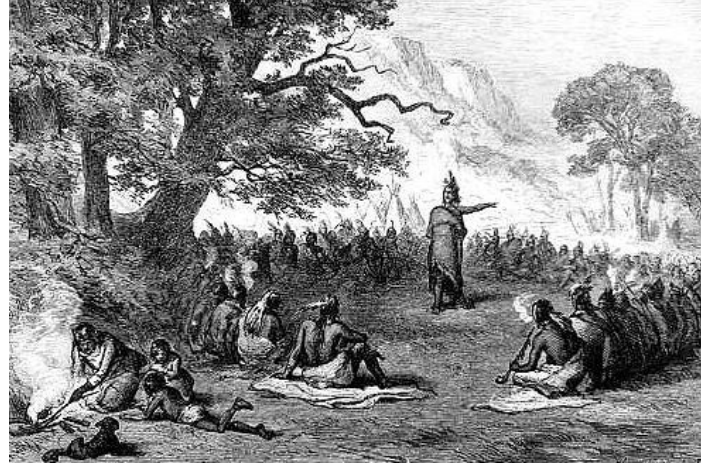


SILVIA
FEDERICI'S

CALIBAN
AND THE
WITCH

WOMEN,
THE BODY AND
PRIMITIVE
ACCUMULATION



HOMELAND SECURITY



Fighting Terrorism Since 1492

[autonomously produced
zine-format in five volumes]

VOLUME 5



Amerigo Vespucci landing on the South American coast in 1497. Before him, seductively lying on a hammock, is "America." Behind her some cannibals are roasting human remains. Design by Jan van der Straet, and engraved by Théodore Galle (1589).



Colonization and Christianization

Caliban and Witches in the New World

*"...and so they say that we have come to this earth to destroy the world. They say that the winds ruin the houses, and cut the trees, and the fire burns them, but that we devour everything, we consume the earth, we redirect the rivers, we are never quiet, never at rest, but always run here and there, seeking gold and silver, never satisfied, and then we gamble with it, make war, kill each other, rob, swear, never say the truth, and have deprived them of their means of livelihood. And finally they curse the sea which has put on the earth such evil and harsh children." (Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del Mondo Nuovo*, 1565).*

*"...overcome by torture and pain, [the women] were obliged to confess that they did adore huacas:... They lamented, 'Now in this life we women...are Christian; perhaps then the priest is to blame if we women adore the mountains, if we flee to the hills and puna, since there is no justice for us here.'" (Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva Chronica y Buen Gobierno*, 1615)*

Introduction

The history of the body and the witch-hunt that I have presented is based on an assumption that is summed up by the reference to "Caliban and the Witch," the characters of *The Tempest* symbolizing the American Indians' resistance to colonization.¹ The assumption is the continuity between the subjugation of the populations of the New World and that of people in Europe, women in particular, in the transition to capitalism. In both cases we have the forcible removal of entire communities from their land, large-scale impoverishment, the launching of "Christianizing" campaigns destroying people's autonomy and communal relations. We also have a constant cross-fertilization whereby forms of repression that had been developed in the Old World were transported to the New and then re-imported into Europe.

The differences should not be underestimated. By the 18th century, due to the flow of gold, silver and other resources coming from the Americas into Europe, an international division of labor had taken shape that divided the new global proletariat by means of different class relations and systems of discipline, marking the beginning of often conflicting histories within the working class. But the similarities in the treatments to which the populations of Europe and the Americas were subjected are sufficient to demonstrate the existence of one single logic governing the development of capitalism and the structural character of the atrocities perpetrated in this process. An outstanding example is the extension of the witch-hunt to the American colonies.

The persecution of women and men through the charge of witchcraft is a phenomenon that, in the past, was largely considered by historians to be limited to Europe. The only exception admitted to this rule were the Salem witch trials, which remain the focus of the scholarship on witch-hunting in the New World. It is now recognized, however, that the charge of devil-worshipping played a key function also in the colonization of the American aboriginal population. On this subject, two texts, in particular, must be mentioned that form the basis for my discussion in this chapter. The first is Irene Silverblatt's *Moon, Sun, and Witches* (1987), a study of witch hunting and the redefinition of gender relations in Inca society and colonial Peru, which (to my knowledge) is the first in English to reconstruct the history of the Andean women persecuted as witches. The other is Luciano Parinetto's *Streghe e Potere* (1998), a series of essays that document the impact of witch-hunting in America on the witch trials in Europe, marred, however, by the author's insistence that the persecution of the witches was gender-neutral.

Both these works demonstrate that also in the New World witch-hunting was a *deliberate strategy used by the authorities to instill terror*, destroy collective resistance, silence entire communities, and turn their members against each other. *It was also a strategy of enclosure* which, depending on the context, could be enclosure of land, bodies or social relations. Above all, as in Europe, witch-hunting was a means of dehumanization and as such the paradigmatic form of repression, serving to justify enslavement and genocide.

Witch-hunting did not destroy the resistance of the colonized. Due primarily to the struggle of women, the connection of the American Indians with the land, the local religions and nature survived beyond the persecution providing, for more than five hundred years, a source of anti-colonial and anti-capitalist resistance. This is extremely important for us, at a time when a renewed assault is being made on the resources and mode of existence of indigenous populations across the planet; for we need to rethink how the conquistadors strove to subdue those whom they colonized, and what enabled the latter to subvert this plan and, against the destruction of their social and physical universe, create a new historical reality.

The Birth of the Cannibals

When Columbus sailed to "Indies" the witch-hunt in Europe was not yet a mass phenomenon. Nevertheless, the use of devil-worship as a weapon to strike at political enemies and vilify entire populations (like Muslims and Jews) was already common among the elite. More than that, as Seymour Phillips writes, a "persecuting society" had devel-

oped within medieval Europe," fed by militarism and Christian intolerance, that looked at the "Other" as mainly an object of aggression (Phillips 1994). Thus, it is not surprising if "cannibal," "infidel," "barbarian," "monstrous races," and devil worshipper were the "ethnographic models" with which the Europeans "entered the new age of expansion" (*ibid.* 62), providing the filter through which missionaries and conquistadors interpreted the cultures, religions, and sexual customs of the peoples they encountered.² Other cultural marks contributed to the invention of the "Indians". Most stigmatizing and perhaps projecting the Spaniards' labor needs were "nakedness" and "sodomy," that qualified the Amerindians as beings living in an animal state (thus capable of being turned into beasts of burden), though some reports also stressed, as a sign of their bestiality, their propensity to share and "give everything they have in return for things of little value" (Hulme 1994: 198).

Defining the aboriginal American populations as cannibals, devil-worshippers, and sodomites supported the fiction that the Conquest was not an unabashed quest for gold and silver but was a converting mission, a claim that, in 1508, helped the Spanish Crown gain for it the blessing of the Pope and complete authority over the Church in the Americas. It also removed, in the eyes of the world and possibly of the colonizers themselves, any sanction against the atrocities which they would commit against the "Indians," thus functioning as a license to kill regardless of what the intended victims might do. And, indeed, "The whip, gibbet, and stock, imprisonment, torture, rape, and occasional killing became standard weapons for enforcing labor discipline" in the New World (Cockcroft 1990:19).

In a first phase, however, the image of the colonized as devil-worshippers could coexist with a more positive, even idyllic one, picturing the "Indians" as innocent, and generous beings, living a life "free of toil and tyranny," recalling the mythical "Golden Age" or an earthly paradise (Brandon 1986: 6-8; Sale 1991: 100-101).

This characterization may have been a literary stereotype or, as Roberto Retamar, among others, has suggested, the rhetorical counterpart of the image of the "savage," expressing the Europeans' inability to see the people they met as real human beings.³ But this optimistic view also corresponded to a period in the conquest (from 1520 to 1540s) in which the Spaniards still believed that the aboriginal populations would be easily converted and subjugated (Cervantes 1994). This was the time of mass baptisms, when much zeal was deployed in convincing the "Indians" to change their names and abandon their gods and sexual customs, especially polygamy and homosexuality. [B]are-breasted women were forced to cover themselves, men in loincloths had to put on trousers (Cockcroft: 1983: 21). But at this time, the struggle against the devil consisted mainly of bonfires of local "idols," even though many political and religious leaders from central Mexico were put on trial and burned at the stake by the Franciscan father Juan de Zumarraga, in the years between 1536 (when the Inquisition was introduced in South America) and 1543.

As the Conquest proceeded, however, no space was left for any accommodations. Imposing one's power over other people is not possible without denigrating them to the point where the possibility of identification is precluded. Thus, despite the earlier homilies about the gentle Tainos, an ideological machine was set in motion, complementing the military one, that portrayed the colonized as "filthy" and demonic beings practicing

all kinds of abominations, while the same crimes that previously had been attributed to lack of religious education — sodomy, cannibalism, incest, cross dressing — were now treated as signs that the “Indians” were under the dominion of the devil and they could be justifiably deprived of their lands and their lives (Williams 1986: 136–137). In reference to this image-shift, Fernando Cervantes writes in *The Devil in The New World* (1994):

before 1530 it would have been difficult to predict which one of these views would emerge as the dominant one. By the middle of the sixteenth century, however, [a] negative demonic view of Amerindian cultures had triumphed, and its influence was seen to descend like a thick fog on every statement officially and unofficially made on the subject (1994: 8).

It could be surmised, on the basis of the contemporary histories of the “Indies” — such as De Gomara’s (1556) and Acosta’s (1590) — that this change of perspective was prompted by the Europeans’ encounter with imperialistic states like the Aztec and Inca, whose repressive machinery included the practice of human sacrifices (Martinez et al 1976). In the *Historia Natural Y Moral de Las Indias*, published in Sevilla, in 1590, by the Jesuit Joseph de Acosta, there are descriptions that give us a vivid sense of the repulsion generated, among the Spaniards, by the mass sacrifices carried out, particularly by the Aztecs, which involved thousands of youths (war captives or purchased children and slaves).⁴ Yet, when we read Bartolomé De Las Casas’ account of the destruction of the Indies or any other account of the Conquest, we wonder why should the Spaniards have been shocked by this practice when they themselves had no qualms committing unspeakable atrocities for the sake of God and gold and, according to Cortez, in 1521, they had slaughtered 100,000 people, just to conquer Tenochtitlan (Cockroft 1983: 19).

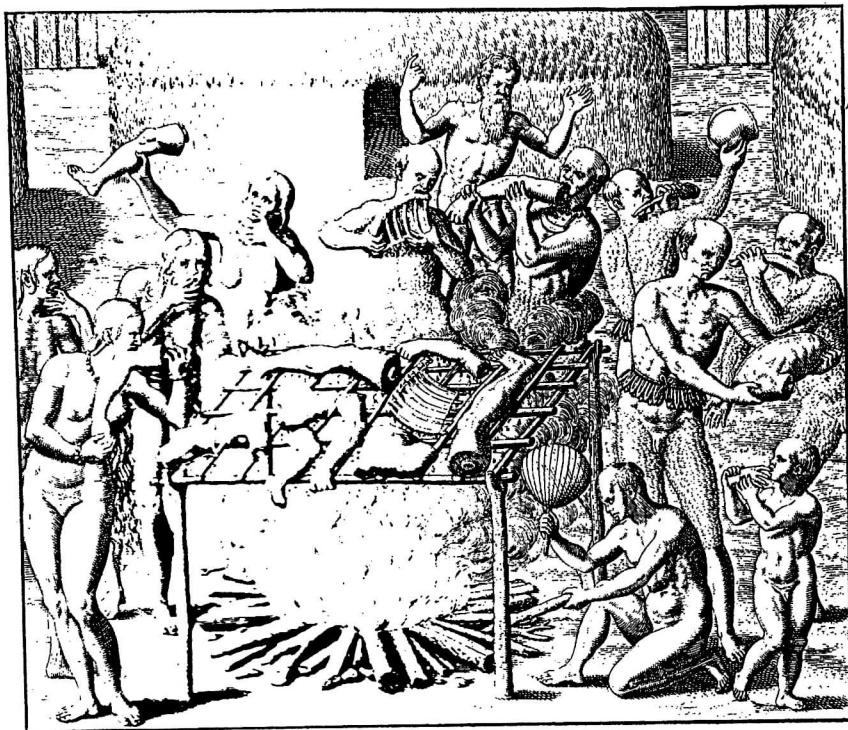
Similarly, the cannibalistic rituals they discovered in America, which figure prominently in the records of the Conquest, must not have been too different from the medical practices that were popular in Europe at the time. In the 16th, 17th and even 18th centuries, the drinking of human blood (especially the blood of those who had died of a violent death) and mummy water, obtained by soaking human flesh in various spirits, was a common cure for epilepsy and other illnesses in many European countries. Furthermore, this type of cannibalism, “involving human flesh, blood, heart, skull, bone marrow, and other body parts was not limited to fringe groups of society but was practiced in the most respectable circles” (Gordon–Grube 1988: 406–407).⁵ Thus, the new horror that the Spaniards felt for the aboriginal populations, after the 1550s, cannot be easily attributed to a cultural shock, but must be seen as a response inherent to the logic of colonization that inevitably must dehumanize and fear those it wants to enslave.

How successful was this strategy can be seen from the ease with which the Spaniards rationalized the high mortality rates caused by the epidemics that swept the region in the wake of the Conquest, which they interpreted as God’s punishment for the Indians beastly conduct.⁶ Also the debate that took place in 1550, at Valladolid, in Spain, between Bartolomé de Las Casas and the Spanish jurist Juan Gines de Sepulveda, on whether or not the “Indians” were to be considered as human beings, would have been unthinkable without an ideological campaign representing the latter as animals and demons.⁷



Travel logs illustrated with horrific images of cannibals stuffing themselves with human remains proliferated in Europe in the aftermath of the conquest. A cannibal banquet in Bahia (Brazil), according to the description of the German J. G. Aldenburg.

The spread of illustrations portraying life in the New World, that began to circulate in Europe after the 1550s, completed this work of degradation, with their multitudes of naked bodies and cannibalistic banquets, reminiscent of witches' Sabbats, featuring human heads and limbs as the main course. A late example of this genre of literature is *Le Livre des Antipodes* (1630), compiled by Johann Ludwig Gottfried, which displays a number of horrific images: women and children stuffing themselves with human entrails, or the cannibal community gathered around a grill, feasting on legs and arms while watching the roasting of human remains. Prior contributions to the cultural production of the Amerindians as bestial beings are the illustrations in *Les Singularitez de la France Antarctique* (Paris 1557) by the French Franciscan André Thevet, already centered on the themes of the human quartering, cooking, and banquet; and Hans Staden's *Wahrhaftige Historia* (Marburg 1557), in which the author describes his captivity among the cannibal indios of Brazil (Parinetto 1998: 428).



Cannibals in Bahia feasting on human remains. Illustrations displaying the Amerindian community roasting and feeding on human remains completed the degradation of the aboriginal American populations begun by the work of the missionaries.

Exploitation, Resistance, and Demonization

A turning point, in the anti-Indian propaganda and anti-idolatry campaign that accompanied the colonization process, was the decision by the Spanish Crown, in the 1550s, to introduce in the American colonies a far more severe system of exploitation. The decision was motivated by the crisis of the "plunder economy" that had been introduced after the Conquest whereby the accumulation of wealth continued to depend on the expropriation of the "Indians'" surplus goods more than on the direct exploitation of their labor (Spalding 1984; Steve J. Stern 1982). Until the 1550s, despite the massacres and the exploitation associated with the system of the *encomienda*, the Spaniards had not completely disrupted the subsistence economies which they had found in the areas they colonized. Instead, they had relied, for the wealth they accumulated, on the tribute systems put into place by the Aztecs and Incas, whereby designated chiefs (*caciques* in Mexico, *kuracas* in Peru) delivered them quotas of goods and labor supposedly compatible with the survival of the local economies. The tribute which the Spaniards exacted was much higher than that the Aztecs and Incas had ever demanded of those they conquered; but it was still not sufficient to satisfy their needs. By the 1550s, they were finding it difficult to obtain enough labor for the both the *obrajes* (manufacturing workshops where goods were produced for the international market) and the exploitation of the newly discovered silver and mercury mines, like the legendary one at Potosi.⁸

The need to squeeze more work from the aboriginal populations largely derived from the situation at home where the Spanish Crown was literally floating on the American bullion, which bought food and goods no longer produced in Spain. In addition, the plundered wealth financed the Crown's European territorial expansion. This was so dependent on the continuous arrival of masses of silver and gold from the New World that, by the 1550s, the Crown was ready to undermine the power of the *encomenderos* in order to appropriate the bulk of the Indians' labor for the extraction of silver to be shipped to Spain.⁹ But resistance to colonization was mounting (Spalding 1984: 134-135; Stern 1982).¹⁰ It was in response to this challenge that, both in Mexico and Peru, a war was declared on indigenous cultures paving the way to a draconian intensification of colonial rule.

In Mexico, this turn occurred in 1562 when, by the initiative of the Provincial Diego de Landa, an anti-idolatry campaign was launched in the Yucatan peninsula, in the course of which more than 4,500 people were rounded up and brutally tortured under the charge of practicing human sacrifices. They were then subjected to a well-orchestrated public punishment which finished destroying their bodies and their morale (Clendinnen 1987: 71-92). So cruel were the penalties inflicted (floggings so severe that they made the blood flow, years of enslavement in the mines) that many people died or remained unfit for work; others fled their homes or committed suicide, so that work came to an end and the regional economy was disrupted. However, the persecution that Landa mounted was the foundation of a new colonial economy, since it signaled to the local population that the Spaniards were there to stay and that the rule of the old gods was over (*ibid.*: 190).

In Peru, as well, the first large-scale attack on diabolism occurred in the 1560s, coinciding with the rise of the Taki Onqoy movement,¹¹ a native millenarian move-

ment that preached against collaboration with the Europeans and for a pan-Andean alliance of the local gods (*huacas*) putting an end to colonization. Attributing the defeat suffered and the rising mortality to the abandonment of the local gods, the Takionqos encouraged people to reject the Christian religion, and the names, food, clothing received from the Spaniards. They also urge them to refuse the tribute payments and labor drafts the Spaniards imposed on them, and to "stop wearing shirts, hats, sandals or any other clothes from Spain" (Stern 1982: 53). If this was done — they promised — the revived *huacas* would turn the world around and destroy the Spaniards by sending sickness and floods to their cities, the ocean rising to erase any memory of their existence (Stern 1982: 52–64).

The threat posed by the Taquionqos was a serious one since, by calling for a pan-Andean unification of the *huacas*, the movement marked the beginning of a new sense of identity capable of overcoming the divisions connected with the traditional organization of the *ayullus* (family unit). In Stern's words, it marked the first time that the people of the Andes began to think of themselves as one people, as "Indians" (Stern 1982: 59) and, in fact, the movement spread widely, reaching "as far north as Lima, as far east as Cuzco, and over the high puna of the South to La Paz in contemporary Bolivia (Spalding 1984: 246). The response came with the ecclesiastical Council held in Lima in 1567, which established that the priests should "extirpate the innumerable superstitions, ceremonies and diabolical rites of the Indians. They were also to stamp out drunkenness, arrest witch-doctors, and above all discover and destroy shrines and talismans" connected with the worship of the local gods (*huacas*). These recommendations were repeated at a synod in Quito, in 1570, where, again, it was denounced that "[t]here are famous witch doctors who... guard the *huacas* and converse with the devil" (Hemming 1970: 397).

The *huacas* were mountains, springs, stones, and animals embodying the spirits of the ancestor. As such, they were collectively cared for, fed, and worshipped for everyone recognized them as the main link with the land, and with the agricultural practices central to economic reproduction. Women talked to them, as they apparently still do, in some regions of South America, to ensure a healthy crop (Descola 1994: 191–214).¹² Destroying them or forbidden their worship was to attack the community, its historical roots, people's relation to the land, and their intensely spiritual relation to nature. This was understood by the Spaniards who, in the 1550s, embarked in a systematic destruction of anything resembling an object of worship. What Claude Baudez and Sydney Picasso write about the anti-idolatri drive conducted by the Franciscans against the Mayas in the Yucatan also applies to the rest of Mexico and Peru.

"Idols were destroyed, temples burned, and those who celebrated native rites and practiced sacrifices were punished by death; festivities such as banquets, songs, and dances, as well as artistic and intellectual activities (painting, sculpture, observation of stars, hieroglyphic writing) — suspected of being inspired by the devil — were forbidden and those who took part in them mercilessly hunted down" (Baudez and Picasso 1992: 21).

This process went hand in hand with the reform demanded by the Spanish Crown that increased the exploitation of indigenous labor to ensure a better flow of bullion into its coffers. Two measures were introduced for this purpose, both facilitated by the anti-idolatri campaign. First, the quota of labor that the local chiefs had to provide for the mines and the *obrajes* was vastly increased, and the enforcement of the new rule was placed under the super-



Andean woman forced to work in the obrajes, manufacturing workshops producing for the international market. Scenes by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala.

vision of a local representative of the Crown (*corregidore*) with the power to arrest and administer other forms of punishment in case of failure to comply. Further, a resettlement program (*reducciones*) was introduced removing much of the rural population into designated villages, so as to place it under a more direct control. The destruction of the *huacas* and the persecution of the ancestor religion associated with them was instrumental to both, since the *reducciones* gained strength from the demonization of the local worshipping sites.

It was soon clear, however, that, under the cover of Christianization, people continued to worship their gods, in the same way as they continued to return to their *milpas* (fields) after being removed from their homes. Thus, instead of diminishing, the attack on the local gods intensified with time, climaxing between 1619 and 1660 when the destruction of the idols was accompanied by true witch-hunts, this time targeting women in particular. Karen Spalding has described one of these witch-hunts conducted in the *repartimiento* of Huarochiri⁷, in 1660, by the priest-inquisitor Don Juan Sarmiento. As she reports, the investigation was conducted according to the same pattern of the witch-hunts in Europe. It began with the reading of the edict against idolatry and the preaching of a sermon against this sin. This was followed by secret denunciations supplied by anonymous informants, then came the questioning of the suspects, the use of torture to extract confessions, and then the sentencing and punishment, in this case consisting of public whipping, exile, and various other forms of humiliation:

The people sentenced were brought into the public square.... They were placed upon mules and donkeys, with wooden crosses about six inches long around their necks. They were ordered to wear these marks of humiliation from that



Scenes from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala representing the ordeal of Andean women and the followers of the ancestors' religion.

Scene 1: Public humiliation during an anti-idoltry campaign. Scene 2: Women "as spoils of conquest." Scene 3: The huacas, represented as the devil, speak through a dream. Scene 4: A member of the Taki Onqoy movement with a drunken Indian who is seized by a huaca represented as the devil. (From Steve J. Stern, 1982.)

day forward. On their heads, the religious authorities put a medieval corozza, a cone shaped hood made of pasteboard, that was the European Catholic mark of infamy and disgrace. Beneath these hoods the hair was cut off— an Andean mark of humiliation. Those who were condemned to receive lashes had their backs bared. Ropes were put around their necks. They were paraded slowly through the streets of the town with a crier ahead of them reading out their crimes... After this spectacle the people were brought back, some with their backs bleeding from the 20, 40 or 100 lashes with the cat-o'-nine-tails wielded by the village executioner (Spalding 1984: 256).

Spalding concludes that :

The idolatry campaigns were exemplary rituals, didactic theatre pieces directed to the audience as much as to the participants, much like a public hanging in medieval Europe (ibid.: 265)

Their objective was to intimidate the population, to create a "space of death"¹³ where potential rebels would be so paralyzed with fear that they would accept anything rather than having to face the same ordeal of those publicly beaten and humiliated. In this, the Spaniards were in part successful. Faced with torture, anonymous denunciations and public humiliations, many alliances and friendships broke down; people's faith in the effectiveness of their gods weakened, and worship turned into a secret individual practice rather than a collective one, as it had been in pre-conquest America.

How deeply the social fabric was affected by these terror campaigns can be deduced, according to Spalding, from the changes that over time took place in the nature of the charges. While in the 1550s people could openly acknowledge theirs and their community's attachment to the traditional religion, by the 1650s the crimes of which they were accused revolved around "witchcraft," a practice now presuming a secretive behavior, and they increasingly resembled the accusations made against witches in Europe. In the campaign launched in 1660, in the Huarochiri area, for instance, "the crimes uncovered by the authorities... dealt with curing, finding lost goods, and other forms of what might be generally called village 'witchcraft'." Yet, the same campaign revealed that despite the persecution, in the eyes of the communities, "the ancestors and waks (*huacas*) continued to be essential to their survival" (Spalding 1984: 261).

Women and Witches in America

It is not a coincidence that "[m]ost of the people convicted in the investigation of 1660 in Huarochiri' were women (28 out of 32)" (Spalding 1984 : 258), in the same way as women had been the main presence in the Taki Onqoy movement. It was women who most strongly defended the old mode of existence and opposed the new power structure, plausibly because they were also the ones who were most negatively affected by it.

Women had held a powerful position in pre-Columbian societies, as reflected by the existence of many important female deities in their religions. Reaching an island off

the coast of the Yucatan peninsula, in 1517, Hernandez de Cordoba named it Isla Mujeres "because the temples they visited there contained numerous female idols" (Baudez and Picasso 1992: 17). Pre-conquest American women had their organizations, their socially recognized spheres of activity and, while not equal to men,¹⁴ they were considered complementary to them in their contribution to the family and society.

In addition to being farmers, house-workers and weavers, in charge of producing the colorful cloths worn in everyday life and during the ceremonies, they were potters, herbalists, healers (*curanderas*), and priestesses (*sacerdotisas*) at the service of household gods. In Southern Mexico, in the region of Oaxaca, they were connected with the production of pulque-maguey, a sacred substance believed to have been invented by the gods and associated with Mayahuel, an earth-mother goddess that was "the focal point of peasant religion" (Taylor 1970: 31-32).

But with the Spaniards' arrival everything changed, as they brought their baggage of misogynous beliefs and restructured the economy and political power in ways that favored men. Women suffered also at the hands of the traditional chiefs who, in order to maintain their power, began to take over the communal lands and expropriate the female members of the community from land use and water rights. Thus, within the colonial economy, women were reduced to the condition of servants working as maids (for the *encomenderos*, the priests, the *corregidores*) or as weavers in the *obrajes*. Women were also forced to follow their husband when they would have to do *mita* work in the mines — a fate that people recognized to be worse than death — for, in 1528, the authorities established that spouses could not be separated, so that women and children, from then on, could be compelled to do mine labor in addition to preparing food for the male workers.

Another source of degradation for women was the new Spanish legislation which declared polygamy illegal, so that, overnight, men had to either separate from their wives or reclassify them as maids (Mayer 1981), while the children issued from these unions were labeled according to five different types of illegitimacy (Nash 1980: 143). Ironically, while polygamous unions were dissolved, with the arrival of the Spaniards, no aboriginal woman was safe from rape or appropriation, so that many men, instead of marrying, began to turn to public prostitutes (Hemming 1970). In the European fantasy, America itself was a reclining naked woman seductively inviting the approaching white stranger. At times, it was the "Indian" men themselves who delivered their female kin to the priests or *encomenderos* in exchange for some economic reward or a public post.

For all these reasons, women became the main enemies of colonial rule, refusing to go to Mass, to baptize their children or to cooperate in any way with the colonial authorities and priests. In the Andes, some committed suicide and killed their male children, presumably to prevent them from going to the mines and also out of disgust, apparently, for the mistreatment inflicted upon them by their male relatives (Silverblatt 1987). Others organized their communities and, in front of the defection of many local chiefs who were co-opted by the colonial structure, became priests, leaders, and guardians of the *huacas*, taking on functions which they had never previously exercised. This explains why women were the backbone of the Taki Onqoy movement. In Peru, they also held confessions to prepare people for when they would meet with the catholic priests, advising them as to what it should be safe to tell them and what they should not reveal. And while

before the Conquest women had been in charge exclusively of the ceremonies dedicated to female deities, afterwards, they became assistants or principal officiants in cults dedicated to the male-ancestors-huacas — something that before the Conquest had been forbidden (Stern 1982). They also fought the colonial power by withdrawing to the higher planes (*punas*) where they could practice the old religion. As Irene Silverblatt writes:

While indigenous men often fled the oppression of the *mita* and tribute by abandoning their communities and going to work as *yaconas* (quasi-serfs) in the merging haciendas, women fled to the *punas*, inaccessible and very distant from the *reducciones* of their native communities. Once in the *punas* women rejected the forces and symbols of their oppression, disobeying Spanish administrators, the clergy, as well as their own community officials. They also vigorously rejected the colonial ideology, which reinforced their oppression, refusing to go to Mass, participate in Catholic confessions, or learn catholic dogma. More important, women did not just reject Catholicism; they returned to their native religion and, to the best that they could, to the quality of social relations which their religion expressed (1987: 197).

By persecuting women as witches, then, the Spaniards targeted both the practitioners of the old religion and the instigators of anti-colonial revolt, while attempting to redefine "the spheres of activity in which indigenous women could participate" (Silverblatt 1987: 160). As Silverblatt points out, the concept of witchcraft was alien to Andean society. In Peru as well, as in every pre-industrial society, many women were "specialists in medical knowledge," being familiar with the properties of herbs and plants, and they were also diviners. But the Christian notion of the devil was unknown to them. Nevertheless, by the 17th century, under the impact of torture, intense persecution, and "forced acculturation" the Andean women arrested, mostly old and poor, were accusing themselves of the same crimes with which women were being charged in the European witch trials: pacts and copulation with the devil, prescribing herbal remedies, using ointments, flying through the air, making wax images (Silverblatt 1987: 174). They also confessed to worshipping stones, mountains, and springs, and feeding the *huacas*. Worst of all, they confessed to bewitching the authorities or other men of power and causing them to die (*ibid.* 187–88).

As it was in Europe, torture and terror were used to force the accused to deliver other names so that the circles of the persecution became wider and wider. But one of the objectives of the witch-hunt, the isolation of the witches from the rest of the community, was not achieved. The Andean witches were not turned into outcasts. On the contrary, "they were actively sought for as *comadres* and their presence was required in informal village reunions, for in the consciousness of the colonized, witchcraft, the maintenance of ancient traditions, and conscious political resistance became increasingly intertwined" (*ibid.*). Indeed, it was largely due to women's resistance that the old religion was preserved. Changes occurred in the meaning of the practices associated with it. Worship was driven underground at the expense of its collective nature in pre-conquest times. But the ties with the mountains and the other sites of the *huacas* were not destroyed.

We find a similar situation in Central and Southern Mexico where women, priestesses above all, played an important role in the defense of their communities and cultures. In this region, according to Antonio Garcia de Leon's *Resistencia y Utopia*, from the Conquest on, women "directed or counseled all the great anti-colonial revolts" (de Leon 1985, Vol. 1: 31). In Oaxaca, the presence of women in popular rebellions continued into the 18th century when, in one out of four cases, they led the attack against the authorities "and were visibly more aggressive, insulting, and rebellious" (Taylor 1979: 116). In Chiapas too, they were the key actors in the preservation of the old religion and the anti-colonization struggle. Thus, when, in 1524, the Spaniards launched a war campaign to subjugate the rebellious Chiapanecos, it was a priestess who led the troops against them. Women also participated in the underground networks of idol-worshippers and resisters that periodically were discovered by the clergy. In 1584, for instance, upon visiting Chiapas, the bishop Pedro de Feria was told that several among the local Indian chiefs were still practicing the old cults, and that they were being counseled by women, with whom they entertained filthy practices, such as (sabbat-like) ceremonies during which they mixed together and turned into gods and goddesses, the women being in charge of sending rain and giving wealth to those who asked for it" (de Leon 1985, Vol. 1: 76).

It is ironic, then, in view of this record, that Caliban and not his mother Sycorax, the witch, should be taken by Latin American revolutionaries as a symbol of the resistance to colonization. For Caliban could only fight his master by cursing him in the language he had learned from him, thus being dependent in his rebellion on his "master's tools." He could also be deceived into believing that his liberation could come through a rape and through the initiative of some opportunistic white proletarians transplanted in the New World whom he worshipped as gods. Sycorax, instead, a witch "so strong that she could control the moon, make flows and ebbs" (*The Tempest*, Act V, Scene 1) might have taught her son to appreciate the local powers — the land, the waters, the trees, "nature's treasures" — and those communal ties that, over centuries of suffering, have continued to nourish the liberation struggle to this day, and that already haunted, as a promise, Caliban's imagination:

Be not afeard, the isle is full of noises,
Sounds, and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices,
That if then had wak'd after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again and then dreaming,
The clouds methought would open, and show riches
Ready to drop upon me, that when wak'd
I cried to dream again (*The Tempest*, Act III).

The European Witches and the "Indios"

Did the witch-hunts in the New World have an impact on events in Europe? Or were the two persecutions simply drawing from the same pool of repressive strategies and tactics which the European ruling class had forged since the Middle Ages with the persecution of the heretics?

I ask these questions having in mind the thesis advanced by the Italian historian Luciano Parinetto, who argues that witch-hunting in the New World had a major impact on the elaboration of the witchcraft ideology in Europe, as well as the chronology of the European witch-hunt.

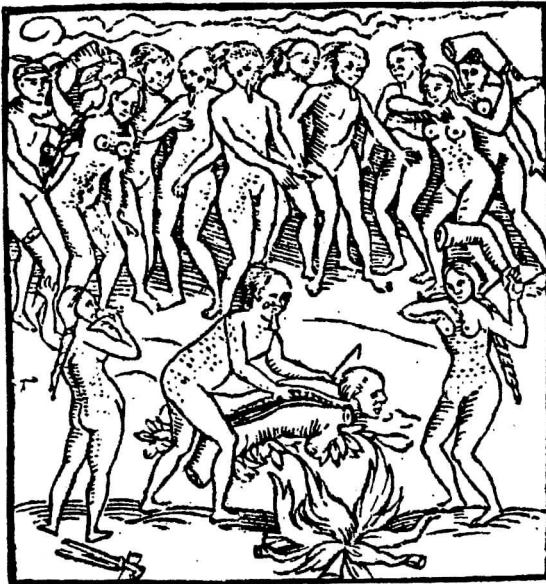
Briefly put, Parinetto's thesis is that it was under the impact of the American experience that the witch-hunt in Europe became a mass phenomenon in the second part of the 16th century. For in America, the authorities and the clergy found the confirmation for their views about devil-worship, coming to believe in the existence of entire populations of witches, a conviction which they then applied in their Christianization drive at home. Thus, another import from the New World, described by missionaries as "the land of the devil," was the adoption by the European state of *extermination as a political strategy* which, presumably, inspired the massacre of the Huguenots and the massification of the witch-hunt (Parinetto 1998: 417–35).¹⁵

Evidence of a crucial connection between the two persecutions is, in Parinetto's view, the use made by the demonologists in Europe of the reports from the Indies. Parinetto focuses on Jean Bodin, but he also mentions Francesco Maria Guazzo and cites, as an example of the "boomerang effect" produced by the transplanting of the witch-hunt in America, the case of the inquisitor Pierre Lancre who, during a several months' persecution in the region of the Labourd (Basque Country), denounced its entire population as witches. Not last, Parinetto cites, as evidence of his thesis, a set of themes that, in the second half of the 16th century, became prominent in the repertoire of witchcraft in Europe: cannibalism, the offering of children to the devil, the reference to ointments and drugs, and the identification of homosexuality (sodomy) with diabolism — all of which, he argues, had their matrix in the New World.

What to make of this theory and where to draw the line between what is accountable and what is speculative? This is a question that future scholarship will have to settle. Here I limit myself to a few observations.

Parinetto's thesis is important since it helps us dispel the Eurocentrism that has characterized the study of the witch-hunt and can potentially answer some of the questions raised by the persecution of the European witches. But its main contribution is that it broadens our awareness of the global character of capitalist development and makes us realize that, by the 16th century, a ruling class had formed in Europe that was at all points involved — practically, politically, and ideologically — in the formation of a world proletariat, and therefore was continually operating with knowledge gathered on an international level in the elaboration of its models of domination.

As for its claims, we can observe that the history of Europe before the Conquest is sufficient proof that the Europeans did not have to cross the oceans to find the will to exterminate those standing in their way. It is also possible to account for the chronology of the witch-hunt in Europe without resorting to the New World impact hypothesis, since the decades between the 1560s and 1620s saw a widespread impoverishment and social dislocations throughout most of western Europe.



Top: Francesco Maria Guazzo, *COMPENDIUM MALEFICARUM* (Milan, 1608). Guazzo was one of the demonologists most influenced by the reports from the Americas. This portrait of witches surrounding the remains of bodies excavated from the ground or taken from the gallows is reminiscent of the cannibal banquet.

Bottom: Cannibals preparing their meal. Hans Staden's *WAHRHAFTIGE HISTORIA* (Marburg 1557).



Top: Preparation for the Sabbat. German engraving from the 16th century.

Bottom: Preparing a cannibal meal. Hans Staden's *WAHRHAFTIGE HISTORIA* (Marburg 1557).

More suggestive, in provoking a rethinking of the European witch-hunt from the viewpoint of witch-hunting in America, are the thematic and the iconographic correspondences between the two. The theme of self-ointing is one of the most revealing, as the descriptions of the behavior of the Aztec or Incan priests on the occasion of human sacrifices evoke those found in some demonologies describing the preparations of the witches for the Sabbat. Consider the following passage found in Acosta, which reads the American practice as a perversion of the Christian habit of consecrating priests by anointing them:

The idol-priests in Mexico oint themselves in the following way. They greased themselves from the feet to the head, including the hair... the substance with which they stained themselves was ordinary tea, because from antiquity it was always an offering to their gods and for this much worshipped... this was their ordinary greasing... except when they went to sacrifice... or went to the caves where they kept their idols when they used a different greasing to give themselves courage.... This grease was made of poisonous substances... frogs, salamanders, vipers... with this greasing they could turn into magicians (*brujos*) and speak with the devil (Acosta, pp. 262–63).

The same poisonous brew was presumably spread by the European witches on their bodies (according to their accusers) in order to gain the power to fly to the Sabbat. But it cannot be assumed that this theme was generated in the New World, as references to women making ointments from the blood of toads or children's bones are found already in the 15th-century trials and demonologies.¹⁶ What is plausible, instead, is that the reports from America did revitalize these charges, adding new details and giving more authority to them.

The same consideration may serve to explain the iconographic correspondence between the pictures of the Sabbat and the various representations of the cannibal family and clan that began to appear in Europe in the later 16th century, and it can account for many other "coincidences," such as the fact that both in Europe and America witches were accused of sacrificing children to the devil (see figures pp. 234–5).

Witch-Hunting and Globalization

Witch-hunting in America continued in waves through the end of the 17th century, when the persistence of demographic decline and increased political and economic security on the side of the colonial power-structure combined to put an end to the persecution. Thus, in the same region that had witnessed the great anti-idolatrie campaigns of the 16th and 17th centuries, by the 18th, the Inquisition had renounced any attempts to influence the moral and religious beliefs of the population, apparently estimating that they could no longer pose a danger to colonial rule. In the place of the persecution a paternalistic perspective emerged that looked at idolatrie and magical practices as the foibles of ignorant people not worthy of being taken into consideration by "la gente de razon" (Behar 1987). From then on, the preoccupation with devil-worshipping would

migrate to the developing slave plantations of Brazil, the Caribbean, and North America where (starting with King Philip's Wars), the English settlers justified their massacres of the native American Indians by labeling them as servants of the devil (Williams and Williams Adelman 1978: 143).

The Salem trials were also explained by the local authorities on this ground, with the argument that the New Englanders had settled in the land of the devil. As Cotton Mather wrote, years later, recalling the events in Salem:

I have met with some strange things... which have made me think that this inexplicable war [i.e., the war made by the spirits of the invisible world against the people of Salem] might have its origins among the Indians whose chief sagamores are well known unto some of our captive to have been horrid sorcerers and hellish conjurers and such as conversed with the demons (*ibid.* 145).

It is significant, in this context, that the Salem trials were sparked by the divinations of a West Indian slave — Tituba — who was among the first to be arrested, and that the last execution of a witch, in an English-speaking territory, was that of a black slave, Sarah Bassett, killed in Bermuda in 1730 (Daly 1978: 179). By the 18th century, in fact, the witch was becoming an African practitioner of *obeah*, a ritual that the planters feared and demonized as an incitement to rebellion.

Witch hunting did not disappear from the repertoire of the bourgeoisie with the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, the global expansion of capitalism through colonization and Christianization ensured that this persecution would be planted in the body of colonized societies, and, in time, would be carried out by the subjugated communities in their own names and against their own members.

In the 1840s, for instance, a wave of witch-burnings occurred in Western India. More women in this period were burned as witches than in the practice of *sati* (Skaria 1997: 110). These killings occurred in the context of the social crisis caused both by the colonial authorities' attack on the communities living in the forests (among whom women had a far higher degree of power than in the caste societies that dwelled in the plains) and the colonial devaluation of female power, resulting in the decline of the worship of female goddesses (*ibid.* 139–40).

Witch-hunting also took hold in Africa, where it survives today as a key instrument of division in many countries especially those once implicated in the slave trade, like Nigeria and Southern Africa. Here, too, witch-hunting has accompanied the decline in the status of women brought about by the rise of capitalism and the intensifying struggle for resources which, in recent years, has been aggravated by the imposition of the neo-liberal agenda. As a consequence of the life-and-death competition for vanishing resources, scores of women — generally old and poor — have been hunted down in the 1990s in Northern Transvaal, where seventy were burned just in the first four months of 1994 (*Diario de Mexico*: 1994). Witch-hunts have also been reported in Kenya, Nigeria, Cameroon, in the 1980s and 1990s, concomitant with the imposition by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank of the policy of structural adjustment which has led to a new round of enclosures, and caused an unprecedented impoverishment among the population.¹⁷



The Africanization of the witch is reflected in this caricature of a "petroleuse." Note her unusual earrings, cap, and African features suggesting a kinship between the female communards and the "wild" African women who instilled in the slaves the courage to revolt, haunting the imagination of the French bourgeoisie as an example of political savagery.

In Nigeria, by the 1980s, innocent girls were confessing to having killed dozens of people, while in other African countries petitions were addressed to governments begging them to persecute more strongly the witches. Meanwhile, in South Africa and Brazil older women were murdered by neighbors and kin under the charge of witchcraft. At the same time, a new kind of witch-beliefs is presently developing, resembling that documented by Michael Taussig in Bolivia, whereby poor people suspect the *nouveau riches* of having gained their wealth through illicit, supernatural means, and accuse them of wanting to transform their victims into zombies in order to put them to work (Geschiere and Nyamnjoh 1998: 73–74).

The witch hunts that are presently taking place in Africa or Latin America are rarely reported in Europe and the United States, in the same way as the witch-hunts of the 16th and 17th centuries, for a long time, were of little interest to historians. Even when they are reported their significance is generally missed, so widespread is the belief that such phenomena belong to a far-gone era and have nothing to do with “us.”

But if we apply to the present the lessons of the past, we realize that the reappearance of witch-hunting in so many parts of the world in the 80s and 90s is a clear sign of a process of “primitive accumulation,” which means that the privatization of land and other communal resources, mass impoverishment, plunder, and the sowing of divisions in once-cohesive communities are again on the world agenda. “If things continue this way” — the elders in a Senegalese village commented to an American anthropologist, expressing their fears for the future — “our children will eat each other.” And indeed this is what is accomplished by a witch-hunt, whether it is conducted from above, as a means to criminalize resistance to expropriation, or is conducted from below, as a means to appropriate diminishing resources, as seems to be the case in some parts of Africa today.

In some countries, this process still requires the mobilization of witches, spirits, and devils. But we should not delude ourselves that this is not our concern. As Arthur Miller already saw in his interpretation of the Salem trials, as soon as we strip the persecution of witches from its metaphysical trappings, we recognize in it phenomena that are very close to home.

Endnotes

1. Actually, Sycorax — the witch — has not entered the Latin American revolutionary imagination in the way Caliban has; she is still invisible, in the same way as the struggle of women against colonization has been for a long time. As for Caliban, what he has come to stand for has been well expressed in an influential essay by the Cuban writer Roberto Fernandez Retamar (1989: 5–21).

“Our symbol is not Ariel... but rather Caliban. This is something that we, the mestizo inhabitants of these same isles where Caliban lived, see with particular clarity. Prospero invaded the islands, killed our ancestors, enslaved Caliban and taught him the language to make himself understood. What else can Caliban do but use the same language — today he has no other — to curse him...? From Tupac Amaru... Toussaint-Louverture, Simone Bolivar... Jose Marti... Fidel Castro... Che Guevara... Frantz Fanon — what is our history, what is our culture, if not the history and culture of Caliban?” (p. 14).

On this topic see also Margaret Paul Joseph who, in *Caliban in Exile* (1992), writes: "Prospero and Caliban thereby provide us with a powerful metaphor for colonialism. An offshoot of this interpretation is the abstract condition of being Caliban, the victim of history, frustrated by the knowledge of utter powerlessness. In Latin America, the name has been adopted in a more positive manner, for Caliban seems to represent the masses who are striving to rise against the oppression of the elite" (1992: 2).

2. Reporting about the island of Hispanola, in his *Historia General de Las Indias* (1551), Francisco Lopez De Gomara could declare with utter certainty that "the main god which they have in this island is the devil," and that the devil lived among women (de Gomara: 49). Similarly, Book V of Acosta's *Historia* (1590), in which Acosta discusses the religion and customs of the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, is dedicated to the many forms they have of devil-worshipping, including human sacrifices.
3. "The carib/cannibal image," Retamar writes, "contrasts with another one, of the American man present in the writing of Columbus: that of Aruaco of the Greater Antilles — our Taino primarily — whom he describes as peaceful, meek, and even timorous, and cowardly. Both visions of the American aborigine will circulate vertiginously through Europe.... The Taino will be transformed into the paradisiacal inhabitant of a utopic world.... The Carib, on the other hand, will become a cannibal — an anthropophagus, a bestial man situated at the margin of civilization who must be opposed to the very death. But there is less contradiction than might appear at first glance between the two visions." Each image corresponds to a colonial intervention — assuming its right to control the lives of the aborigine population of the Caribbean — which Retamar sees as continuing into the present. Proof of the kinship between these two images, Retamar points out, is the fact that both the gentle Tainos and the ferocious Caribs were exterminated (*ibid.* 6-7).
4. Human sacrifices occupy a large place in Acosta's account of the religious customs of the Incas and Aztecs. He describes how, during some festivities in Peru, even three of four hundred children, from two to four-years-old, were sacrificed — "duro e inhumano spectaculo," in his words. He also describes, among others, the sacrifice of seventy Spanish soldiers captured in battle in Mexico and, like de Gomara, he states, with utter certainty, that these killings were the work of the devil (p. 250ff.).
5. In New England, medical practitioners administered remedies "made from human corpses." Among the most popular, universally recommended as a panacea for every problem, was "Mummy," a remedy prepared with the remains of a corpse dried or embalmed. As for the consumption of human blood, Gordon-Gruber writes that "it was the prerogative of executioners to sell the blood of decapitated criminals. It was given still warm, to epileptics or other customers waiting in crowds at the spot of execution 'cup in hand'." (1988: 407).
6. Walter L. Williams writes:
 [T]he Spanish did not realize why the Indians were wasting away from disease but took it as an indication that it was part of God's plan to wipe out the infidels. Oviedo concluded, "It is not without cause that God permits them to be destroyed. And I have no doubts that for their sins God's going to do away with them very soon." He further reasoned, in a letter to the king condemning the Maya for accepting homosexual

behavior: "I wish to mention it in order to declare more strongly the guilt for which God punishes the Indian and the reason why they have not been granted his mercy" (Williams 1986: 138).

7. The theoretical foundation of Sepulveda's argument in favor of the enslavement of the Indians was Aristotle's doctrine of "natural slavery" (Hanke 1970: 16ff).
8. The mine was discovered in 1545, five years before the debate between Las Casas and Sepulveda took place.
9. By the 1550s, the Spanish Crown was so dependent on the American bullion for its survival — needing it to pay the mercenaries that fought its wars — that it was impounding the loads of bullion that arrived with private ships. These usually carried back the money that was set aside by those who had participated in the Conquest and now were preparing to retire in Spain. Thus, for a number of years, a conflict exploded between the expatriates and the Crown which resulted in new legislation limiting the formers' power to accumulate.
10. A powerful description of this resistance is contained in Enrique Mayer's *Tribute to the Household* (1982), which describes the famous *visitas* which the *encomenderos* used to pay to the villages to fix the tribute that each community owed to them and to the Crown. In the mountain villages of the Andes, hours before its arrival, the procession of horsemen was spotted, upon which many youths fled the village, children were rearranged in different homes, and resources were hidden.
11. The name Taki Onqoy describes the dancing trance that possessed the participants in the movement.
12. Philippe Descola writes that among the Achuar, a population living in the upper part of Amazonia, "the necessary condition for effective gardening depends on direct, harmonious, and constant commerce with Nunkui, the tutelary spirit of gardens" (p. 192). This is what every woman does by singing secret songs "from the heart" and magical incantations to the plants and herbs in her garden, urging them to grow (*ibid.* 198). So intimate is the relation between a woman and the spirit protecting her garden that when she dies "her garden follows suit, for, with the exception of her unmarried daughter, no other woman would dare step into such relationship that she had not herself initiated." As for the men, they are "therefore totally incapable of replacing their wives should the need arise.... When a man no longer has any woman (mother, wife, sister or daughter) to cultivate his garden and prepare his food, he has no choice but to kill himself" (Descola 1994: 175).
13. This is the expression used by Michael Taussig in *Shamanism, Colonialism and the Wild Man* (1991) to stress the function of terror in the establishment of colonial hegemony in the Americas:

"Whatever the conclusions we draw about how the hegemony was so speedily effected, we would be unwise to overlook the role of terror. And by this I mean us to think-through-terror, which as well as being a physiological state is also a social one whose special features allow it to serve as a mediator *par excellence* of colonial hegemony: the *space of death* where the Indian, African, and white gave birth to a New World" (p. 5) (*italics mine*).

Taussig adds, however, that the *space of death* is also a "space of transformation" since "through the experience of coming close to death there well may be a more

- vivid sense of life; through fear there can come not only growth of self-consciousness but also fragmentation, and then loss of self conforming to authority" (*ibid.*: 7).
14. On the position of women in pre-conquest Mexico and Peru, see respectively June Nash (1978, 1980), Irene Silverblatt (1987), and Maria Rostworowski (2001). Nash discusses the decline of women's power under the Aztecs in correspondence to their transformation from a "kinship based society... to a class-structured empire." She points out that, by the 15th century, as the Aztecs had evolved into a war-driven empire, a rigid sexual division of labor emerged; at the same time, women (of defeated enemies) became "the booty to be shared by the victors" (Nash 1978: 356, 358). Simultaneously, female deities were displaced by male gods — especially the bloodthirsty Huitzilopochtli — although they continued to be worshipped by the common people. Still, "[w]omen in Aztec society had many specializations as independent craft producers of pottery and textiles, and as priestesses, doctors, and merchants. Spanish development policy [instead], as carried out by priest and crown administrators, diverted home production into male-operated craft shops and mills" (*ibid.*).
 15. Parinetto writes that the connection between the extermination of the Amerindian "savages" and that of the Huguenots was very clear in the consciousness and literature of the French Protestants after the Night of San Bartholomé, indirectly influencing Montaigne's essays on the cannibals and, in a completely different way, Jean Bodin's association of the European witches with the cannibalistic and sodomitic indios. Quoting French sources, Parinetto argues that this association (between the savage and the Huguenot) climaxed in the last decades of the 16th centuries when the massacres perpetrated by the Spaniards in America (including the slaughter in Florida, in 1565, of thousands of French colonists accused of being Lutherans) became "a widely used political weapon" in the struggle against Spanish dominance (Parinetto 1998: 429–30).
 16. I am referring in particular to the trials that were conducted by the Inquisition in the Dauphiné in the 1440s, during which a number of poor people (peasants or shepherds) were accused of cooking children to make magic powders with their bodies (Russell 1972: 217–18); and to the work of the Swabian Dominican Joseph Naider, *Formicarius* (1435), in which we read that witches "cook their children, boil them, eat their flesh and drink the soup that is left in the pot.... From the solid matter they make a magical salve or ointment, the procurement of which is the third reason for child murder" (*ibid.*: 240). Russell points out that "this salve or ointment is one of the most important elements of witchcraft in the fifteenth century and later." (*ibid.*)
 17. On "the renewed attention to witchcraft [in Africa,] conceptualized explicitly in relation to modern changes," see the December 1998 issue of the *African Studies Review*, which is dedicated to this topic. In particular, see Diane Ciekawy and Peter Geschiere's "Containing Witchcraft: Conflicting Scenarios in Postcolonial Africa" (*ibid.*: 1–14).

Subject and Author Index

- A**
Abbott, L.D. 137
Abortion 36, 39, 88; and witchcraft 180
Absolutism 151; absolute state 50
Accumulation 61, 64, 137; -crisis 16, 62; of differences 63, 115; in Europe 64; of labor-power 16-7, 64 (See Primitive Accumulation); -rate in Brazilian plantations 103; of wealth 33, 121
Acosta, Joseph El P. 222, 236, 240; *Historia Natural Y Moral de Las Indias* (1590) 240
Adamites 179
Adelman, Pamela Williams 236-7
Adultery 102, 186; punishment of 102
Africa 9, 65, 76, 88, 114, 118, 123, 237, 239, 242
African 103, 107; community 115; Feminism 113-4; identity 115; magical tradition 110; slaves 17, 107, 112; women 109, 113, 238; workers 103-4
Africans 66, 107, 109, 113, 152, 198, 216
Age of Plunder 62
Age of Reason 101, 135, 141
Age of the Whip 62
Agriculture commercialization of 70
Agricultural communalism 70; innovation 70; labor 72; laborers 170; productivity 70, 122
Albi 52
Albigensians 33, 52; Crusade against 33, 35, 40, 52
Alchemy 198, 216; and domination of nature 216; and rise of capitalism 216; social- 140
Alchemist 216 (See also Ben Johnson)
Alienation 18, 91; from the body 91, 135; from nature 203; Marx on 135
Alighieri, Dante 38, 214
Allen, Sally 204, 216-7
Amalricians 38
America 63-4, 85, 218, 220, 230, 241; cannibalism 222; Conquest of 105, 241; as land of the devil 233; land enclosures 68; Latin 123, 239; population collapse 86; pre-colonial 13; pre-conquest 229; South 109; Spanish 85
American bullion 76, 124, 225, 241; colonies 64-5, 106-8; 198, 200, 216, 225; Holocaust 86, 120; Indians 86, 220;
American Native Populations 66, 86, 102-3, 166, 198, 220-5, 240
Amin, Samir 18, 117-8
Anabaptists 40, 62, 65-7; 116, 119; in Münster 40, 116; in 16th and 17th-century politics 119; policy towards women 62, 116
Anatomy 132, 138-9, 145-6, 148, 157-9; disenchanting the body 139; and executions 145; -theatre 157
Animals 148, 158-9, 194; Descartes' theory 148; Descartes' vivisections 148, 158-9; devaluation of 194; as familiars 194; instruments of the devil 194; viewed as machines 148, 159; trials of 159; in the witch hunt 172, 174, 194; women viewed as 194
Antichrist 153
Anti-feudal struggle 21-2; and gender relations 22
Anti-Idolatry Campaign 225-8; in 16th-century Mexico and Peru 221, 225-7
Anti-natalism 35-6, 56; and Catharism 35
Apostolics 33, 41
Arawaks 105
Archer, John Michael 123
Ariosto, Ludovico 166
Aristotle 29, 168, 240
Armies 74, 82; in Middle Ages 27, 68, 120; women following 31, 74
Artisans 41-3, 45, 49, 82, 96; in heretic movements 41, 43; impoverished 77, 80; allied with peasants 41-2; postponing marriage 36; in urban struggles 41-3
Astrology 142-3, 198, 216
Astronomy 145
Aztecs 105, 222, 225, 240-2; women in Aztec society 242
- B**
Bacau 50
Bacon's Rebellion 107
Bacon, Francis 126, 140, 142, 155, 168, 203, 215; on Magic 142; and witch-hunt 203, 215
Baden, John A. 123
Baillet, Monsieur Adrien 158; *La Vie de Monsieur Descartes* (1691) 158
Baldung Grien, Hans 167-8
Bales, Kevin 104
Balkans 35, 56
Ball, John 34-5, 42, 45, 55-6
Barbados 107, 112
Barber, Malcolm 30, 52
Barker, Anthony 200, 216
Barnes, Barry 203
Barrow, Isaac 143
Barstow, Anne L. 184, 208
Basque Country 189, 233
Basserman, Lujo 93
Battle for the Breeches 96
Baudez, Claude 226, 229
Baumann, Reinhard 116
Bayle, Pierre 103, 205; on maternal instinct 103
Beckles, Hilary 13, 108, 112-3;
Beer, Barrett L. 124, 126
Beier, A. L. 124, 127
Beggars 29, 49, 54, 57-8, 80-2, 136, 171
Beguines 38; and heresy 57
Beham, Hans Sebald 74
Behar, Ruth 109-110, 198, 236
Bennett, H. S. 26-7, 52
Bennett, Judith M. 24, 52
Benzoni, Girolamo *Historia del Mondo Nuovo* (1565) 219

- Bercè, Ives-Marie 80-1, 126
 Bermuda 107
 Bestiality 200
 Bio-power 86, 128; and Mercantilist policy 128
 Birrell, Jean 24, 51
 Birth Control 36, 92, in the Middle Ages 36; demonized 88; women practicing 39-40, 92
 Black, George F. 166
 Black Death 32, 40, 44, 47, 49, 57-8, 66, 86, 128, 179; and demographic crisis 44; and labor crisis 40, 44-5; and change in class relations 45
 Blaut, James 103, 130
 Blickle, Peter 46, 61, 116, 119-20
 Bloody Laws (against vagabonds) 11, 72, 136
 Bodin, Jean 98, 129, 143, 168, 179, 185, 209, 233, 242; on population 87; on witches 168
 Body 18, 91, 129, 134-5, 137-141, 144-9, 154, 157; alienation from 18, 135, 151; battle against 135, 137, 141; body-mind conflict 135, 152-3; in capitalism 18, 135; and capitalist work-discipline 18, 142-3; in Cartesian Philosophy 139-40, 148-9; as container of labor-power 137, 140-1; disciplining of 133; study of 142; female 16-8, 91, 144; in feminist theory 15; -function 152; -machine 17, 139-40, 148, 154; magical concept 141, 145, 147; as means of reproduction 15, 18; mechanization of 12, 138, 151; mind over 148-9, 151; -politics 15; proletarian 144; as proletariat 152; return to 18; social- 144, 146, 149; in 16th-century social policy 137-8; valorization of 17; turned into work-machine 63, 140, 146; women's control over 92 (See also Female Body)
 Bogomils 35-6, 39, 56; and anti-natalism 35; influence on Cathars 36
 Bohemia 34, 54
 Boilly, Louis Leopold 136
 Boime, Albert 206-7, 217
 Boissonnade, Peter 24, 43, 45, 47
 Bolivia 237
 Bolshevik Revolution 65
 Bono, Salvatore 65, 118
 Borg Penn, Rosalyn 113, 115
 Boswell, John 38
 Boswell, James 214
 Botero, Giovanni 87, 128
 Bourgeoisie 135-6, 139-40; allied with the nobility 43, 49-50, 58
 Bovenschen, Sylvia 164
 Bowle, John 150-1
 Boyle, Richard 143
 Bradley, Harriett 123
 Braidotti, Rosi 18-9
 Branding 64, 109; by the devil 187; of slaves 64, 109
 Brandon, William 106, 221
 Braudel, Fernand 46, 77, 82, 125, 127
 Brauner, Sigrid 96, 98, 179-80
 Brazil 86, 103, 130, 223-4, 236-237
 Brethren of the Free Spirit 34, 38
 Briggs, Robin 123
 Britnel, R.H. 117
 Brothels 49, 59; state-sponsored 49; as remedy to homosexuality 49; closing of 94
 Brown, Paul 152
 Browne, Sir Thomas 134-5, 158; in witch-trial 158; *Religio Medici* (1643) 158
 Browning, Robert 56
 Bruegel, Peter *Land of Cockaigne* (1567) 160
 Brundage, James 56-7
 Bruno, Giordano 166
 Bullough, Vern L. 56
 Bundschuch 46, 212
 Bunn, Ivan 158
 Buratti, Gustavo 41
 Burckhardt, Jacob 200
 Burguière, André 130
 Burke, Peter, 83, 154
 Burton, Robert 192
 Bush, Barbara 13, 112-4, 131
- C**
 Cabbala 35
 Caliban 11, 106-7, 134, 154-5, 232, 239; in Caribbean literature 11; as symbol of resistance to colonization 232
 Calixtins 54-6
 Canary Islands 68
 Cannibalism 177, 212, 221, 223; in European medicine 222; in New World 222-224; in reports from New World 212; in witch-hunt 177; in workers' revolts 177
 Cannibals 115, 220, 222-4, 234-6; in Brazil 223-4; cannibals' banquet 223; Montaigne on 242
 Canon Episcopi 209
 Canon Law 25, 57
 Capitalism 8-17, 64, 80, 103-4, 120; agrarian 70, 73; as counter-revolution 21; development of 11-2, 14-7, 61, 63, 165, 220; origins of 9, 11; and racism 17; resistance to 17, 220; rise of 11-2, 62, 66, 68, 164, 216, 237; rural 170-1; and sexism 17; and sexual division of labor 115; transition to 8-9, 11-2; 21-2, 164; and women 66; and workers' alienation 135 (See Transition to)
 Capitalist Accumulation 12-3, 62, 64; and accumulation of labor 64; and exploitation of women 8; in Europe 64; and housework 8; and reproduction of labor-power 75
 Capitalist class 149, 173-4, 209; discipline 97; discipline of sexuality 192, 194, 197; economy 51, 66, 149; merchants 123; mode of production 135; organization of work 99; relations 12-3, 22, 170; reproductive policy 88; and slavery 103-4; use of the wage 8, 75; world-system 62
 Capitalist Development 12, 22, 62-4, 91, 233; conditions of 82; and disciplining of the body 154-5; and plantation slavery 104; social position of women 66
 Capitalist Work-Discipline 135, 142-3, 149-50, 152, 165, 177; and witch-hunt 165
 Capital Punishment 35, 205, 214; Cathar's condemnation of 35;

- Church's defense 35, 56; and development of anatomy 132-3, 144-5; for female adultery 102, 214; for heretics 53; for infanticide 214; for prostitution 214; for vagabondage 82; witchcraft 166, 201;
- Captain Dorothy 73
- Cardini, Franco 201, 211
- Caribbean 13, 107-8, 112-3; literature 11; plantation societies 108-9; slavery 107
- Caribbean Populations 240; portrayed as devils 199 (See also Tainos)
- Carolina (1532) 166
- Carroll, William C. 123
- Carus, Paul 39
- Casagrande, Carla 31
- Case, J. *Compendium Anatomicum* (1696) 147
- Castile 58
- Catalonia 58
- Cathars 33, 35-6, 38, 53, 56, 179; and Bogomils 36; and death penalty 35; refusal of marriage 35; religious tolerance 35; refusal of procreation 35; attitude toward sexuality 36
- Cavallo, S. 100
- Cerutti, S. 100
- Celibacy penalization of 88
- Cervantes, Fernando 221-222
- Cesaire, Aimé 18
- Charity 29, 53-4, 85; church's attitude towards 29, 53-4
- Charles V, Emperor
- Charters 28; and self-government 28
- Chastity 36, 67
- Chaucer, Geoffrey *Canterbury Tales* (1387) 194
- Chejne, Anwar J. 165
- Chiapas 233; Ciapanecos 232
- Child-Birth and female cooperation 103
- Children 99, 91-2, 205; as accusers of witches 215; exploitation of 63; high mortality 180, 182; on public assistance 85, 99; sacrificed to the devil 40, 181, 183, 212, 233, 242; in the witch-hunt 183, 215
- Christianity 183; in Celtic Ireland 37; and religious intolerance 221, 233; view of sexuality 37; and women 37
- Christianization 219, 221, 227, 233; and colonization 219, 226-29; and construction of sexual hierarchies 110-111; in Europe 233; in "New France" 111
- Christiansen, Rupert 217, 238
- Christie-Murray, David 42
- Church 33-38, 56-7; and charity 53-4; and magic 209-10; attitude towards prostitution 49; in America 221; control over marriage 36; corruption of 34; crusades against heretics 40-1, 54-6; defense of capital punishment 56; as despotic power 34; exploitation of the peasantry 34; as landowner 33, 121; Lutheran 166; and public assistance 127; persecution of heresy 33-4; regulation of sexuality 36-8, 56-7; Roman Catholic 168; and witch-hunt 165-6, 168, 180, 184; on women 25, 27, 37-8 (See also Inquisition, Lateran Councils, and Papal Bulls)
- Ciekawi, Diane 242
- Ciampi 43, 45, 57
- Cipolla, Carlo M. 116, 126
- City flight to 27; -freedom 31; -laws 30; and country 41; and town 52
- Civilization 'Western' 197
- Clark, Alice 71-2, 184
- Clark, Stuart 177
- Class Relation 23, 45, 49; change in 23, 84;
- Class Struggle 22, 26-7, 44-6; on feudal estates 24
- Clendinnen, Inga 117, 225
- Clergy 29, 57, 85; anti-clericalism 38; clerical marriage 38, 56; corruption of 33-4
- Cockaigne 154, 160-1
- Cockroft, James 221-222
- Cohen, Esther 159
- Cohn, Samuel 31
- Cohn, Norman 31, 34, 42, 54, 215
- Colbert, Jean Baptiste 129, 156, 205
- Colonial America 107; domination 83; economies 85, 225; expansion 68; exploitation 225; Peru 220, 225
- Colonization 13, 103, 219, 222, 225; of America 198, 200; and anti-idolatry campaign 225; and dehumanization 220-2; and diabolism 200; and population collapse 85-6, 118; resistance to 220, 225-6; and witch-hunting 198 (See also Christianization)
- Colonized portrayed as demonic beings 199, 221
- Columbus, Christopher 85, 166, 220, 240
- Commerce refusal of 22
- Commodity -form 170; production 75; commodification of social relations 66
- Common Man revolution of 61-2, 120
- Commons 9-10, 24-5, 70-2, 123; and work cooperation 71; destruction of 72; in economy of medieval rural population 24; and peasant sociality 123; and self-reliance 71; social function for women 71-2; struggle on 25-6; "tragedy" of 70, 123;
- The Commoner 122
- Communalism 9, 24, 50; agricultural 70
- Communal lands 9, 68; land property 69-70 (See also Commons); -life 22, 34; ownership 34
- Communards female 206-7, 216 (See also Petroleuses)
- Commune (See Paris Commune)
- Commutation 28-9, 31; increasing class differences 29; and growth of peasant property 29; causing loss of land 29; Marx on 29; and monetarization of life 29; and proletarianization 29; effects on women 30
- Condé, Maryse 108
- Condren, Mary 37, 213; *The Serpent and the Goddess* (1989)
- Conjuratio 177
- Conquest of America 86, 105,

- 181, 198, 221-2, 225, 230; of Peru 65
- Conquistadors 138, 221
- Contraception 36, 39-40, 88-9, 92, 105, 144, 180, 214; criminalization of 88, 92; in Middle Ages 39-40; and witch-hunt 180-1; women practicing 39-40, 92 (See also Contraceptives)
- Contraceptives 214; Church attitude towards 39-40; in the Middle Ages 89, 92; women users of 39-40, 89, 92
- Cook, David Noble 110, 120, 131
- Copy-holders 47
- Cornej, Peter 55
- Cornwall, Julian 100, 121, 126-7, 215-6
- Correction-Houses 64
- Cortez, Hernando 222
- Couliano, Ioan P. 197-8, 214
- Coulton, G.G. 26-8
- Council of Lima (1567) 226
- Council of Trento (1545-1563), 201
- Counter-Reformation 169, 201, 211
- Cousin, Victor 158 *Ouvres de Descartes* (1824-6)
- Crafts 96; -men 41, 43, 76, 80, 94; opposing women's employment 95-6
- Cranach, Lucas 119-20; *The Fountain of Youth* (1546) 169
- Crane, Elaine Forman 131
- Crawford, Patricia 90, 98, 101, 124, 126, 129-30
- Crime 170, 205; against property 82, 127, 136; food- 81; reproductive- 36, 88, 180; as structural element of capital accumulation 82
- Criminalization of contraception 92; of prostitution 94-5; 99; of women's control over reproduction 92, 102; of working class 82-85
- Croquants 174
- Crosby, Alfred W. Jr. 86
- Cross-dressing 221
- Crusades 31, 34; against Albigensians 33, 35; against Taborite 54-5.
- Cullen, Michael, J. 146, 182
- Cunningham, Andrew 68, 74, 120-1
- Curtis, Bruce 128
- Customs 28, 45; customary agreements 23
- D**
- Dalla Costa, Mariarosa 7-8; "Women and the Subversion of the Community" (1971) 7
- Daly, Mary 164, 208, 237
- Dark Ages 165
- Davis, Robert C. 100
- De Angelis, Massimo 117
- Debt Crisis 9
- De Gomara, Francisco Lopez *Historia General de Las Indias* (1556) 222, 239-240
- De Landa, Diego 225
- De Las Casas, Bartolemè 222, 240
- De Leon, Antonio Garcia 231-232
- De Vries, Jean 70, 103
- Death Penalty (See Capital Punishment)
- Demetz, Peter 54-5
- Demography 84, 146, 182
- Demographic collapse 44, 120; crisis 36, 40, 86; recording 84, 88, 181-2; thought 86
- Demonologies 165-6
- Demonologists 87, 168, 179, 191, 233
- Descartes, René 138-40, 145, 148-152, 157-160, 168, 191, 202; on animals 148; on the body 148-9; Cartesianism, 149-51; Cartesian dualism 149; Cartesian model of the person 150; Cartesian Philosophy 149-51, 191; dissecting animals 148, 158-9; Meditations (1641) 140; *Le Monde* (1633) 148; *Passions of the Soul* (1650) 148-9, 157; *Treatise of Man* (1664) 138, 148, 157-8
- Descola, Philippe 226, 241
- Devil 35, 134, 169-71, 177, 180, 186-7, 190, 194, 197, 200, 203, 214, 231; in America 198; -mark 185, 187; pact with 177, 187; portrayed as black man 198; in the Renaissance 186; shift in image 186; and witches 200; -worship 40, 49, 163, 179, 220-1, 236, 240
- De Vitry, James 40, 57
- De Vries, Jean 70, 103, 123
- Diabolism 225, 233; and colonization 200
- Diabolical Banquet 81
- Dickson, David 145
- Dietman, Philip 118
- Diggers 72, 124, 151
- Di Nola, Alfonso M. 134, 185, 188, 193
- Di Stefano, Antonino 40, 54
- Disciplining of the body 15, 133; of the proletariat 144; of the social body 145; of women 100-1
- Dissection of animals 148, 158-9; of condemned criminals 145; (See also Anatomy and René Descartes)
- Division of Labor 100, 104, 115; capitalist 84 (See Sexual and International Division of Labor)
- Dobb, Maurice 18, 62, 117
- Dobson, R.B. 35, 45, 56
- Dockes, Pierre 21, 23-4, 26, 50, 177, 209; *Medieval Slavery and Liberation* (1982)
- Dolcino (Fra) 41; popularity of 40-1
- Domestic economy 25;
- Domestic Work 92, 98, 108
- Duerr, Hans Peter 35, 37, 71, 161
- Duplessis, Robert S. 123, 128
- Dürer, Albrecht 22, 65, 67-8, 90, 120; *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1498) 22, 68; *Monument to the Vanquished Peasants* (1526) 65, 67
- Dyer, Christopher 44-5
- E**
- Early Modern Europe as category of analysis 13
- Easlea, Brian 149-52, 157, 191, 200, 202
- Echols, Anne 31, 52
- Eco-Feminism 51, 160, 192
- Ecologist, The 122
- Economy capitalist 51, 149; feudal 62; market 29, 76; peasant 40
- Economic Crisis 86

- Economic Thought 137
 Edwards, Jonathan 153
 Ehrenreich, Barbara 208
 Eisenstein, Zilla 130
 Elias, Norbert 153
 Elizabethan Literature 152-3, 155; misogyny in 101 (See also English Literature)
 Elton, G.R. 143
 Enclosures 9-11, 14, 22, 60, 64, 68-70, 72, 122, 124, 164, 174; in Africa 68; in America 68; destroying social cohesion 123; cheapening labor-power 72; deepening economic inequalities 72; definition 122; effects on women 74-5; impoverishment of workers 126; and modernization of agriculture 70, 123; scholarship on 123; in England 69-70, 72, 121; of knowledge 10; and English Reformation 69, 121-2; New Enclosures 11; social- 84; struggle against 73, 124; and witch-hunt 72; women rioting against 73, 124
 Encomienda 68, 117, 225; encomenderos 225, 230, 240
 Engels, Frederick 46, 212; on heresy 53; *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884) 103
 England 45, 53, 55, 57, 63, 78, 84, 152, 156; Elizabethan 119, 127
 English Civil War 84; 143, 151; Literature 101, 152-3; Peasant Rising (1381) 35, 42, 46 55; Reformation 69-70, 121; women 108
 English, Deirdre 208
 Enlightenment 106; on witch-hunt 165, 201
 Equality 34, 40, 50
 Erasmus, Desiderius 192
 Erbstosser, Martin 35
 Ergastula 23, 50
 Erhard, Jean 206
 Eurocentrism in witch-hunt scholarship 233
 Europe history 23, 45, 118, 163; medieval 220; pre-capitalist 71, 74; Western 24, 29, 44, 56, 133
 European proletariat 45, 77, 105-6; power-structure 87; ruling class 64, 103, 105
 Evans, Austin P. 35, 56
 Evans, Richard J. 127
 Exploitation of colonial subjects 103; of women 209
 Expropriation 211; of European peasantry (See Enclosures and Land Privatization); of women from medical knowledge 92, 201
- F**
 Fabliaux 31
 Factory Acts 99
 Familiars 194 (See Animals and Witch-hunt)
 Family 9, 25, 54, 97-9; bourgeois 98; disintegration of 72, 99; as micro-state 98; and patriarchal rule 97; and reproduction of labor-power 97; working class 97-8
 Female Body 15-6, 18-9, 91, 144; body-politics 15; as breeding machine 91; control over 92; in feminist theory 15; as means for the production of labor 18, 91; valorization of 15, 18
 Female Sociality 25, 71-2
 Female Sexuality 190-1, 194; demonization of 190-1; and old age 191 (See also Sexuality)
 Female Employment in medieval towns 31
 Female Poverty 52
 Femininity 8, 14, 186, 194; and animality; redefinition 100-103;
 Feminist 7-8, 14, 18; in Africa 9
 Feminists Eco-180; Postmodern 14; Radical 7; Socialist 7; identification with the witches 15, 164, 206-7;
 Feminist Movement 7, 13, 15, 164; and witch-hunt 164
 Feminist Theory 16; on the body 15-16, 18
 Feminist viewpoint 15; on history of capitalism 8, 11-2; on primitive accumulation 8
 Feminization of poverty 17, 97; of reproductive labor 55 (See Sexual Division of Labor)
 Ferrari, Giovanna 157-8
 Feudalism 12, 22, 165; crisis of 21, 61-2; struggle against 22, 27, 84; women in (See Women)
 Feudal burdens 26-8; courts 26; economy 62; estates 23; lords 25; manors 25; power 27, 45, 50; reaction 63; society 22, 26
 Firpo, Luigi 138, 141
 Fischer, David Hackett 76, 77, 79, 81, 86, 124
 Flagellants 32
 Flanders 32-4, 41, 43, 127
 Fletcher, Antony 73, 124, 126, 130
 Fletcher, Robert 129
 Florence 43, 45, 58
 Fontaine, Nicholas 159
 Food 80-1; crimes 81; prices 80, 212; riots 80, 126
 Ford, John *Tis a Pity She's a Whore* (1633) 101
 Formation of Proletariat 63; in Europe 14; in the New World 14; and witch-hunt 14
 Fortunati, Leopoldina 7-8, 13, 101; *L'Arcano della Riproduzione* (1980) 13
 Foucault, Michel 8, 11, 18, 37, 86, 128, 119, 133, 139-140, 142, 191-2; on bio-power 16; on the body 8, 15-6; on "Great Confinement" 11; on sexuality 15-6; and witch-hunt 8, 15; *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1* (1976) 16
 Fox, Sally 20, 30; *Medieval Women: An Illuminated Book of Days* (1985) 30
 France 28, 32-3, 36, 39, 45, 57-8, 88-9; Southern France 35; women in 89
 Franciscans and colonization 226
 Fraser, Antonia 73
 Free Export Zones 72
 Freedom city- 31; personal vs. tenurial 51
 Froissart, Jean 55
 Fryde, E. D. 70, 122
 Furniss, Edgar 154
- G**
 Galilei, Galileo 157, 168
 Galzigna, Mario 139, 157

- Geis, Gilbert 158
 Gelis, J. 213-4
 Gender 8; and class 14;—relations 22, 100, 220
 General Crisis 86
 Geremeck, Bronislaw 29, 49, 52, 58, 124, 126-7
 German Peasant War 61, 65, 116, 118-20, 174; criticism of the concept 116; revolution of the "common man" 61; artists' participation 118-9; and Landsknechte 116
 Germany 28, 33, 36, 55, 61, 86, 166; women in 89, 100
 Geschiere, Peter 239, 242
 Ginzburg, Carlo 169, 196-7, 212
 Glanvil, Joseph 151, 135, 155, 202; *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) 155
 Globalization capitalist 11-4, 17, 82, 103-4; and feminization of poverty 16; and witch-hunting 237
 Gold 76, 130, 220-222, 225; as price-regulating device 56
 Gordon-Grube, Karen 222, 240
 Gosse, Edmund 158
 Gottfried, Johann Ludwig *Le Livre des Antipodes* (1630) 223-4
 Goubert, Pierre 82
 Gower, John 47
 Grain prices 76, 79
 Graus, F. 154, 160-1
 Great Confinement 11, 165
 Great Famine 44
 Great Fixation 84
 Greaves, Richard L. 32, 81, 187
 Green, Monica 213
 Grell, Ole Peter 68, 74, 120-1
 Greven, Philip 153
 Grunewald, Matthias 118
 Guaman, Poma de Ayala, Felipe 219, 227-8; *Nueva Chronica y Buen Gobierno* (1615) 219
 Guazzo, Francesco-Maria 181, 212, 217, 233-4; *Compendium Maleficarum* (1608) 181, 217, 234
 Guicciardini, Francesco 213
 Guilds 57, 92; and birth control 36; women in 30-1
 Gunder Frank, André 18, 86, 118, 120
- H**
 Hacker, Barton C. 31
 Halley, Edmond 145
 Hamilton, Earl J. 76, 105, 124
 Hamlet 152
 Hanawalt, Barbara 25-6, 51
 Hanke, Lewis 240
 Hardin, Garret 70, 123
 Harris, Marvin 189
 Hatcher, John 47
 Heckscher, Eli J. 88, 156
 Helleneir, K. F. 213-4
 Heller, Henry 80-1, 121
 Hemming, John 226, 230
 Henriques, Fernando 31
 Henry VIII, King 121, 136
 Heresy (see Popular Heresy); and witchcraft 179
 Heretic Doctrines 34; on capital punishment 35; on clerical corruption 33-4; on labor and property 34; on procreation 35; religious tolerance 35; on sexuality 36, 179
 Heretic Movement 31-4, 56, 179; international dimension 33; peasants' and workers' participation 41; women in 31, 38-9, 184
 Heretics 22, 31, 33-4, 36, 38, 40-1, 53, 62, 179; charges against 40; crusades against 34; female 39; persecution of 52-3; punishment 53
 Herlihy, David 52, 129
 Herzog, Don 124
 Hill, Christopher 18, 72, 122, 124, 136, 152-3, 156, 196
 Hilton, Rodney 18, 22, 24, 26-7, 30, 32, 41, 45, 52-4, 58, 117
 Historians British 62; feminist 13, 51, 92; Marxist 18, 164; neo-liberal 70
 History of liberation 22; of serfdom 22; from women's viewpoint 12; of women 7, 13, 22, 66; world- 62
 Historical Memory 10
 Hitchcock, Francis *New Year's Gift to England* (1580) 156
 Hobbes, Thomas 123, 129, 133, 138-40, 143-144, 150-1, 157-60, 168, 202; atheism 151; materialism 151; political doctrine 150; *Leviathan* (1650) 139, 143, 150, 157-8
 Holbein, Hans the Young 99, 182
 Holmes, Ronald 216
 Homans, G. C. 28, 36
 Homosexuality 38, 58, 194, 197, 221; and diabolism 233; in Florence 58; and witch-hunt 197
 Hoskins, W. G. 62, 69, 121, 123, 136
 Housewife 98-9; creation of 75; full-time 75, 98-9
 Housework 8, 25, 92, 94, 98-9; and capitalist accumulation 8; genesis of 8; mystified as personal service 8; and reproduction of work-force 98
 Howell, Martha 96, 129
 Huacas 225-8, 230-1; in anti-colonial resistance 226; destruction of 226-7; and people's relation to land 226; people's relation to nature 226; represented as the devil 228; women's worship of 231
 Huancavelica 64, 131
 Hubbs, Johanna 204, 216-7
 Hufton, Olwen 96
 Hughes, Diane Owen 52
 Huguenots massacre of 233, 242; Night of San Bartolomé 242
 Hulme, Peter 221
 Human Liberation 12-3
 Human Sacrifices 222, 225, 240; Acosta on 240
 Humanists 101, 180
 Hunt, David 153
 Hus, John 55
 Hussites 54-6; articles of faith 54; crusades against 54-5 (See also Taborites)
- I**
Il Grande Calibano (1984) 7, 9, 14
 Imagination attack on 157
 Incas 222, 225, 240
 Incarceration of the poor 85, 128; of vagabonds 58, 64
 Incest 221
 Indentured Servitude 64, 105-8; female 108
 Indians 106, 112, 221-2, 225-6, 228, 240; communities 117; exploitation of 225; heretic 198; image-shift 222; invention of 221; vilification 221

- Indies 220
- Indigenous American populations (see American Native Populations);
- Industry British 124; cottage 123-4; rural 123; textile 43; wool 43, 57
- Industrial labor 115; Revolution 103
- Infanticide 36, 88-9, 129, 186, 214; made a capital crime 88; legislation against 214; and witchcraft 89, 180
- Inquisition 33-4, 39, 41, 49, 53, 110, 168-9, 211, 236, 242; in America 221, 227; and heresy 33; legacy in European history 53; in Mexico 109-10; persecution of Jews 169; Roman 53; in Venice 211; and witch-hunt 166, 168;
- International Division of Labor 200, 118, 220; and slavery 104
- International Monetary Fund 9, 17, 76, 237
- Ireland 171; Celtic 37
- Iron Age 62
- Iron Century 140
- Isla de Las Mujeres 229
- Italy 28, 32-3, 36, 39, 41, 45
- Ius primae noctis 25
- J**
- Jamaica 112
- James I, King 124, 156, 201, 216
- James, Selma 7-8
- Jesuits 111-2
- Jews 30, 85, 125, 220; accused of devil worship 179, 212; persecution of 169, 176; and witch-hunt 212-3; Jewish women as surgeons 31
- Joachim da Flora 32
- Johnson, Ben *The Alchemist* (1610) 216
- Jordan, W. C. 44
- Joseph, Margaret Paul 239
- Journeymen 43, 97
- K**
- Kaltner, Karl Hartwig 120
- Kamen, Henry 62, 80, 83, 86, 118, 126-7, 146, 174-5, 177
- Karras, Ruth Mazo 87, 129
- Kay, Marguerite 160
- Kaye, Joel 29
- Kelly, Joan 13
- Kepler 168
- Kett, Robert 73; Kett's Rebellion 73, 127
- King, Margaret 31, 87-8, 129
- King Philip's Wars 236
- Kingston, Jeremy 196
- Kiss Sub Cauda 194
- Kittredge, G. L. 171, 205
- Klaits, Joseph 202,
- Knox, John 179
- Knowledge and power 141; enclosure of 201
- Koch, Gottfried 38-9
- Koning, Hans 106
- Kors, Alan 180, 188, 190, 217
- Kowaleski, Maryanne 52
- Kriedte, Peter 74, 77, 118, 121, 123, 125-6
- Kurlansky, Mark 189
- L**
- Labor bonded 22; -control 105; costs 45, 104; crisis 44-5, 65; flight of 84, 117; forced 64, 58, 156; gang- 23; -gangs 108; manual 34, 42-3; -process 135, 122; shortage of 36, 46-7; slave 23, 99; surplus- 104; value of 137 (See Wage labor); women's 92
- Labor-market 16; waged-labor 65
- Labor-power 8, 12, 104, 133, 155, 141; accumulation of 64; as commodity 135; liberation of 135; reproduction of 9, 12, 113, 120
- Labor-services 22, 25-6, 52, 116, 119; refusal of 25-6 (See also Corvée)
- Labor Statutes 45
- Laborers 43, 45; landless 24, 31 (See Workers)
- Lambert, Malcolm 33-4
- Lancre, Pierre 189, 233
- Land 24-5, 27, 29, 51; bondage 47; as means of accumulation 75; collective tenure 171; possession 25, 30; transfer 121-2; transmission 24-5
- Land Privatization 9, 24, 66, 68-70, 72, 74-5, 82, 84, 165, 174, 211, 239; and commercialization of agriculture 70; debate on 70; and economic inequalities 72; effects on artisans 72; effects on women 74; effects on workers 72; in England 69; end of subsistence economy 75; and expropriation of peasantry 13, 68-9, 171; in France 69; and impoverishment of rural population 70; cause of starvation 70; and monetarization of economic relations 74; and proletarianization 68; and Protestant Reformation 68-9; and separation of production from reproduction 75; and Structural Adjustment 70; struggle against 24, 70; and witch-hunting 72, 211-2 (See also Enclosures and World Bank)
- Landlords 23-5, 28, 33, 122
- Landsknechte and German Peasant War 116
- Langland, William *Piers Plowman* (1362-1370) 26-7
- Language reform of 155
- Larner, Christina 166, 171, 173, 187, 208, 211
- La Rocca, Tommaso 66
- Laslett, Peter 76
- Lateran Councils 38, 52-3, 56; and ban on clerical marriage 38, 56; and regulation of sexuality
- Law manorial 23; Roman 130, 165
- Lea, Charles Henry 33-4, 41, 52, 54, 208
- Leacock, Eleanor *Myths of Male Dominance* (1981) 110-11
- Lebrun, François 130
- Lecky, W. E. H. 214
- Leibniz, Gottfried 150
- Le Roy Ladurie, Immanuel 69, 77, 80, 94, 125, 170, 174, 177, 185, 190, 212, 214
- Levack, Brian 169
- Levellers 124; and wage-labor 156
- Levy, Madeleine R. 177
- Liberalism 107
- Liberation history of 22; human 13; of labor-power 135, 155; of the worker 64
- Liberation Theology 33; heresy as 33
- Liberty 28; in the New World 106

- Linebaugh, Peter 105-6, 144-5, 152
- Lis, C. 70, 126-7
- Little, Lester K. 54
- Locke, John 129, 155
- Lollards 42; and egalitarianism 42; English 42; and English Peasant Rising (1381) 42
- Lombardini, Sandro 126
- Low Countries 43, 50, 81
- Lower Classes 59, 105, 156, 160 (See also Proletariat)
- Luciferans 40
- Luther, Martin 67, 134, 179-80; on women 87
- Lutheran Church 166
- Lutherans 67, 242
- Luzzati, Michele 59
- M**
- Macfarlane, Alan 164, 171, 200, 211, 216
- Machiavelli, Nicoló 166
- Machine as model of social behavior 145
- Macpherson, C.B. 156
- Magic 141-3, 155, 173-4, 186, 201-2, 226; attack on 143, 174; and capitalism 173-4; and capitalist work-discipline 142-3; and domination of nature 203; and eros 197; High Magic 197-8; as illicit power 174; and rationalization of work-process 143, 174; as refusal of work 174; in the Renaissance 203; in Roman Empire 165; and women 174
- Magical beliefs 143; body 141, 147; conception of the body 145; cures 109; potions 180; powers 141; practices 165; traditions 110; view of nature 203
- Magician 150, 174; Renaissance 89, 197-8
- Magnus, Olaus 187
- Male authority 191; body 18; cottage workers 98; peasants 24, 26; serfs 25; supremacy 186-8; violence 47-8
- Malebranche, Nicholas 139; *Dialogues on Metaphysics and on Religion* (1688) 139
- Maleficium 39, 144, 165
- Malleus Maleficarum* (1486) 166, 183, 188-191.
- Mandrou, Robert 171, 205-6, 211, 214
- Manicheanism 56
- Manning, Roger 73, 122, 126-7
- Market production for 75; -system 76; -women 128; world-105
- Marlowe, Christopher *Doctor Faustus* (1587) 142
- Marriage 25, 86-8, 94, 107-8; between Africa-born and white indentured servants 108; ban on clerical 38, 56; declared a sacrament 38; postponement of 36, 86, 99; prohibitions 108-9; rejected by heretics 35-6
- Maroons 23, 50
- Martin, Emily 91
- Martin, Ruth 211
- Martinez, Bernardo Garcia 222
- Marvell, Andrew 153
- Marx, Karl 8, 11-14, 18, 24, 29, 47, 51, 62-4, 82, 91, 99, 118, 127, 135, 146, 155; on advent of capitalism 8, 12; on alienation 18, 135; on commutation 29; and Eurocentrism 117; on feudal economy 24, 51; on genesis of capitalism 11; on human liberation 13; on population 91; on primitive accumulation 8, 12, 62-3; *Capital* (1867) 12, 51, 62; *Grundrisse* (1857-58) 82, 91
- Marxists 64
- Masculinity 8
- Maternity alchemist's appropriation of 204; as forced labor 91-2; on slave plantations 112; Bayle on "maternal instinct" 103
- Mather, Cotton 133, 153, 236; *Diary* (1681-1708) 133, 153
- May Day 194
- Mayahuel 230
- Mayas in Yucatan 226
- Mayer, Enrique 230, 241
- Mazzali, Tiziana 80, 168
- McDonnell, Ernest W. 38
- McNamara, Jo Ann 56
- Mechanical Philosophy 138-41, 145, 155
- Mechanical Preachers 160
- Mechanization of the body 138, 143, 154 (See also Body) of production 145;
- Medcalf, S. 155
- Medical Profession 213; exclusion of women from 201; rise of 201
- Medical Knowledge enclosure of 201
- Meillassoux, Claude 120
- Melossi, Dario 127
- Mendelson, Sara 90, 98, 101, 124, 126, 129-30
- Mercantile Bourgeoisie 59, 133
- Mercantilism 87-8, 128-9, 181; and accumulation of labor 87; as economic theory 88, 128-9; promotes population growth 87; and slave trade 87; and witch-hunt 181
- Mercantilists 137; and hunger for labor 87; and reproductive policy 88; and pro-natalist measures 88
- Merchant, Carolyn 13, 202-203, 215; *The Death of Nature* (1980) 13
- Merchants capitalist 72, 95; patrician 41; and putting-out system 72
- Mereu, Italo 53
- Mergivern, James J. 56
- Merian, Mattheus 120-1; *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (1630)
- Mersenne, Michel 143, 158-9
- Mexican Revolution 24
- Mexico 198, 221, 225-6, 240-1; construction of sexual hierarchies 110; encomienda 117; Inquisition 110; population collapse 86, 120; Southern 230-1; women 110, 229-30
- Micropowers 149
- Middle Ages 42, 68, 74
- Midelfort, Erik 164, 174, 183, 206, 208-10, 212
- Midnight Notes 122
- Midwives 89, 184, 213; in France and Germany 89; and women's control over reproduction 89; marginalization of 89, 184; in witch-hunt 183
- Mies, Maria 13, 16, 117, 124, 208-

- 9; *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* (1986) 13
 Migration 54, 82, 119; to the New World 107
 Migrant Workers persecution of 11
 Milano, Atilio 169
 Millenarian Movements 22, 31-2; and heresy 32; in the New World 225
 Miller, Arthur 239
 Milton, John 135, 156
 Mines 64, 110, 131; mercury 131, 225; mine labor 230; silver 225 (See also Huancavelica and Potosí)
 Mingay, G. E. 123
 Misogyny 48, 94, 96, 168, 190, 230
 Missionaries 216, 221, 225
 Mita 46, 110, 117; -work 230
 Modern Science birth of 168; and witch-hunt 168 (See also Science)
 Molitor, Ulrich *De Lamiis* (1489) 6
 Momsen, Janet H. 112
 Money 29-30; workers' dependence on 75; -economy 25, 32, 53, 75; -lending 30, 125; payments 28-9; relations 29, 74, 170; sterility of 29 (See also Commutation)
 Montagnais-Naskapi 110-11
 Montaigne, Michel 191, 242
 Monter, E. W. 164-6, 179, 208, 210-1, 216
 More, Thomas 122, 216; *Utopia* (1516) 122
 Moore, Henry 150
 Morgan, Edmund 157
 Morgan, Robin 206
 Mornese, Corrado 41
 Morrissey, Marietta 105, 112
 Mortality 44, 64; infant 181
 Moulier Boutang, Yann 84, 106-7, 127
 Mumford, Lewis 145
 Mun, Thomas 129, 137, 156
 Munster 62, 55, 116
 Muntzer, Thomas, 21
 Muraro, Luisa 176-7, 196
 Murray, Margaret 180, 213
 Murstein, B.I. 95
 Muslims 65; 213, 220
- N**
 Nakedness 137, 153, 221
 Nash, June 109, 131 230, 241-2
 Natality 86, 128; pro-natalist policies 88, 128; on Caribbean Plantations 112
 Natural Magic 139, 150, 137
 Natural Philosophy 154
 Nature 202-3; alienation from 203; in Cartesian Philosophy 140; domination of 203; magical view of 141; natural wealth 137
 Nazism 203; Nazi regime 66; Nazi Germany 208
 Neel, Carol 38, 57
 Neeson, J. M. 51, 70
 New England 236
 New Jerusalem 61-2
 New Testament 34
 Newton, Isaac 140, 143, 203-4
 New World 12, 63, 163-4, 200, 212, 219-22, 225, 232-3, 236, 241; as wonderland 105-6, 221; in Enlightenment Thought 106; and "Liberty" 106; migration to 105;
 Nicholas, David 32, 41
 Nider, Joseph *Formicarium* (1435) 242
 Nietzsche, Frederick 144
 Nigeria 9-10, 237; Structural Adjustment in 9; "War Against Indiscipline" 9; women in 9
 Night flight 40; and vagabondage 177
 Nobility 40, 43, 50, 54, 59
 Noonan, Douglas S. 123
 Noonan, John 39-40
 Normand, Lawrence 171
 North, Douglas C.
 Nyamnjoh, Francis 239
- O**
 O'Malley 132, 158
 Obrajes 225, 230; and exploitation of Andean women 227
 Obstetrics 184, 213; women as 31
 Omolade, Barbara 61
 Open-field system 69-70; 127; and collective reproduction 127; destruction of 72; and peasant self-reliance 70; and peasant self-government 70; and peasant sociality 127; sol-
- idarity 71
 Opitz, Claudia 31
 Orioli, Raniero 41
 Otis, Leah Lydia 49, 52
 Ozment, Steven 89, 99
- P**
 Parinetto, Luciano 166, 177, 198, 203, 212, 220, 223, 233, 242; *Streghe e Potere* (1998)
 Paris Commune 206, 217
 Partridge, Burgo 195
Parliament of Women, The (1646) 102
 Pascal, Blaise 155, 168
 Pastoreaux 32, 52-3
 Pateman, Carol 97, 129-30
 Patriarchy 7-8, 12, 14-5, 97; and class 8; of the wage 68, 97-8; and World Bank 9
 Patriarchal ideology 15; power 7; order 68, 170, 186
 Paulicians 35
 Pauperization 125; of rural population 70; of workers in Europe 77-80, 126
 Pavarini, Massimo 127
 Peasant Rising of 1381 (English) 45-6
 Peasantry in Middle Ages 24; revolts 25; expelled from the land 61, 63; stratification of 51
 Peasants 23-6, 29-31, 46-7, 50-2, 58, 116, 119-20; allied with urban workers 41-2; free- 47, 50-1; and heresy 40; servile- 24; revolts 25, 42 (See German Peasant War); struggle 25-8, 45, 116; uprising 175-6; women 165
 Peasant Wars 45-6, 61-2, 116, 119, 174 (See German Peasant War)
 Penitentials 37-9, 57 and production of sexual discourse 37; and regulation of sexuality 37-8
 Perelman, Michael 122
 Perlman, Fredy 117
 Persecutions of heretics 33, 40, 53, 177-8; of Jews 176, 212; of homosexuals 197; of witches (See Witch-hunt); of women 220
 Perry, Marvin 44

- Peru 220, 225-6, 230-1, 241; anti-colonial resistance 225-6; demographic collapse 86, 118, 120; mita work 110; Taqi Onqoy Movement 225-6, 220; women 230-1 (See also Huacas and Reducciones)
- Peters, Edward 180, 188, 190, 217
- Petroleuses as witches 206-7, 217
- Petty, William 129, 146, 154, 156
- Phelps-Brown, E. H. 68
- Phillips, Seymour 220-1
- Picasso, Sydney 226, 229
- Pilgrimages 33
- Pirenne, Henri 23, 43, 49
- Plague 40, 44 (See also Black Death)
- Plantations 103-4; in Brazil 103; and capitalist development 104; Caribbean 105, 108-9; and Industrial Revolution 103; sugar 103
- Po-Chia, Hsia R. 41, 116, 121
- Polygamy 62, 221, 230
- Poor 54, 57-8, 77, 127; deserving 85; on Public Assistance 85; incarceration of 85, 125; London 145
- Poor of Lyon 33-4, 42, 54
- Poor Relief 84-5; 127; and witchcraft charges 171-2; 200
- Popes 33, 221; and colonization of America 221; Innocent VIII 166, 180
- Popkin, Richrad H. 139
- Popular Culture attack on 83-4; and reproduction of work-force 83
- Popular Heresy 32-4, 36, 40-1, 43, 53, 56-7; and apostolic poverty 34; and birth control 36; and Eastern religions 36; as liberation theology 33; as 'lower class' phenomenon 40; and sexuality 36; and social protest 33; and women (see female heretics)
- Population 128; and accumulation of wealth 86; crisis of 86-7, 103; and labor 86; Marx on 91; in Mercantilist theory and policy 87-8
- Population Decline 49, 85-7, 128; in Spanish America 86, 110, 118, 120; in Western Europe 86, 103
- Population Growth 70, 87, 127; and capitalist development 91
- Port Royal 159
- Postmodernism 14; on gender relations 8
- Potosí 64, 225 (See also Mines)
- Poverty 31, 52, 54; apostolic 34; female 52, 97; politicization of 53; rural 52 (See also Poor)
- Power 149, 191; of women 25, 37, 165 (See also Labor-Power)
- Power, Henry 152
- Pregnancy state regulation in France 88
- Presbyterian Reformation 171
- Prices 62; of food 76; of grain 77-9; of sugar 105
- Price Revolution 68, 76, 78-9, 124, 126-8, 212; and accumulation of labor-power 64; effects on workers' diet 77; and female wages 77; and grain prices 76, 79; impoverishment of workers 76-7, 126; price of food 76, 126; proletarianization 76; real wage collapse 76-8, 126; social effects 128; spread of prostitution 77; witch-hunt 80, 212
- Primitive accumulation 8-9, 11-2, 15-6, 22, 62-4, 89, 97, 104, 115, 117, 135, 140, 146, 165, 239; as accumulation of differences 63, 115; critics of the concept 117; and extermination of witches 22; Marx on 62-3, 117
- Private Property 34; denounced by heretics 53, 151, 177; as source of patriarchal power 98; Engels on 103
- Privatization of land (See Land Privatization); of reproduction 84; of relation with God 84; of social relations 84, 97
- Procreation 15, 88-9, 184; and capital accumulation 89; women's control over 87
- Production capitalist 8; commodity- 75, 104; of labor-power 16, 18, 75, 104; for the market 75; mechanization of 145; for-use 74; of sexual hierarchies 68; separation from reproduction 75; of work-force 14, 99
- Proletarianization 68, 76, 99, 125
- Proletarian struggle 45, 49-50; women 92, 98-9, 214
- Proletarians European 105-6, 135-6
- Proletariat 43-6, 48, 99, 105, 142, 152, 154, 163, 220; as Caliban 154; dictatorship of 43; disciplining of 144; enslaved 107; in Europe 77, 99; formation of 14, 63, 155, 165; industrial 63; medieval 22, 31, 49; waged male 12; world 11, 220
- Prophecies 143
- Prosperi, Adriano 211
- Prospero 133-4, 137, 148, 155
- Prostitutes 30, 49, 52, 58, 82, 93-5, 184-5, 197; persecution of 214; public- 230; punishment of 94-5, 101-2, 214
- Prostitution 31, 49, 58-9, 77, 93-5, 126, 186; and brothels 49, 58-9, 94; clerical view of 49; criminalization of 94-5, 99; in England 214; in Germany 214; and land privatization 93; massification of 94, 126; in Middle Ages 49; penalties against 94, 214; and population decline 49; public- 58-9; as remedy to homosexuality 49, 59; and witch-hunt 186, 197
- Protestant Reformation 68-9, 84, 118, 121-2, 133, 169, 211; in England 121-2; and land privatization 68-9, 121
- Protestants French- 242 (See also Huguenots)
- Provision Grounds 105, 112-3
- Public Assistance 70, 82-5, 127; and flight of labor 84; and fixation of labor 84, 127; and reproduction of work-force 88; and witch-hunt 171-2, 200 (See also Poor Relief)
- Public Space 84; sexual differentiation of 100
- Punishment 18, 23, 58, 82, 136; for infanticide 129 (See also Capital Punishment)

- Purgatory 34
 Puritanism 151, 153-4, 157
 Puritans 84, 153-4; Puritan sects 151; view of the body 153
 "Putting out" system 72, 98, 123
- Q**
 Querelle des femmes 9, 13, 100
- R**
 Rabelais François 80
 Racism 17, 107-9
 Ramsey, Peter 76, 125
 Randers-Pehrson, J. D. 50
 Ranters 151
 Rape decriminalised 47-9; in 14th-century Venice and France 47-8; and witch-hunt 49
 Rationalism 204
 Rationalization of human nature 155; of work-process 174;
 Reason 134-5, 148-9, 151-2, 159-60, 191; development of 149
 Rebellions popular 127
 Rediker, Markus 105-6, 152
 Reducciones 226; and destruction of the huacas 227; and witch-hunting 227
 Religion Eastern Religions 33, 35-6; traditional Andean 229
 Religious Reform and lengthening of work day 72
 Remensas 45, 58
 Renaissance 13, 166, 187, 197, 214; Magic 203; magicians 186, 197-8
 Reproduction 7-8, 12, 14-5, 22-4, 36, 49, 67-8, 83, 112, 180; collective 127; crisis of 14; as ground of struggle 14; social 8-9, 84; of the work-force 8-9, 12, 25, 84, 97, 99 (See also Reproduction of Labor-Power)
 Reproduction of Labor-Power 8-9, 16, 22, 75, 104, 184; and accumulation of capital 75; privatization of 84; and value-creation 7
 Reproductive capital 98; crimes 36, 180 doctrines 36; -function 87; -rights 214
 Reproductive Work 75, 99; devaluation of 75; feminization of 75; unpaid reproductive 99
 Retamar, Robert Fernandez 221, 239-40
 Revolts 31, 57, 82, 174, 177; peasant 24
 Revolution of the common people 61; Mexican 24; Russian 24
 Riddle, John 92, 129
 Riley, Philip 156
 Riots against export of grain 80; food- 80; against surgeons 145
 Robbins, Rossel Hope 210-1
 Roberts, Gareth 171
 Roberts, Nickie 94, 126
 Roche, Michael 58
 Rodolico, Niccolò 43, 45, 57
 Rogers, Thorold James E. 46
 Rojas, Fernando *Celestina* (1499) 201
 Roman Catholic Church 168; Empire 165, 208; Law 145
 Rosen, Barbara 172
 Rosenfield, L.C. 148, 159-60
 Rossiaud, Jacques 48-9
 Rostworowski, Maria 241
 Rowbotham, Sheila 80
 Rowling, Nick 104, 107
 Rowse, A. L. 216
 Royal Society 143, 145, 150
 Rublack, Ulinka 89
 Ruggiero, Guido 47-8
 Russell, J.B. 40, 52, 142, 144, 178-9, 190, 195, 213, 242
- S**
 Sabbat 145, 167, 177, 194-6; 210, 212, 215, 235-6; and class revolt 177; and cannibalism 177; and capitalist work-discipline 177; flight to 188, 194, 236
 Sale, Kirkpatrick 221
 Sallaman, Jean-Michel 6
 Salleh, Ariel 19
 Salem Trials 220
 Saracens 165; and witchcraft 165
 Schepherd, Verene 109
 Schochet, Gordon J. 98, 191
 Science 145; modern 202; New 215
 Scientific Revolution 13, 202; -worldview 145
 Scientific Rationalism 143, 145, 168, 201; and exploitation of women 13; and witch-hunt 200-3
 Scientific Rationalisation and disciplining of the body 145; Scolds 101; -bridle 101
 Scott, James C. 27
 Scotland 151
 Seccombe, Wally 72
 Self-government 28, 50, 140, 149
 Self-mastery 148-50, 191; and mechanization of the body 148 (See also René Descartes)
 Seligman, Kurt 186, 198, 216
 Sennett, Richard 147
 Sepulveda, Juan Gines de 240, 246
 Serfdom 22-5, 65 and anti-feudal struggle 22; as class relation 22-5; flight from 27; as juridical status 23; Second 64-5, 118; struggle against 25-8, 65; as work-relation 23-4
 Serfs 23-7; access to land 24; economic and juridical rights 26; female 24-5; land possession 24; resistance to military service 27; resistance to taxation and burdens 27
 Servile community 24-5; economy 51; obligations 51; struggle 26-7
 Sexism 7; construction of 110
 Sexuality 36-8, 40, 56-7, 184, 190, 192; attack on 83; and capitalist work-discipline 194; collective 83, 194; discourse on 37; female 191-2, 194; non-procreative 38, 88; and witchcraft 191-6; and work 192
 Sexual contract 97, 129; discipline 192; dicrimination 7, 110
 Sexual Division of Labor 8, 12, 25, 75, 97, 100; 112, 115, 241; as power relation 115; on the plantations 112; on servile farms 25; and female solidarity 25
 Sexual Hierarchies 8, 68; construction of in Mexico and Peru 110; in "New France" 111
 Sexual Identity -as work-function 14

- Sexual Politics 49, 186
 Sexual Roles; -in capitalist society 15
 Shaha, Shulamith 24, 31, 51
 Shakespeare, William 11, 101, 106-8, 133-4, 137, 155, 163, 168; *The Taming of the Shrew* (1593) 101; *Hamlet* (1601) 152; *King Lear* (1605) 163; *The Tempest* (1612) 11, 106-7, 134, 137, 155, 219, 232
 Shape-shifting 194
 Shapin, Steven 203
 Sheperd, Verene 109
 Shiva, Vandana 51
 Siemon, James R. 123
 Silver 220, 225; -mining 130
 Silberblatt, Irene 13, 198, 220, 230-1, 241
 Skaria, Ajay 237
 Slater, Gilbert 122
 Slavery 23, 64-5, 63, 103, 105; in Africa 65; in Caribbean islands 105, 107, 109; and capitalist development 104; in Europe 45, 65, 118; and international division of labor 104; institutionalized 83, 104, 107-8; in Italy 65; in Roman Empire 23, 50; and reproduction of the work-force 104-5; and wages 104-5
 Slaves 23, 35, 45, 50-1, 105, 107-8, 112-5, 165, 177, African-born 198; allied with indentured servants 107-8; breeding of 91, 112; as commodity 112; female 89, 108-9, 112-5, 131 (see also Slave Women); revolts 23, 50; reproduction of 105, 112
 Slave Trade 14, 89, 105, 198, 200; abolition of 112; history of 16
 Slave-Women 89, 108-9, 112-5, 131; compelled to breed 112; as market sellers 113-4; owned by white women 131; resistance to slavery 112
 Slicher Van Bath, B. H. 76, 117
 Smith, Adam 62, 76, 91, 115, 117
 Smollet, Tobias George 199
 Smout, T. C. 206
 Social conflict 83; 200; contract theory 129-30; control 151; discipline 44, 83, 85; divisions 29; equality 56, 41; hierarchies 44; legislation 155; position of women 47, 184; protest 43, 57; subversion 177
 Social Contract based on sexual contract 129; -theory 129-30
 Social Reproduction 8-9; 165
 Social Struggle in Middle Ages 22; in 16th and 17th centuries 126-7
 Sodomy 36 38, 49; 58, 221; and diabolism 233
 Soly, H. 70, 126-7
 Soman, Alfred 164
 Sommerville, Margaret R. 130
 Sillery 165
 South Africa 237
 South America 221, 226
 Spain 124, 127, 224, 241
 Spalding, Karen 225-7, 229
 Spaniards 198, 221-2, 225-6, 229-32, 242
 Spanish America 85; -Crown 221, 225-6, 241; Netherlands 166;
 Spence, Louis 202
 Spencer, Colin 35, 38
 Spengler, Joseph J. 88
 Spenser, Edmund *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (1591) 124
 Staden, Hans 223; *Wahrnsfuge Historia* (1557) 234-5
 Stannard, David E. 86
 Starhawk 208-9
 State 47, 84; brothels 49; centralization of 49; control over procreation 89; disciplining the work-force 84; -power 169; reproduction of labor-power 49, 82-5; rise of 47; taxation 48; terrorism 103
 Statistics 146
 Statute of Laborers 84
 Steifelmeir, Dora 197
 Stern, Steve J. 117, 225-8, 230
 Stevenson, John 130
 Stone, Lawrence 130
 Strauss, Gerald 126, 168, 173
 Structural Adjustment Program 9, 70, 76; and land privatization 9, 70; and malnutrition 70; in Nigeria 9; struggle against 9
 Struggle against feudalism 21-2, 84; for food 81-2; for the breeches 31, 96; against enclosure 73; over reproduction 85; urban 41-2
 Stubbes, P. 194
 Subsistence -economy 74; in pre-capitalist Europe 74; production 170; work 25
 Sugar plantations 103
 Surplus absolute 99; labor- 26; relative 99
 Swetnam, John *Arraignment of Lewed, Idle, Forward, Inconstant Women* (1615) 101
 Switzerland 120
 Sycorax 107, 232, 239
- T**
 Taborites 34, 54-5; Taborite women 55
 Tainos 221, 240
 Taki Onqoy Movement 225-6, 228-30; origin of name 241; resistance to colonization 225-6, 228; women's participation 229
 Taussig, Michael 170, 237, 241
 Tawney, R. D. 72
 Taxation 58
 Taylor, G. R. 38, 56
 Taylor, William B. 230
 Technology development of 145-6; technological domination of nature 203
 Terborg Penn, Rosalyn 113-4
 Thea, Paolo 65, 67, 118-9
 Thevet, André 223
 Thirsk, Joan 51
 Thomas, Edith 206
 Thomas, Keith 142-3, 156, 171, 200
 Thompson, E. P. 135
 Thorndike, Lynn 154, 216
 Tigar, Michael E. 177
 Tithes 22, 27, 34, 49, 174
 Titow, J. Z. 51-2
 Tituba 237
 Torture 53, 101, 144, 185, 192, 198, 227; in American colonies 227, 229; of acabusade 94-5; of witches 185
 Towns 30, 52
 Trachtenberg, Joshua 212
 Tradition 28, 33; invention of 28
 Transition to Capitalism 7-9, 11-4, 15-7, 21-2, 62, 66, 75, 80, 83; concept of 62; from feminist viewpoint 12-4, 21, 146; and spread of hunger 80; and

- ity 192-4; and rise of capitalism 14, 171; scholars of 164; in Scotland 166, 169, 171, 173, 208; and sexual division of labor 14; size of 164, 208; and slave trade 14, 164; in South Africa 11, 237; and state intervention 165-6; urban and rural revolts 174; and 'Western Civilization' 197; in Western India 213; as women's hunt 170, 179-80, 186
- Witch-Hunters 164, 170, 189
- Witch Trials 49, 60-1, 168, 171, 174-6, 180, 184, 190, 194; Salem 215, 220, 236-7, 239
- Wives 25, 54, 98-, 82-3, 103; of craftsmen 94
- Women African-born 109; in American colonies 108-13; as analytic category 13-4; Andean 220, 231; in anti-enclosure struggle 72-3; as army-followers 74; and capitalist development 16, 164; in Caribbean plantation societies 108-9, 112-4; as doctors 31; devalued as workers 100; excluded from the wage 98-100; expelled from the guilds 95-6, 129; in food riots 80-1; as healers 90, 174, 180, 201, 230; in heretic movement 38-9, 55; access to land 24; in the law 100-1; in medieval towns 30-1, 52; mestiza 109; as the new commons 97; in Nigeria 9; in Pre-Columbian America 229; and primitive accumulation 95; as producers of labor-power 8; and reproduction 14, 21, 40, 46, 91, 103, 164, 192; and reproductive work 14; resistance to capitalism 170; resistance to colonial domination 229-232; as savages 100; social degradation of 75; subordination to men 7, 12, 77-8, 81, 97; unpaid labor 8, 105; in urban revolts 174; and vagabondage 73; violence against 11; wise- 31, 213
- Women's Liberation 7; 18
- Women's Labor 52, 55, 75, 77-8, 80, 83, 108; devaluation of 92, 95; defined as house-keeping 92
- Women's History 7, 9, 11, 13-5, 22, 185; as class history 14
- Woolf, Virginia 18
- Women in Nigeria (WIN) 9
- Work 25, 68; discipline 136, 143; ethic 136; for market 79; process 143; relation 44, 98; refusal of 47; reproductive 75; discipline 149; valorization of 43
- Work-Day lengthening of 72, 99, 135
- Workers 18, 23, 29, 34, 42-5, 49-50, 57; access to land 51; agricultural 23; attitude towards the wage 72; and capital 84; cloth 40, 43, 45; cottage 98; democracy 58; dependence on monetary relations 75; diet 77; egalitarian aspirations 42; in Europe 57, 105; female waged 94, 98; and heretic ideas 42-3; immigrant 177; itinerant 82; mobility 177; as owners of labor-power 135; protest 43; revolts 45; textile 32, 52; separation from the means of subsistence 75 (see Enclosures); urban waged workers in Middle Ages 43; waged 43, 98, 104, 126, 156, 171; wool 43
- Workers' democracy 43, 45; struggles 43-5
- Work-Houses 64, 85, 127-8
- Working Class 43, 77, 98-9, 105, 220; criminalization of 82-85; division 104-5; -family 97-9; -men 11, 98; -women 98
- World Bank 9, 17, 70, 72, 76, 123; and land privatization 70; patriarchy 9; and Structural Adjustment Program 9, 70, 76
- Wright, Lawrence 136
- Y**
- Yates, Francis 198
- Z**
- Zemon Davis, Natalie 84-5
- Ziegler, Philip 40, 44

Note: The Bibliography and Image Sources for *Caliban and the Witch* can be found in Volume 3 of this autonomously produced zine-formatted version of the book, in the original copy of the book published by Autonomedia, or online at

<http://libcom.org/library/caliban-witch-silvia-federici>

The original page-numbering has been maintained, so the index in this volume is fully functional for those who possess all 5 volumes. To find electronic copies of the volumes, go to <http://FreeUniversEity.Wordpress.com/>

Like what you are reading?

**Check out the “Storical Memory Project” @
FreeUniversEity.wordpress.com**

“Storical Memory” is a term which suggests that humans understand the world in terms of stories...

The Storical Memory Project exists to find, share, and (re)articulate suppressed and subversive stories as a means of understanding the world, combatting repression, healing trauma and ultimately of creating a better world—a world in which many worlds fit

Suggested readings in addition to *Caliban and the Witch*:

- *1491: New Revelations of the Americas Before Columbus* (Charles Mann, 2005)
- *Life Under the Jolly Roger: Reflections on Golden Age Piracy* (Gabriel Kuhn, 2009)
- *The Many Headed-Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, 2000)
- *Witches, Midwives, and Nurses A History of Women Healers* (Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, 1973)
- *Settlers: The Mythology of the White Proletariat* (J. Sakai, 1989)



???