tight in office, he used state security apparatus to launched mayhem on the Yoruba. The Yoruba people responded and formed a militia group known as Oodua People's Congress (OPC) to promote the interest and the course of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria. The OPC inspired the formation of militia groups in the country. They include the Bakassi Boys, Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB) in the east among the Igbo ethnic group, Arewa people's Congress (APC) for the Hausa/Fulani, Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni People (MOSOP), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA) and others in the Niger Delta[21]. Today there is the dreaded Boko Haram insurgent group in the North East that have engaged in kidnapping, hostage taking and bombing of targeted areas in the North East. There is also, the Ombatse Ethnic militia among the Eggon people of Nasarawa State.

The O'odua People's Congress (OPC) was formed in reaction to the marginalization of the Yoruba ethnic group due to the annulment of June 12th 1993 presidential election won by one of their own, late Chief Moshood Abiola. The OPC captured the resentment of the Yoruba ethnic nationality to their perceived marginalization. It formation had the endorsement of some prominent Yoruba indigenes as an organized reaction to the injustice as well as iniquity being visited on the Yoruba by the Nigerian federation[22]. Frederick Fasheun posits that the aim of OPC was to protect and promote their socio- cultural aspect, and also fight for justice for all[23]. Right from may 29th 1999, the OPC has slowed down in militia activities and operate as a vigilante group. This is because President Olusegun Obasanjo who became the President of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007 was of the Yoruba ethnic group.

The Arewa People's Congress (APC) is a Hausa/Fulani ethnic militia formed to monitor and checkmate the activities of the OPC and defend the Northern interest. The movement for the actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra MASSOB led by Raph Uwazurike, was formed to revived the struggle for the realization of the secession bid of the people of the South East of Nigeria, the Igbo ethnic group. In a bid to launched itself into limelight and achieve its objectives, MASSOB have engaged in widespread confrontation with the Nigerian police several times. Concerning the 'MASSOB' confrontation with the Nigerian Police, Badmus states:

> The attempt by this militia movement to launch the Biafran State in *Aba*, a township in South Eastern Nigeria resulted in a bloody clash between the Police and the MASSOB, leading to the arrest of the militia leaders. Frequent clashes between the group and law enforcement agencies always resulted in death of it members and destruction of properties in most Igbo urban areas[24]. In spite of the frequent arrest and dead of its members, the militia group has continued with its separatist struggle undeterred.

The return of Nigeria to a democratic Government in 1999 has resulted in increase in militia groups in the Niger Delta. This arose due to the neglect of the people of the region by both the federal government and the multi-national oil companies. Even with the huge oil deposits in the region and billions of Dollars derived from oil sales, the region still remain underdeveloped with lack of basic amenities especially during the military regimes. The Niger Delta militia groups included Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Ijaw people's Movement (IPM), Ijaw youth Council (IYC), Itsekiri Nationality Patriot (INP), Movement for the Survival of Ogoni people (MOSOP), Niger Delta Vigilante (NDV), Niger Delta People's

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Volunteer Force (NDPVF), Niger Delta Freedom Fighters (NDFF), and the Niger Delta Avengers (NDA). These militia groups first engaged in peaceful protest over marginalization of the area, later, it degenerated into stronger measures which include insurgency, vandalization of oil pipelines, kidnapping and hostage taking of oil workers and government officials and illegal oil bunkering.[25]

III. Conclusion

This article has analyze the event leading to the amalgamation or unification of Nigeria by the British colonialists. The unification of Nigeria was purely for the interest of the British colonialist without considering the future of the over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups in the area. Therefore the amalgamation was imposed on the diverse people of the area. Some of these ethnic groups were outstanding kingdoms and Empires with powerful rulers. The opinion of these ones should have been sought for before the final decision on the amalgamation. May be some of the ethnic groups would have rejected it or opt out of the negotiation. It is my opinion that if there was proper negotiation and agreement reached, a concrete rationale or philosophy would have been devised as the tripod stand for the take off of the new nation. That philosophy based on truth, integrity and loyalty would have held all the ethnic groups together. They would have look on to that guiding principle as the foundation of the nation. With no general philosophy of amalgamation, people became loyal to their ethnic groups even before independence in 1960. All the political parties during the period were formed based on ethnic considerations, examples included Northern People's Congress (NPC), Northern Element Progressive Union (NEPU) and others. National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroon (NCNC) was Igbo political party while the Action Group (AG) was Yoruba based political party. Political crisis during the first republic revolved around the supremacy of these ethnic based political parties leading to the first military coup and subsequently an attempt at secession by the Igbo, leading to a bloody civil war which took the lives of over one million people. In the early 1960's after independence, agitations and fears of the minority resulted in resentment and attempt at secession. This took place when Isaac Boro formed the Niger Delta volunteer force (NDVF), a militia group in the Niger Delta region. The group declared the Niger Delta republic and attacked police stations in the area. Although the attempt was truncated, it was a gateway to the emergence of ethnic militias in Nigeria. Ethnic militias emerged in an unprecedented scale in the early 1990's, first as a result of military rule and its attendant misrule, misappropriation of funds and neglect of the people of the Niger Delta. Second, the annulment of the June 12 1993 election was won by Chief MKO Abiola, a Yoruba while the military President, Ibrahim Babangida who annulled the election was Hausa/Fulani. This resulted in acrimony between the Yoruba and the Hausa/Fulani. This led to the formation of the O'odua people's Congress (OPC), a militia group of the Yoruba to actualized the mandate of June 12th 1993 election. The formation of the OPC inspired the formation of other ethnic based militia groups all over the country. They include Arewa People's Congress (APC), Movement for the Actualization of the Sovereign State of Biafra (MASSOB), Egbesu Boys of Africa (EBA), Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Boko Haram and many others. They have all engaged in insurgent activities in their respective areas leading to destruction of lives and properties.

It is hundred and five years (105) after the amalgamation of Nigeria. The country has come a long way on the journey to nationhood. Nigerians cannot still fold their arms and bemoan the ills of the amalgamation of 1914. Nigeria is a great nation, with over two hundred and fifty ethnic groups, massive land mass, over two hundred million people and huge deposits of natural resources and agricultural produce. If these assets are utilized properly without corruption, first, the standard of living of Nigerians will improve, second, proceeds from the natural resources can be used for industrialization. No nation can developed in an atmosphere of insecurity and insurgency caused by ethnic militias. If ethnic militias can lay down their arms, cooperate with the Government and contributes their quota, the nation will be secured for people to engage in pragmatic ventures. Also, the country will be secured for good governance and infrastructural development. It is when this is done that the amalgamation of all the diverse ethnic groups will turn out to be a blessing instead of a cause for the division in the country.

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Recall Menarcheal Age among the Adolescent Girls- A Comparative Study

By Th. Kanon Devi & H. Sorojini Devi

Dhanamanjuri University

Abstract- *Background:* Age at menarche is the last major event of sexual development. This major event in the life of an adolescent girl is influenced by nutritional status and the prevailing environmental conditions.

Objective: To examine the recall age at menarche among the adolescent girls of Scheduled caste (SC) and neighboring Meitei girls of the Imphal west district, Manipur.

Setting: The study was conducted in four different villages, i.e. Sekmai, Potshangbam, Tengdongyang, and Khonghampat in Imphal district, Manipur.

Design: The present study was a cross-sectional study.

Subject and Method: A total of 417 (Scheduled caste) and 409 (Meitei) girls ranging in age 10-18 years were randomly selected from the above-mentioned villages of Manipur. Pre- tested interview schedule forms were used to collect the data of the present study.

Result: Among the participants, the maximum number of SC girls (33.76%) and Meitei girls (34.10%) reported to occur menarche at age 14 years and 13 years, respectively.

Keywords: *menarche, recall age adolescents, comparison.*

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Result: Among the participants, the maximum number of SC girls (33.76%) and Meitei girls (34.10%) reported to occur menarche at age 14 years and 13 years, respectively.

The declined earliest mean age at menarche was among the Meitei girls (13.30±0.05 years), with a marginal difference of 0.54 years from the SC girls. Among the six different comparing groups, the Kabui girls showed the highest mean age of 15.40±0.20 years of all, while the remaining three groups of Mao, Aimol, and Kom had an approximate mean age at menarche of 14. 32 years. The decline means menarcheal age would be due to better environmental conditions.

Keywords: menarche, recall age adolescents, comparison.

I. Introduction

Menarche signifies the onset of reproductive capacity and sexual maturity. It is influenced by genetic, nutrition, environment, and socio-economic conditions (Jones et al., 1973[1]. Ersoy et al., (2005)[2] reported several other factors such as genetic, environmental conditions, family size, body mass index, socio-economic status which influenced menarcheal age. The secular trend shows that the age at menarche is declining in many developing countries (Evans and Helene, 2016)[3],and better sanitation and improved health care system are among other factors (Karapanou and Papadinitriou, 2010)[4], that thrives earlier sexual development. Such a trend of declining menarcheal age across the world is linked to increase prevalence of body mass index, insulin resistance, and unhealthy lipid profile, higher risk of cardiovascular disease such as hypertension, heart stroke and diabetes in women (Remsberg et al., 2005[5] and Feng et al., 2008)[6].

Puberty is a biological characteristic for all adolescent boys and girls. It is a complex process by which children develop secondary sexual characteristics and reproductive competence (Kankana, 2016) [7]. Various workers conducted their research works on the aspects of menarcheal age of the different populations. Rumi and Pathak (2001) [8] found the mean menarcheal age of Brahmin girls (12.96 years) and 12.81 years for Kshatriya girls of Meghalaya, Shillong. In Manipur, among the different population groups, various researchers have reported menarcheal mean ages, i.e.14.11 years for Kom (Singh, 2002) [9], 14.59 years for Mao (Maheo, 2004) [10], 15.40 years for Kabui (Singh, 2006)[11], and 14.26 years for Aimol (Devi, 2013)[12]. The present study aims at studying the recall menarcheal age among the Scheduled caste (SC) and Meitei adolescent girls of Manipur and also to make comparisons with other available data of the earlier studies.

The Scheduled caste people of Manipur are also known as Loi community. They inhabited at various valley regions of Manipur, such as Sekmai, Phayeng, Leimaram, Khurkhul, Koutruk, and Andro. The Loi populations consisted of those who were vanquished by the Meitei king. This group of people paid tributes to the Meitei rulers (Hudson, 1908) [13]. They are considered being the descendants of the Chakpas, who were one of the earliest settlers in Manipur. At one time, they were independent, but later subdued by the king and imposed to pay tributes to the king. On the other side, Meiteis are the general majority population of Manipur. They settled in the central plain areas of four districts in Manipur.

II. Material and Methods

The present study is a community-based cross-sectional study. Data were collected from scheduled caste adolescent girls of Sekmai village and Meitei girls of three different neighbouring villages of Potshangbam, Tengdongyang, and Khonghampat in Imphal West district, Manipur. A total of 417 (Scheduled caste) and 409 (Meitei) girls ranging in age 10-18 years were randomly chosen from the above-mentioned

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places of Manipur. Pre-tested interview schedule forms were used to collect data of the present study.

a) Statistical methods

Statistical constants such as mean, standard deviations (SD) and standard error of mean (SE) and ANOVA (one way analysis of variance) were computed using Excel.

III. Result

The sample size of the present study indicates that the highest percentage of scheduled caste (SC) and Meitei girls were found in 14 years (32.13%) and 13 years (32.52%), respectively. The next highest number of girls is found to occur at age 13 years (21.83%) for SC girls and 14 years (109%) for Meitei girls (Table 1).

Table 1: Age group- wise distribution of sample

Age (years)	Scheduled caste girls (n=417)		Meitei girls (n=409)	
	f	p. c	f	p. c
10	12	2.87	13	3.17
11	15	3.59	16	3.91
12	50	11.99	85	20.78
13	91	21.83	133	32.52
14	134	32.13	109	26.65
15	88	21.11	45	11.00
16	21	5.04	08	1.96
17	06	1.43	-	-
18	-	-	-	-
Total	417	99.99	409	99.99

Table 1

Age-wise frequency and percentage distribution of girls reporting menarche are presented in table 2. The table shows that none of the girls belong to both communities experienced menarche at age 10years. However, a few (1.76%) of SC girls and 2.56 % (Meitei girls) attained menarche status at age 11 years. Of all the girls investigated in the present study, the percentages of girls who have reported the occurrence of menarche at age 14 years were 33.76% for SC girls and 34.10% for Meitei girls. Menarche at the late age of 17 years was among a few SC girls with 1.51% only. The mean menarcheal age of the Scheduled caste and Meitei girls were 13.84±0.05 years and 13.30±0.05years, respectively, which are closed to each other (Fig.1).

Table 2: Frequency distribution of SC and Meitei girls according to menarcheal age

	Scheduled caste girls(n=397)		Meitei girls (n=409)	
Age (years)	f	p.c	f	p.c
10	-	-	-	-
11	7	1.76	10	2.56
12	50	12.59	85	21.79
13	91	22.92	133	34.11
14	134	33.76	109	27.95
15	88	22.17	45	11.45
16	21	5.29	08	2.05
17	06	1.51	-	-
18	-	-	-	-
Total	397		390	
	Mean (M)= 13.84, SE= 0.05, SD=1.15		Mean (M)= 13.30, SE= 0.05, SD=1.07	

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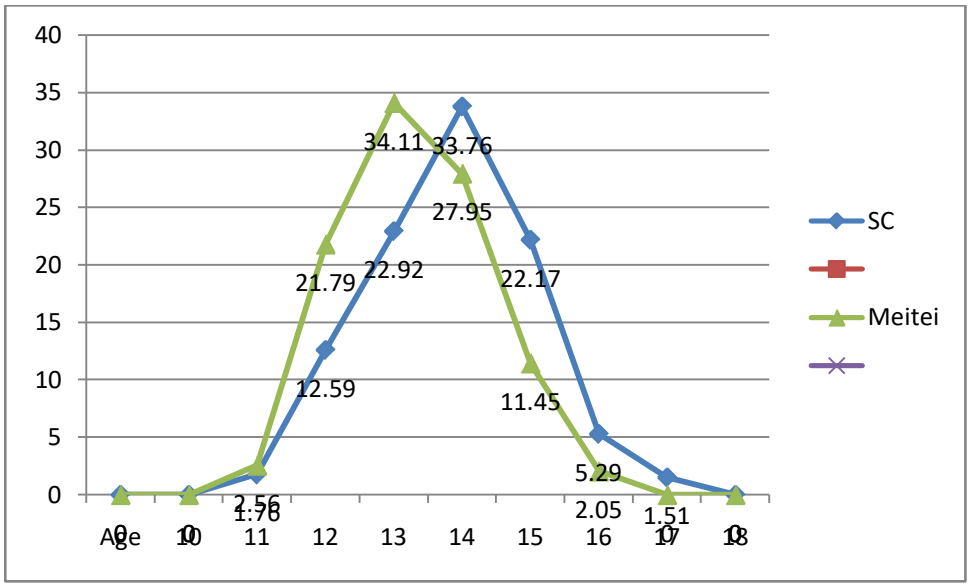


Fig.1: Graph showing percentages of SC and Meitei girls according to menarcheal age.

Comparative study of mean menarcheal age indicates that none of the girls reported occurrence of menarche except a few Kom girls (2.74%) who had menarche at age 10 years. Among this group, the highest number of girls reported to had menarcheal status at age 13 years (27.78%) with a mean of 14.11± 0.11 years. Mao and Kabui girls experienced this event of sexual maturity at 12 years, and the maximum of the number of them reported to occur at 15 years with having menarcheal mean values with 14.59±0.75 years for Mao and 15.40±0.20 years for Kabui. In a similar trend, menarche occurred among the Aimol girls when they attained 12 years, however, maximum of them reported at 14 years (35.69%) with having a mean value of 14.26±0.05 years, which is much closed to the mean values of Kom(14.11± 0.11 years) and Mao girls (14.59±0.75years). The earliest recall menarcheal age among the present study, two populations was 11 years. The ages 13 and 14 years were the most frequently reported stages of life in which the majority of them experienced menarche with the highest frequency of SC girls (33.76%) at 14 years and for Meitei girls (34.10%) at 13 years. The Meitei girls represented to have earliest mean age at menarche with 13.30±0.05 years) and closely followed by the SC girls with a marginal difference of 0.54 years who share a similar ecological setting with those of the present study Meitei girls.

Therefore, the lowest decline mean age at menarche was for the Meitei girls (13.30±0.05 years), the highest was among the Kabui girls (15.40±0.20 years), while the remaining other populations of Kom (14.11± 0.11 years), Mao (14.59±0.75) and Aimol (14.26±0.05 years) shared more or less similar mean age approximate of 14.32 years. However, no statistically significant difference has been indicated in the comparisons of the menarcheal age distribution patterns by ANOVA test (F ratio=1.32, P>0.05) Table 3 & Fig.2).

Table 3: Comparative Study on Menarcheal Age of Various Populations

Popn.	f/p.c	Age groups									Mean(yrs)	F - ratio	Source
		10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18			
Kom (n=162)	f	04	-	11	45	33	44	20	03	02	14.11± 0.11		Singh (2002)
	p.c	2.47	-	6.79	27.78	20.37	27.16	12.35	1.85	1.23			
Mao (n=490)	f	-	-	04	25	100	193	133	29	06	14.59±0.75		Maheo (2004)
	p.c	-	-	0.82	5.10	20.41	39.39	27.14	5.92	1.22			
Kabui (n=129)	f	-	-	01	10	26	38	33	15	06	15.40±0.20		Singh (2006)
	p.c	-	-	0.78	7.75	20.60	29.46	25.58	11.63	4.65			
Aimol (n=325)	f	-	-	07	69	116	104	26	02	01	14.26±0.05		Devi (2013)
	p.c	-	-	2.15	21.23	35.69	32.0	8.0	0.62	0.31			
Meitei (n=390)	f	-	10	85	133	109	45	08	-	-	13.30±0.05	1.32	Present study
	p.c	-	2.56	21.79	34.10	27.95	11. 54	2.05	-	-			
SC girls (n=397)	f	-	07	50	91	134	88	21	06	-	13.84±0.05		-do-
	p.c	-	1.76	12.59	22.92	33.76	33.76	5.29	1.51	-			

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df=6,62=2.27

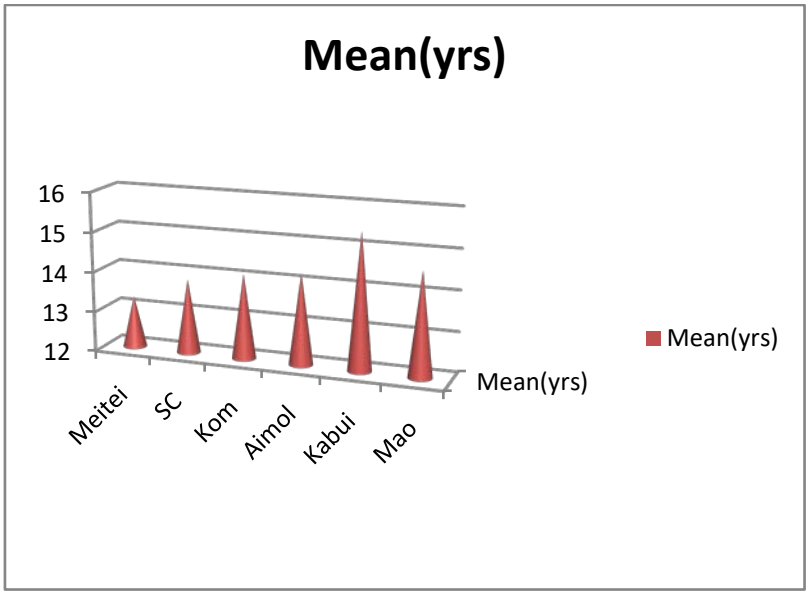


Fig. 2: Graph showing menarcheal mean values

IV. Discussion

In general, menarche occurred at age 11 years, with a few exceptions among the adolescent girls and it continued up to 17 years. The ages of 13 and 15 years became the most common recall menarcheal for the majority of all girls. Among the participants of the comparing groups, Meitei girls represent the earliest mean age at menarche (13.30±0.05 years) and next followed by the SC girls (13.84±0.05 years) who occupy the same ecological habitat of Imphal district of Manipur. The Kabui girls revealed the highest of all in mean age (15.40±0.20 years), while the remaining other populations of Kom, Mao, and Aimol showed an approximate of 14.32 years.

V. Conclusion

From the overall observation, the following conclusion may be drawn.

The present Meitei and Scheduled caste girls settle in the central valley regions, particularly in the Imphal west district of Manipur. The reason for declining menarcheal age, among these two groups, is due to the fact that they enjoy better environmental conditions such as health care, education, access to food, communication, etc. since Imphal is the capital of Manipur. On the other, the remaining groups who experienced later menarche lived in the interior hilly districts such as Churachandpur, Senapati, Chandel, and Tamenglong districts of Manipur which are located at 30-40 km distances from Imphal. The facilities provided under various schemes of the Govt. in the distant hilly places of Manipur are comparatively inadequate as compared to the Imphal districts of Manipur. Among the various factors that influence the onset of menarche, environmental factors would play more roles than genetic. As such, two populations who have social distance from each other, but settled in close habitats and enjoyed similar facilities revealed more or less same results in mean ages.

VI. Acknowledgement

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Alternatively, you can download our basic template from https://globaljournals.org/Template.zip

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Unless specified in the notification, the Editorial Board's decision on publication of the paper is final and cannot be appealed before making the major change in the manuscript.

Acknowledgments

Contributors to the research other than authors credited should be mentioned in Acknowledgments. The source of funding for the research can be included. Suppliers of resources may be mentioned along with their addresses.

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Authors can submit papers and articles in an acceptable file format: MS Word (doc, docx), LaTeX (.tex, .zip or .rar including all of your files), Adobe PDF (.pdf), rich text format (.rtf), simple text document (.txt), Open Document Text (.odt), and Apple Pages (.pages). Our professional layout editors will format the entire paper according to our official guidelines. This is one of the highlights of publishing with Global Journals—authors should not be concerned about the formatting of their paper. Global Journals accepts articles and manuscripts in every major language, be it Spanish, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, French, German, Dutch, Italian, Greek, or any other national language, but the title, subtitle, and abstract should be in English. This will facilitate indexing and the pre-peer review process.

The following is the official style and template developed for publication of a research paper. Authors are not required to follow this style during the submission of the paper. It is just for reference purposes.

Manuscript Style Instruction (Optional)

- Microsoft Word Document Setting Instructions.
- Font type of all text should be Swis721 Lt BT.
- Page size: 8.27" x 11'", left margin: 0.65, right margin: 0.65, bottom margin: 0.75.
- Paper title should be in one column of font size 24.
- Author name in font size of 11 in one column.
- Abstract: font size 9 with the word "Abstract" in bold italics.
- Main text: font size 10 with two justified columns.
- Two columns with equal column width of 3.38 and spacing of 0.2.
- First character must be three lines drop-capped.
- The paragraph before spacing of 1 pt and after of 0 pt.
- Line spacing of 1 pt.
- Large images must be in one column.
- The names of first main headings (Heading 1) must be in Roman font, capital letters, and font size of 10.
- The names of second main headings (Heading 2) must not include numbers and must be in italics with a font size of 10.

Structure and Format of Manuscript

The recommended size of an original research paper is under 15,000 words and review papers under 7,000 words. Research articles should be less than 10,000 words. Research papers are usually longer than review papers. Review papers are reports of significant research (typically less than 7,000 words, including tables, figures, and references)

A research paper must include:

a) A title which should be relevant to the theme of the paper.
b) A summary, known as an abstract (less than 150 words), containing the major results and conclusions.
c) Up to 10 keywords that precisely identify the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.
d) An introduction, giving fundamental background objectives.
e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition, sources of information must be given, and numerical methods must be specified by reference.
f) Results which should be presented concisely by well-designed tables and figures.
g) Suitable statistical data should also be given.
h) All data must have been gathered with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage.

Design has been recognized to be essential to experiments for a considerable time, and the editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned unrefereed.

i) Discussion should cover implications and consequences and not just recapitulate the results; conclusions should also be summarized.
j) There should be brief acknowledgments.
k) There ought to be references in the conventional format. Global Journals recommends APA format.

Authors should carefully consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate effectively. Papers are much more likely to be accepted if they are carefully designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and follow instructions. They will also be published with much fewer delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and suggestions to improve brevity.

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It is necessary that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

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Author details

The full postal address of any related author(s) must be specified.

Abstract

The abstract is the foundation of the research paper. It should be clear and concise and must contain the objective of the paper and inferences drawn. It is advised to not include big mathematical equations or complicated jargon.

Many researchers searching for information online will use search engines such as Google, Yahoo or others. By optimizing your paper for search engines, you will amplify the chance of someone finding it. In turn, this will make it more likely to be viewed and cited in further works. Global Journals has compiled these guidelines to facilitate you to maximize the web-friendliness of the most public part of your paper.

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A major lynchpin of research work for the writing of research papers is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and internet resources. Up to eleven keywords or very brief phrases have to be given to help data retrieval, mining, and indexing.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy: planning of a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Choice of the main keywords is the first tool of writing a research paper. Research paper writing is an art. Keyword search should be as strategic as possible.

One should start brainstorming lists of potential keywords before even beginning searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, “What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in a research paper?” Then consider synonyms for the important words.

It may take the discovery of only one important paper to steer in the right keyword direction because, in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.

Numerical Methods

Numerical methods used should be transparent and, where appropriate, supported by references.

Abbreviations

Authors must list all the abbreviations used in the paper at the end of the paper or in a separate table before using them.

Formulas and equations

Authors are advised to submit any mathematical equation using either MathJax, KaTeX, or LaTeX, or in a very high-quality image.

Tables, Figures, and Figure Legends

Tables: Tables should be cautiously designed, uncrowned, and include only essential data. Each must have an Arabic number, e.g., Table 4, a self-explanatory caption, and be on a separate sheet. Authors must submit tables in an editable format and not as images. References to these tables (if any) must be mentioned accurately.

Figures

Figures are supposed to be submitted as separate files. Always include a citation in the text for each figure using Arabic numbers, e.g., Fig. 4. Artwork must be submitted online in vector electronic form or by emailing it.

Preparation of Eletronic Figures for Publication

Although low-quality images are sufficient for review purposes, print publication requires high-quality images to prevent the final product being blurred or fuzzy. Submit (possibly by e-mail) EPS (line art) or TIFF (halftone/ photographs) files only. MS PowerPoint and Word Graphics are unsuitable for printed pictures. Avoid using pixel-oriented software. Scans (TIFF only) should have a resolution of at least 350 dpi (halftone) or 700 to 1100 dpi (line drawings). Please give the data for figures in black and white or submit a Color Work Agreement form. EPS files must be saved with fonts embedded (and with a TIFF preview, if possible).

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Tips for writing a good quality Social Science Research Paper

Techniques for writing a good quality homan social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of homan social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow here.



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.
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.

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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.

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



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- 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:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- 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.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- 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.

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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:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- 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:

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



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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:

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

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
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- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- 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.

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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.

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- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- 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.
- 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?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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