

Population and Slavery in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712-1770)

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Submitted: 11 November 2022. **Accepted:** 14 March 2023.

ABSTRACT: The discovery of gold at the end of the 17th century and of diamonds during the 1730s in central-southern Brazil caused profound dislocation in the slave trades, turning the Minas Gerais region into an unprecedented pole of attraction for migrant and slave labor. In this work, we perform a sociodemographic analysis of the slave population in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto, the capital of the captaincy of Minas Gerais, in a period ranging from 1712 to 1770. For this purpose, and based on previous literature, we use the data series gathered from the two parishes that made up the urban geography of the region, as well as the notarial records preserved at the Arquivo Histórico do Museu da Inconfidência – Casa do Pilar. The reconstruction of families and the study of the relationship between the sociodemographic data of the slave contingent and those of the rest of the population, the processes of manumission, and the evolution of the slave import market have allowed us to prove the dependence of the slave population on slave trade.

KEYWORDS: Minas Gerais; Slave demography; Slave trade; Social history; Historical demography.

Citation / Cómo citar este artículo: Corona Pérez, Eduardo (2023) “Population and Slavery in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712–1770).” *Culture & History Digital Journal*, 12 (2): e022. doi: <https://doi.org/10.3989/chdj.2023.022>

RESUMEN: *Población y esclavitud en Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712–1770).* – El descubrimiento del oro a finales del siglo XVII y los diamantes durante la década de 1730 en el centro-sur del Brasil produjo una profunda dislocación en los tráficos de esclavos, convirtiendo a Minas Gerais en un polo de atracción migratorio y de mano de obra esclava sin precedentes. En este trabajo se procede al análisis sociodemográfico de la población esclava en Vila Rica de Ouro Preto, capital de la capitania mineira, en una horquilla temporal que abarca los años 1712-1770. Para ello, y a partir de la historiografía previa, se emplean las series parroquiales de las dos parroquias que componían su geografía urbana y documentación notarial procedente del Arquivo Histórico do Museu da Inconfidência — Casa do Pilar. La reconstrucción de familias y la relación de los resultados sociodemográficos del contingente con los del resto de la población, los procesos de manumisiones y la evolución del mercado de importación de esclavos, ha permitido constatar la dependencia de la población esclava respecto al tráfico de esclavos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Minas Gerais; Demografía esclava; Tráfico de esclavos; Historia social; Demografía histórica.

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FROM THE “PAIZ DAS SERRANIAS IMPENETRÁVEIS” TO THE CAPTAINCY OF MINAS GERAIS

At the end of the 17th century, the territory of Minas Gerais was a vast inland region situated between the captaincy of Bahia, to the north, and the captaincies of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, to the southeast. It was “o paiz das serranias impenetráveis, dos rios enormes, das riquezas mineiras, das feras e dos monstros, una especie das Hesperidas antigas guardadas por dragões” (a country of impenetrable mountains, huge rivers, mineral resources, beasts and monsters, some kind of ancient Hesperides guarded by dragons), as Diego de Vasconcellos (1904, p. 85) described the *sertão* (backcountry) of Caeté. However, everything changed by the 1690s. The discovery of gold in the Espinhaço mountains, at the so-called “minas gerais dos cataguases,”¹ led to a radical transformation of the region. The news of the finding² spread rapidly and unleashed a veritable gold rush (Zemella, 1990, pp. 38-39). Those mines, which were the backbone of the occupation and urbanization of the future captaincy, turned the territory into a pole of attraction for migration that, according to Mafalda Zemella (1990, p. 45), had few parallels in the history of humanity.

With the gradual expansion of the mining basin around the Espinhaço mountains and the consolidation of the political order in 1720,³ Minas Gerais became the most dynamic captaincy, from an economic and demographic point of view, in 18th-century Brazil (Paiva, 2022, pp. 70-84). This reality was sustained by a diversified economy based on the gold and diamond mining activity, which was the actual economic driver of the region during the 1760s, as well as on agricultural and manufacturing production, and short-, medium- and long-range exchange networks.⁴ In this sense, the captaincy was crossed by a network of roads that connected it to other regions through three main routes. The longest route, and the one most frequently used until the first third of the 18th century, was the *Caminho dos Currais do Sertão* or *Caminho da Bahia*. This road, which ran parallel to the São Francisco River along a series of paths, linked Minas Gerais on the north to the captaincy of Bahia and the port of São Salvador. The second route, known as the *Caminho Velho*, connected Minas Gerais on the south to the São Paulo region. The third one, called the *Caminho Novo*, was the shortest and linked the region to Rio de Janeiro on the southeast. The latter soon became the great artery of communication and supply of Minas Gerais (Furtado, 1999, pp. 90-97), and a channel for the transformation of the city of São Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro. Indeed, until the discovery of gold in the Espinhaço mountains, the port was a small population centre of no economic or demographic importance. Because of the short distance from Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro became the “boca das minas” (mouth of the mines) (Zemella, 1990, p. 67). Thus, in addition to European-manufactured products, thousands of African slaves arrived at the port, mostly bound for Minas Gerais, which in consequence became the captaincy with the largest slave population in 18th-century Brazil (Botelho, 2007, p. 403).

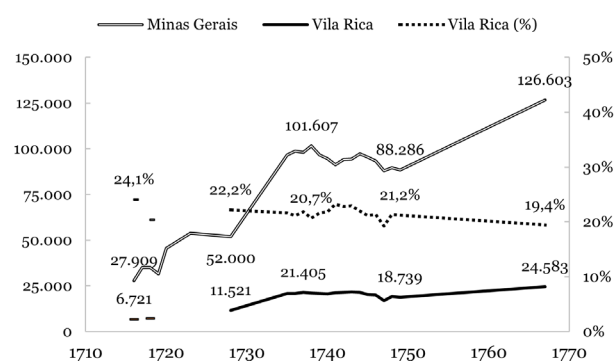


FIGURE 1. Evolution of the slave population in the district of Vila Rica for the captaincy of Minas Gerais as a whole (1716–1776). Sources: 1716-1720: Russell-Wood, 1982, p. 100;²⁷ 1716-1728: Luna & Costa, 1984, p. 16; 1721-1722: Botelho, 2000, p. 14; 1735-1749: *Código Costa Matoso*, 1999, pp. 407-413; 1767: Almeida, 2010, p. 51.²⁸ Own elaboration.

Figure 1 compares the evolution in absolute and relative terms of the slave population in the district of Vila Rica, i.e., the centre of the town and its *arraiais* (settlements), about the slave population of the captaincy of Minas Gerais as a whole. The data for the period 1716–1749, which are frequently used in the literature, were gathered from the “capitação” records, comprised of lists of owners and their slaves to levy the “quinto real.” Obviously, in addition to the existing time gaps, we need to consider that the nature of the source is such that the data are most probably underestimated because of presumable tax evasion on the part of the owners. However, as pointed out by Botelho (2000, p. 4), the information provided is certainly relevant for the study of the slave population in the region during the first half of the 18th century. The data for 1767, on the other hand, were taken from a statistical map that includes socioeconomic and sociodemographic information on the captaincy. As shown, the increase in the slave population of this region was extraordinary during the period studied but not linear. The slave contingent doubled in less than twenty years, rising from 45,500 slaves in 1720 to more than 101,000 in 1738. During the 1740s, its growth was interrupted, and the balance was in fact negative, although it turned positive again between 1750 and 1760. Despite the documentary gaps, the number of slaves had indeed increased to over 125,000 by 1767. This way, the Black African slave population of Minas Gerais, which was practically non-existent at the end of the 17th century, rose from 28,000 slaves in 1716 to more than 126,000 in 1767. The increase exceeded 350%.

The term of Vila Rica reflects the trend of the captaincy as a whole. Thus, the slave population quadrupled during the period analysed, increasing from 6,700 slaves in 1716 to over 24,500 in 1767. The growth registered in the capital was nevertheless lower than the one registered in the region as a whole, reaching only around 265%. The “comarca” of Vila Rica, which, in addition to the capital and its term, comprised the town of Mariana—see of the archdiocese of Minas Gerais since 1745—, concentrated

the largest population of slaves in the whole captaincy during the first two-thirds of the 18th century. However, the importance of the slave population in this “comarca” compared with that of the region as a whole decreased as the century progressed. While it concentrated 54.7% of the total number of slaves in the captaincy in 1723, the proportion had dropped to 44.5% by 1749 and to 30.5% by 1767. As shown in Figure 1, the relative weight of the term of Vila Rica concerning the whole Minas Gerais region contracted around 5% during the period under study. It is the reverse process of the one seen in the other three “comarcas” in the region: Serro Frio, Rio das Mortes, and Rio das Velhas, especially the latter one. Why is it so?

POPULATION AND SLAVERY IN THE CAPITAL OF MINAS GERAIS

The population of Minas Gerais was determined by the gold mining activity. The region’s orography favoured the establishment of mining exploitations in the valleys and the river and stream beds (Zemella, 1990, pp. 40-41; Resende, 2007, p. 32). Those areas were also where the first settlements were established. The occupation of the space of what would later be Vila Rica was the result of three expeditions to the valley of the Carmo River and the slopes of the mountain range crowned by the Pico de Itacolomi, led by Manuel Garcia, Antônio Dias de Oliveira, and Father João de Faria Fialho between 1689 and 1699. Three *arraiais* developed as relatively scattered settlements with houses built with sun-dried bricks and straw roofs, which reflected the improvised and provisional nature of the first occupation of the territory.⁵ On July 8, 1711, through the *Auto de ereção de Vila Rica*⁶ (Act of erection of Vila Rica), the three settlements were united into one municipality which, in turn, was divided into two parishes: Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Ouro Preto⁷ and Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Antônio Dias.⁸

The sociodemographic structure of Vila Rica fully corresponds to the canons of slave societies because the relations of production rested on slave labor (Armenteros Martínez, 2018, p. 38). The percentage of slaves in the capital of Minas Gerais was indeed very high, with an average of over 50% during the period studied (see Figure 4). The data reveal, in the first place, the importance that slavery as an institution had in that society, and, secondly, the easy access that the latter had to the slave flows.

Analysis of the slave import market

Up until the mid-17th century, the Spanish colonies in America were the main destination of the Atlantic slave trade.⁹ However, the Portuguese political crisis, which broke out in 1640, accelerated the reconfiguration of the organization and logistics of the slave business and put an end to the Portuguese monopoly in Africa. Likewise, the expansion of sugar plantations in north-eastern Brazil led to a gradual change in the destination of the trade, as a result of which the Portuguese territory in America surpassed the Spanish colonies in the volume of imports.

This way, Belém, São Luis, Recife, Salvador, and, to a lesser extent, Rio de Janeiro and Santos, became important ports for the landing of African slaves (Alencastro, 2000, p. 250). Well into the 18th century, however, Minas Gerais interrupted its slave activity and caused a new dislocation in the transatlantic and regional slave flows (Florentino, 2014, pp. 233-235). We have already hinted at the redistribution routes departing from the major slave ports, especially Salvador¹⁰ and Rio de Janeiro¹¹, towards Minas Gerais. Thus, for instance, Antonio Alves Rozerio received a power of attorney from Gregorio Gonçalves Ramos, a resident of Rio de Janeiro, to sell in Minas Gerais “hum moleque por nome Miguel, ladino de nação Angola” (a young boy called Miguel, ladino of the Angola nation). He was sold in May 1722 to Antonio Coelho Barboza, a resident of Vila Rica who, in addition to the slave’s price, had to pay for “os gastos que fez o dito moleque em este rio da Parahiba [do Sul], do Caminho Novo” (the expenses that the above-mentioned young man made in the river of Parahiba [do Sul], along the Caminho Novo).¹² This route, which was shorter than the one connecting Minas Gerais with Bahia, would end up becoming the main artery of communication and exchange. The urgency for labor and the wealth generated by the mining activity caused about 2,300 slaves to travel from Rio de Janeiro to Minas Gerais every year between 1715 and 1727, i.e., almost 70% of the slaves disembarked at the Rio de Janeiro port (Florentino, 1997, p. 37).

As the literature has already pointed out, little is known yet about the slave import market of Minas Gerais during the 18th century (Libby, 2007, p. 414), which is indeed a complex issue. In Bergard’s opinion (2004, p. 222), this lack of knowledge is explained by the absence of reliable data on slave imports. The issue has been approached mainly through the analysis of notarial records, namely last will and testaments and *post-mortem* inventories. However, it is important to take into account that this type of document refer to slave property that may have been formed long before but registered only at the end of their owner’s life. Therefore, these sources reflect a complex temporality of practices and phenomena that may involve various situations at the same time. On the one hand, the purchase of new slaves trafficked across the Atlantic or within the region, as a result of business operations carried out relatively close to the date of the documentary record or, on the contrary, years before. On the other hand, the logic of natural reproduction (Libby, 2007, p. 421). Likewise, it is also necessary to consider the possible repetition of slaves that become part of other slaves properties and that are again inventoried, so that the quantification from this type of documentary could be overestimated. On the contrary, there are two documentary series that make it possible to quantify the slave import markets and the calibration of their evolution over time. On the one hand, the fiscal documentation belonging to the Casa dos Contos, which has enabled Carrara to reconstruct the imports made in the Minas Gerais captaincy at two moments, between the years 1716 and 1717, and since 1757. However, “se as fontes são fragmentadas e

escassas até 1717, a partir desse ano até 1757 guardam um silêncio tumular,” so that this series would serve to cover, above all, the second half of the 18th century (Carara, 2007, p. 114). On the other hand, it is also possible to count on the records of baptisms of adult slaves, the series used here to quantify and calibrate over time the evolution of the Vila Rica slave import market. In effect, the short time elapsed between the arrival of the slaves at the Brazilian ports and the time of their baptism allows us to validate the relationship between the administration of this sacrament and the activity of the slave import market. There were doubts about whether the slaves had been baptized in their regions of origin, and the royal and ecclesiastical authorities recommended the administration of the sacrament to them, if necessary *sub conditione*, to avoid the risk of their dying unbaptized and therefore deprived of salvation.¹³



FIGURE 2. Comparative evolution of the slave import market in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Vila Rica de Ouro Preto and the production of gold in kilograms in the captaincy of Minas Gerais (1712-1770). Sources: Production of gold: Pinto, 1979, p. 114; Import of slaves: BD-AENSP. Own elaboration.

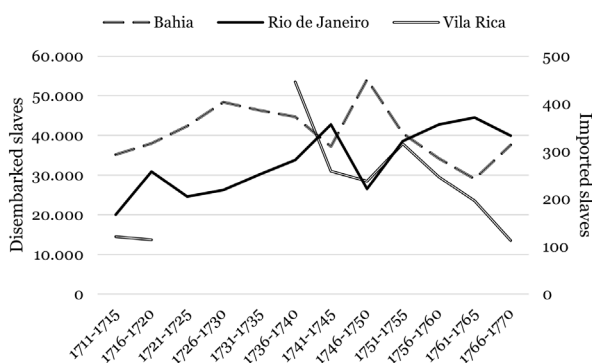


FIGURE 3. Comparative evolution of the slave import market in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Vila Rica de Ouro Preto and the landing of African slaves at the Bahia and Rio de Janeiro ports (1712-1770). Sources: Bahia and south-eastern Brazil: TSTD-2 [last consulted on November 4, 2022]; Vila Rica: BD-AENSP. Own elaboration.

Figure 2 shows the evolution of the slave import market in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Pilar in Vila Rica, which is used as a reference. As seen in the figure above, there is a documentary gap between 1720 and 1735. However, the results allow for estimating the size and access of the slave market of Vila Rica to the circuits and dynamics of the transatlantic slave trade. The increase in imports is also put concerning the production of gold at the captaincy of Minas Gerais. This comparative analysis is interesting because, despite the lack of data for the above-mentioned years, the curve of the slave import market basically reproduces that of the production of gold in the region, with a sharp increase at the end of the 1730s and a gradual decline after that date until the end of the period studied. The discovery of gold originated a strong migratory movement within the region, motivated by the prospect of enrichment. This movement of population and its economic power, together with the constant flow of supply from the slave trade circuits enabled the development of a dynamic market of African slaves until, at least, the middle of the 18th century.

This is confirmed by Figure 3, where the evolution of the landing of African slaves at the Bahia and Rio de Janeiro ports is compared with the slave imports in Vila Rica. It is interesting to observe the relationship between these three locations because they share a dynamic of growth until, approximately, the beginning of the 1740s. Despite the recovery experienced in the period 1746-1750, São Salvador was gradually surpassed in a number of landings by the Rio de Janeiro port from the 1750s onwards. On the other hand, even if it is true that the slave import market of Vila Rica expanded between 1751 and 1755, it seems that, to the end of the period under study, it distanced itself from the transatlantic slave trade dynamics, especially during the 1760s, when it evolved independently of the disembarkation of African slaves in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, there seems to be a complete correlation between the production of gold and the import of slaves in Vila Rica: the discovery and exploitation of gold in the region catapulted the demand and access to a well-stocked supply of slaves, while the decline of the gold mining activity, which began at the end of the 1730s and accelerated after 1760, brought the contraction of both phenomena.¹⁴ The fall in the production of gold in the “comarca” of Vila Rica, which had the highest number of mining operations in the captaincy (45.2%), caused the decay of the local slave market, which suffered more than those of other “comarcas.” In fact, the gold mining crisis did not, by any means, reduce the slave imports from other areas in the Minas Gerais region. The “comarca” of Rio das Mortes, which had developed an export-oriented agricultural and livestock economy closely linked to the slave supply from Rio de Janeiro, soon replaced Vila Rica as the main population centre within the captaincy, in terms of both total population and slave population (Almeida, 2010, pp. 50-63).

Between the 16th and 18th centuries, Iberian societies were thought of and represented as an orderly whole composed of autonomous and unequal though hierarchized

TABLE I. Typology of slaves inventoried in the term of Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1720-1750). Sample: 213 slaves.

Group	Number (%)	Region of origin in Africa	Number (%)	Descriptive group	Number
African	145 (68.1%)	Western Africa	83 (57.2%)	Cabo Verde	3
				Calabar	1
				Cobû	10
				Courano	4
				Fuam	1
				Mina	59
				Mina-Cobû	1
				Mina-Courano	1
				Mina-Sabarû	1
				Nagô	1
		São Tomé	1		
		Central-Western Africa	54 (37.2%)	Angola	17
				Benguela	24
				Congo	9
Monjollo	1				
Eastern Africa	3 (2.1%)	Mosangue	3		
		Mozambique	3		
				“Black”	5 (3.4%)
“Crioulos”			30 (14.1%)		
Indigenous			Carijó 11 (5.2%)		
“Mestizados”	11 (5.2%)			Cabra	3
				Carijó+Benguela	2
				Mulato	6
Unknown			16 (7.5%)		
Total			213 (100%)		

Sources: AHMI-CP.²⁹ Own elaboration.

parts. The “quality” and, above all, the “legal status” of their members—in other words, whether they had been born free, or were “forros” or slaves—was absolutely essential. The political inequality between those statuses defined their specific position and role within that world (Hespanha, 2010, p. 55). We should therefore not be surprised at the variety of descriptive categories revealed by the sample of 213 slaves here presented, obtained from the analysis of 123 post-mortem inventories from the years 1720-1750 found at the Arquivo Histórico do Museu da Inconfidência – Casa do Pilar in Ouro Preto.¹⁵ The documents reflect that the slave workforces of Vila Rica were mostly made up of African slaves (67%) with similar profiles to the ones identified in the neighbouring “comarcas” of Rio das Velhas and Rio das Mortes during the 18th century (Paiva, 2022, p. 126). The classification is based on the one proposed by Mary Karash (2000, pp. 50-66), with a first division by region of origin, and a second one by qualities. As seen in Table 1, there is a prevalence of individuals arriving from Western Africa, a large region comprising Upper Guinea, the Gulf of Guinea, and

the archipelagos of Cape Verde and São Tomé.¹⁶ Among those coming from that region, the majority were “Mina,” a broad category that ultimately designated not only the slaves originally from the so-called “Coast of Mina”—named after the castle of São Jorge da Mina, built at the end of the 15th century—but those from the whole western coast of the Gulf of Guinea, including several ethnolinguistic groups. Such were the cases of Domingos, “negro de nação mina cobû;” Francisco, “negro de nação mina courano;” or Antonio, “negro de nação mina sabarû.” The term “negro” refers to the individual’s legal status, given its semantic equivalence with “slave” (Paiva, 2015, pp. 200-202); “nação mina” refers to the individual’s geographical origin, while “Cobû,” “Courano” and “Sabarû” denote their ethnolinguistic group.¹⁷ In addition, broad categories like “Mina” were also used to organize and distribute the slaves to different destinations and to meet certain demands, whether for technical skills or labor capacity, as in mining (Paiva, 2015, p. 146). Another African region often represented among the slave population of Vila Rica was the central-western area.¹⁸ This large area

extends from Cape Lopez in the north to the Cunene River basin. Among the slave groups coming from this region, we can mention the “Benguela,” originally from southern Angola; the “Angola,” who were native of the area around Luanda; and the “Congo,” a term used to describe a multitude of ethnical groups (Karash, 2000, pp. 50–58). The last of the African regions recorded, although much less often than the two previous ones, is Eastern Africa, where the “Mozambique” came from.

The rest of the descriptive groups comprise those born in America. Thus, the second group in number was that of the “crioulos” (14.1%), a category used to designate the children of African mothers born in Brazil and, often, their descendants (Paiva, 2015, pp. 202-204). The “crioulos” were followed by other categories qualifying American indigenous groups, most particularly, the “Carijó.” According to Paiva, possibly during the 17th century the term “carijó” became a synonym for “Indian” or “Indian slave,” thus becoming a general term of designation (Paiva, 2015, p. 196). The eleven references to “carijó” correspond to the slave property owned by Francisco Leme da Silva, a resident of the “freguesia” (parish) of São Bartolomeu, located 20 kilometres to the north of Vila Rica. Except for Ana and Gregorio, who were single, the rest of the “carijó indians” of this slave property belonged to five different families. Three of those families were formed, respectively, around the “Carijó” couples of Matias and Maria, Gregorio “e sua mulher” (and his wife), and Tomé and Rufina, aged between 50 and 60. The three remaining “Carijó” belonged to mixed families. Mariana

was married to João, who was a “Mina.” Maria, who already had a child from a previous partner (Simão), married João, who was a “Mina,” and from that relationship Domingos and Maria were born. Biological and cultural dynamics of miscegenation were indeed very intense in Iberian societies between the 16th and 18th centuries. Thus, the “mestizados” were also represented among the slave population of Vila Rica. In this sense, the product of the relationships between Indians and African Blacks, such as Maria and João, was often called “cabra,” a term used to classify these people in 18th-century Brazil (Paiva, 2015, p. 205). The other designation found in the records is “mulato,” which, like the term “pardo” described “mestizado” people.¹⁹

As for the sex of the imported slaves, in a sample of 2,315 people gathered from the adult baptismal records of the Pilar and Conceição parishes, 1,693 were men (73.1%) and 622 were women (26.9%), with one case of sex unknown due to the poor condition of the document.²⁰ This way, the sex distribution pattern of the slave import market of Vila Rica was similar to that of other population centres in Minas Gerais (Libby, 2007, pp. 420-423; Paiva, 2022, pp. 161-163), as well as to that of Rio de Janeiro (Florentino, 1997, pp. 55-56), and fully reflects that of transatlantic trade, with an almost 3 to 1 predominance of men over women. However, if each descriptive group is analysed separately, the results may differ, as seen in Table 2.

The African slave population also reflects the pattern of the import market, and presents a structurally unbalanced demography (Florentino, 1997, p. 59), with over

TABLE 2. Distribution by sex of the slaves inventoried in the term of Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1720-1750). Sample: 213 slaves.

<i>Descriptive group</i>	<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>		<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>		
African	110	76.4	32	22.2	2	144
Crioulo	16	53.3	14	46.7	0	30
Indigenous	6	50.0	6	50.0	0	12
Mestizado	6	54.5	5	45.5	0	11
Unknown	6	37.5	3	18.8	7	16
Total	144	67.6	60	28.2	9	213

Sources: AHMI-CP.³⁰ Own elaboration.

TABLE 3. Average age of the slaves inventoried in the term of Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1720-1750). Sample: 213 slaves.

<i>Descriptive group</i>	<i>Men slaves</i>	<i>Women slaves</i>	<i>Average by group</i>
African	33.8	30.5	33.3
Crioulo	12	7.6	9.9
Indigenous	45.7	52.2	48.3
Mestizado	5.3	23.5	13.4
Average by sex	30.7	26.6	29.9

Sources: AHMI-CP.³¹ Own elaboration.

76% of men versus 22% of women. In the remaining groups, it is obvious that the distribution does not correspond to the commercial dynamics of the slave trade but to natural reproduction, and shows some balance between men and women among “crioulos,” indigenous, and “mestizados” slaves.

Age is anecdotal information in baptismal records, and the analysis of this source does not allow us to infer the age at which imported slaves arrived in Minas Gerais. In contrast, it is frequently mentioned in post-mortem inventories, where age is “pouco mais ou menos” (approximately) taken into account to calculate the price of the slaves. As a result, we know the age of around 80% of the slaves inventoried in our sample (171 of 213 cases). The data show that the average age was high, around 29.9 years globally. If we look at the distribution by sex, the average age of men slaves was higher (30.7 years) than that of women slaves (26.6 years) but there are no significant differences except in the “Mestizado” group, possibly because of the small size of the sample. By descriptive groups, the average age of African slaves was 33.3 years, while it was 9.9 years for the “Crioulo,” 48.3 years for indigenous slaves, and 13.4 years for the “Mestizado” group.²¹ It is clear that “crioulo” and “mestizado” slaves were the product of the natural reproduction of women slaves. However, it may be asked whether the average age of the African slaves inventoried is not distorted by the very nature of the source. As underlined when we described the documents used to measure the import market, notarial inventories were made after the death of the slaveowners, presumably at an old age. Therefore, the recorded age of African slaves was not representative of their “commercial age.” In effect, nine out of ten slaves trafficked by the slavers to the port of Rio de Janeiro were between 10 and 34 years old (Florentino, 1997, p. 59), while there are studies on the slave market of the Iberian peninsula and the Spanish territories in America based on the analysis of letters of purchase and sale—a type of doc-

ument that was not preserved among the notarial records of Minas Gerais—which estimate a lower average age of between 20 and 24 years.²² In this sense, and even if age is specified only in 21 of the more than 2,000 cases, the adult slave baptismal records of the Pilar parish indicate an average age of 17.3 years.²³

The analysis of the average price of slaves is a complex issue because inventories provide a limited amount of data. Table 4 shows the average price of slaves, first by descriptive group and sex, and, secondly, by age range and sex. To make a more precise estimation, all slaves in the sample who had a flaw, whether physical (disease, mutilation) or behavioural (escapes), were disregarded, as were those who had been valued jointly. The information in the table allows us to draw some conclusions. The first is that the highest-rated profile in Vila Rica during the first half of the 18th century was that of African men. This is confirmed when analysing the age ranges, in all of which the average price of men slaves is higher than that of women slaves. These results suggest that, in a mining-based economy, the capacity to work in the mines is more highly valued than the reproductive capacity of women slaves (Bergard, 2004, p. 264). Indeed, mining was the activity to which most slaves in the “comarca” of Vila Rica were assigned (Almeida, 2010, p. 56). As we will see later on, the average fertility rate of women slaves was low. The issue of the higher-rated capacity by sex lends itself to debate. Women, despite being a minority among the slave population of Minas Gerais, were freed more often than men during the 18th century.²⁴ In addition, many of them were freed after paying a certain amount, accumulated from their earnings (Paiva, 2022, pp. 2016-225). Is it possible that the greater opportunities that women slaves had to buy out their freedom reflected their lower value in the market? In addition, the data for women slaves shown in the table may be distorted because access to freedom may have prevented the full consideration of these women’s capacity for work, which was possibly more highly rated than the figures suggest.

TABLE 4. Average price in *réais* of the “flawless” slaves inventoried and valued individually in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto by descriptive group and sex, and by age range and sex (1720-1750). Sample: 163 slaves.³²

<i>Descriptive group and sex</i>	<i>Men’s</i>	<i>Women’s</i>	<i>Average price by descriptive group</i>
Africans	149,394	147,154	148,928
Crioulos, Indigenous and mestizados	88,111	85,588	72,825
Average by sex	139,707	130,020	137,030
<i>Age range and sex</i>	<i>Men’s price</i>	<i>Women’s price</i>	<i>Average price by age range</i>
0-9 years old	66,100	85,714	74,176
10-19 years old	133,300	92,500	121,643
20-29 years old	172,200	160,769	168,744
30-39 years old	154,333	126,000	148,667
40 years old or more	114,632	60,000	105,305

Sources: AHMI-CP.³³ Own elaboration.

As for age as an element of valuation, the higher prices are obviously found in the intermediate age ranges, when slaves were most productive and could also be re-valued and resold in the market. The lower prices, even when compared with older ages, were found in the group aged 0 to 9 years. As we will see later on, the low chances of survival during infancy, i.e., the high infant mortality rates, together with the children's null or little production capacity until they are old enough to perform certain tasks, explain the very low value attributed to slaves in their youngest years.

Sociodemographic analysis

What was the size of the slave contingent of Vila Rica about the whole population? What was its evolution in time like? These questions may be answered by analysing baptismal records and estimating the percentage of non-adult slaves baptized over the total number of individuals who were administered the sacrament (Cortés, 1987, p. 94).

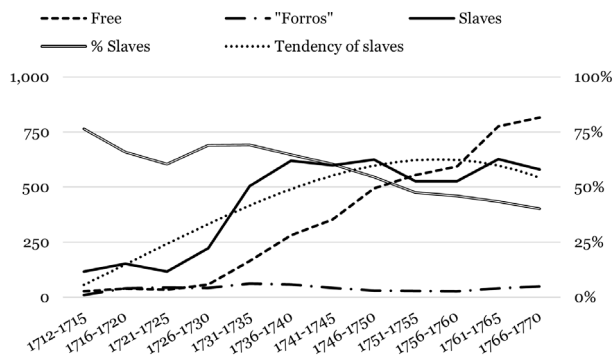


FIGURE 4. Evolution in absolute terms of the number of children born of free, "forros" and slaves in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712-1770). Sources: BD-AENSP; AENSC, LB 1 and 3; Costa (1979). Own elaboration.

As shown, the curve of the slave population dominated the local birth rate until the 1750s, when it was surpassed by that of the free population. It seems that the progression of the slave population was very much linked to the production of gold, with an extraordinary increase in the number of births in absolute terms from 1721 to 1740. From that year onwards, with the decline of the gold mining activity, the curve flattened, showing a negative trend until the end of the period studied, as was the case with the evolution of the slave market (see Figures 2 and 3). On the other hand, the number of births of the free population increased throughout the period, with a less aggressive but more sustained progression over time. It is important to take into account that the presence of European women in the region was minimal during the 18th century (Figueiredo, 1997, pp. 20-28). Therefore, the natural growth of the free population and the contribution made by the descendants of freed women slaves explain the evolution of the group. Finally, the curve of the freed slaves reflects

the small size of this group, which was the outcome of the process of manumission at the baptismal font. Up to 8% of all the newborns of slave mothers benefitted from that process during the period studied, which ate up another "chunk" of the slave contingent. As a result of this situation, there was a 30% drop in the representation of the number of births of the slave population concerning the overall number of births in Vila Rica, falling from 76% in 1712-1715 to 40% in 1766-1770. Why was it so?

The demographic evolution of the slave population was the result of interrelated, non-exclusive factors of growth and degrowth. Thus, the contingent grew naturally when its population growth rate was positive, that is, when its birth rate reached or exceeded the replacement rate, as well as the mortality rate. This also depended on whether the nutritional, socio-affective, physical, material, and environmental conditions of this population group were good enough to be able to cope with daily life and disruptive situations, such as epidemics or famines, with confidence. Of course, slave populations could also be increased from the outside. This happened especially when the slave market had easy access to the import flows—but not only. There were other possibilities to replace slave workforces, although the flows were quantitatively smaller than those of the slave trade. It happened in the case of slaves who accompanied their owners when they temporarily or definitely migrated to other places. Or when the so-called "escravos de ganho" (slaves of gain) were temporarily displaced to another region to work, thus increasing the captive population at their point of destination. Exactly the opposite can be said of the decreases, which are explained by birth rates that are low or insufficient to surpass the mortality rates and reach the natural replacement rate due to interruption or withdrawal of access to the slave import flows in local or regional markets, or to the processes of manumission. In Vila Rica, during the period ranging from 1712 to 1770, the slave contingent showed, in contrast with the free population, a decreasing trend, a tendency to lose demographic forces. And this was due to sociodemographic factors and also to the specific social, economic, and cultural dynamics of that society related to the process to access freedom.

As proved in a previous work, the natural population growth of the slave population of Vila Rica was negative across this period, with a drop of more than 160%. These results contrast with those for the free population, which experienced an increase of more than 120%. They can be attributed to the slave population's low birth rate and high infant mortality rate, which hindered the natural replacement of the group. On the one hand, the average number of children per slave mother was 1.3, compared with 2.1 children among free mothers. On the other hand, the infant mortality rate among slaves was over 350‰, which practically doubled the rate of the free population, which was almost 180‰. In our view, this is due to the different obstetrical problems that affected the reproduction of a large group of slave mothers, especially those who had been trafficked across the Atlantic. Many African women slaves probably became sterile as a result of the physical and psychological hardships associated with captivity, transportation, and liv-

ing in a foreign land. In fact, only 13% of the baptized adult women slaves were recorded as having children. Moreover, 50% of the women slaves inventoried in Vila Rica seem to have conceived during their adolescent years, and 8% at advanced ages, which carries risks for the development of the foetus and the survival of the newborn, on the one hand, and for the mother’s health, on the other. The information on interpregnancy intervals also helps explain the birth and mortality rates of the contingent because more than half of the slave mothers registered in the baptismal records conceived in short and long intervals, i.e., before the first 24 months and after the first 48 months following the previous birth. This means that at least one of every two women slaves must have conceived in periods when foetal complications are likely to occur, thus augmenting the risk of maternal or perinatal mortality, and the incidence of miscarriages. To these problems we must add the psychological disorders generated by a life of slavery, which may have also affected these women’s pregnancies and the early life of their children.²⁵ In light of these findings, it seems evident that slavery was synonymous with worse conditions for the reproduction of most women slaves and the survival of their newborns. However, this situation must have been definitely more difficult for African women than for “crioulas” or “mestizadas” women born in Brazil.²⁶

Baptismal records do not usually specify the colour or the origin of the slaves. As seen in Table 5, the information of most slave mothers does not include any references to their African origin or ascendance, or to their being “crioulas” or “mestizadas” (whether “mulatas,” “pardas” or “cabras”). However, when that information is provided—in 30% of the cases—it allows us to build a sample that is representative enough to be able to draw some conclusions about the fertility rate of these women. Thus, African mothers, who were more numerous, fit in the above-mentioned

pattern, with almost 70% of them having only 1 child, and an average of 1.5 children. In the “crioulas” and “mestizadas” groups, on the contrary, only a little over half of the women had only 1 child (53.5%), while 46.5% of them had 2 or more. These mothers had an average of 2.7 children, thus exceeding the natural replacement rate. They were familiar with the local social and cultural codes, and probably had better living conditions. As Botelho rightly pointed out in the case of Catas Altas do Mato Dentro, a process of “Brazilification” of the slaves’ profiles took place in Minas Gerais as the 18th century progressed (Botelho, 2007, p. 468). This was due to the gradual increase of legitimate relationships, which, together with the fall of slave imports from the mid-1730 onwards, the deconcentration of slave ownership, and the formation and living together of stable family groups, favoured natural reproduction, especially after the 1760s (Botelho, 2007, pp. 469-479). This process can also be observed in the case of Vila Rica.

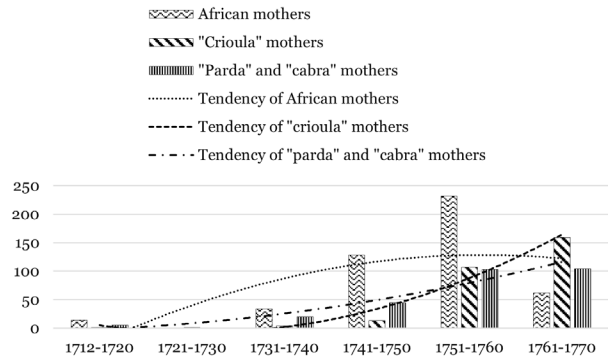


FIGURE 5. Evolution in absolute terms of the population of African, “crioula,” “parda” and “cabra” mothers in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712-1770). Total sample: 1,032 women. Sources: BD-AENSP. Own elaboration.

TABLE 5. Number of children per mother, among African, Brazilian, and unreferenced women in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712-1770). Sample: 2,521 women slaves.

Mothers with:	African mothers		“Crioulas” and “mestizadas” mothers		Unreferenced mothers	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1 child	211	69.6	54	53.5	1,259	70.7
2 children	55	18.2	26	25.7	320	18.0
3 children or more	37	12.2	21	20.8	203	11.4
Total mothers	303	100.0	101	100.0	1,782	100.0
Total newborns	454		269		1,798	
Average children per mother	1.5		2.7		1.0	

Sources: BD-AEPNSP and AEPNSC, LB 1.³⁴ Own elaboration.

Figure 5 shows the evolution in absolute terms of the population of African, “crioulas” (descendants of African women born in Brazil), “pardas” and “cabras” (two categories that are the result of biological intermingling) mothers (Paiva, 2015). The three groups had a positive progression until the 1760s. Up until then, the profile of Vila Rica mothers had been dominated by African women. But after the 1760s, when the decline of the production of gold and the fall of the slave import market became evident, the process described by Botelho for Catas Altas took place: the number of mothers from transatlantic trade decreased, while that of mothers born in Brazil, whether “crioulas,” “pardas” and “cabras,” increased. This process, however, implies the parallel development of another one: the process of manumission.

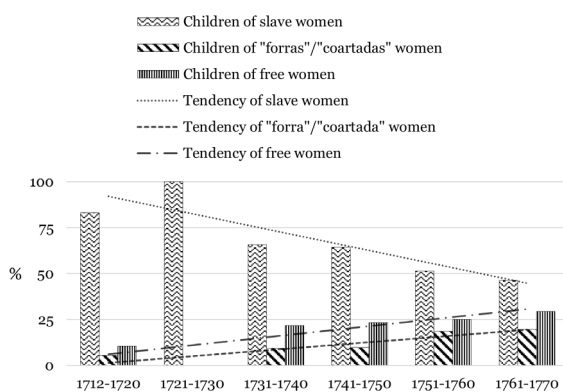


FIGURE 6. Evolution in relative terms of the children of a slave, “forra”/“coartada”³⁵ and free women in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Vila Rica de Ouro Preto (1712-1770). Sample: 3,562 women. Sources: BD-AENSP. Own elaboration.

As shown in Figure 6, the number of children of slave mothers gradually decreased as the century progressed due to the obstetric and perinatal problems mentioned before, which weighed down on natural reproduction, and to the drop in slave imports from transatlantic trade which had fuelled the market of Minas Gerais after the gold mining crisis but also due to the “alforrias” (processes of manumission) taking place in Minas Gerais. The loss of a large number of notarial records from the first half of the 18th century at the archives of Casa do Pilar hinders the possibility of connecting the number of slaves inventoried with the number of manumissions, which would have enabled us to calculate the level of access to freedom in Vila Rica and its district. This information is indeed available for other “comarcas.” Around 20% of all the women slaves documented during the 18th century in will and testaments and in post-mortem inventories in the mining “comarcas” of Rio das Velhas and Rio das Mortes, were freed or “coartadas” (Paiva, 2022, pp. 219-220). These “forra” women would free their children from the legal principle of *partus sequitur ventrem*: once the women were emancipated, their descendants were born free. On the other hand, we can know the scope of these dynamics of manumission among the newborns of slave mothers because in the two Vila Rica parishes around 8% of those children

were freed at the baptismal font between 1712 and 1770. As a result of it, the slave contingent of Vila Rica required a contribution from outside to renovate itself, mostly from transatlantic trade flows but also from immigration of slaveowners who moved with their slaves from other regions. Since the birth rate was not high enough to naturally replace the losses generated by mortality, a deficit to which the processes of manumission also contributed, the maintenance of the slave population depended fully on the provision of slaves from the transatlantic trade.

EPILOGUE

For Bergard, the impressive demographic increase experienced by the slave population of Minas Gerais in the transition to the 19th century, of which there is no other known example, was due to natural reproduction rather than to the contribution made by slave trade. Three elements directly related to the natural replacement of the contingent converged in the Minas Gerais region: the structure of the slave population evolved to take the shape of a pyramid; the prevalence of men slaves gradually balanced with the presence of women slaves; and the important increase in the number of children concerning the number of women of childbearing age, all of which are indicators of natural reproduction (Bergard, 2004, p. 21, 197-237). However, as indicated by Libby (2007, p. 428), the number of slaves could only be maintained by the constant contribution of new individuals imported through transatlantic trade, at least until the 1760s. This was the situation in Vila Rica de Ouro Preto. Therefore, and despite the actual existence of family groups that managed to reproduce themselves naturally, especially among “crioulas” and “mestizadas” slaves, the demographics of the slave population in the capital town of Minas Gerais was characterized by low birth rates and high infant mortality rates, which doubled the rates of the free population. To this, we should add the processes of manumission, which affected both women slaves and their newborns. Therefore, the access of the market to the slave import flows, as well as the capacity of the town to attract migrants with slave workforces was essential to replace and maintain the contingent.

In this sense, the slave import market of Vila Rica was completely connected with, on the one hand, the production of gold, which created and supported the demand for slaves, and, on the other, the landing of African slaves at the ports of São Salvador de Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, which were the main providers of slaves to Minas Gerais. Captives arrived in town from various large regions in Africa, especially Mina from Western Africa, and Benguela and Angola from the southern area of the central-western region. The structure by sex of the slave workforces indicated a clear prevalence of African men slaves, who were more highly valued than women slaves and slaves born in Brazil, whether “crioulos,” indigenous or “mestizados” like the “mulatos” or “cabras.”

The gold mining crisis, which was especially severe in the *comarca* of Vila Rica, affected the number of im-

ported slaves, both to the town's capacity to attract and absorb the supply coming from the transatlantic trade, and to the contraction of the demand. This, together with the negative population growth rate and the processes of manumission, translated into a quantitative decline in the slave population. However, it would be too risky to extrapolate this situation to the whole captaincy. The gold mining crisis did not affect the Rio das Velhas and Rio das Mortes *comarcas* as much. In those areas, the economy shifted towards agro-export activities—very much linked to the provision of Rio de Janeiro—and the transformation did not involve a significant or continuous contraction of the slave populations (Bergard, 2004, pp. 43-76). As a result, during the second half of the 1820s and the first half of the 1830s, Minas Gerais absorbed between 40% and 60% of all the slaves coming out of Rio de Janeiro (Florentino, 1997, p. 38).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research work is part of the R+D+I project *El tráfico de esclavos y la economía atlántica del siglo XVI* (Slave trade and the Atlantic economy in the 16th century, PID2019-107156RB-I00), funded by MCIN/AEI/10.13039/501100011033. the *European Research Project Connected Worlds: The Caribbean, Origin of Modern World* (ConnectCaribbean-823846), funded by the Horizon 2020 Program of the European Union; and the CNPq-UFMG Research Group *Escravidão, mestiçagem, transit of cultures and globalization - centuries XV to XIX*. The initialisms and abbreviations used in it are: Arquivo Eclesiástico da Paróquia da Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Antônio Dias (AEPNSC, Ecclesiastical Archive of the Parish of Our Lady of Conception of Antônio Dias), Arquivo Histórico do Museu da Inconfidência de Ouro Preto – Casa do Pilar (AHMIOP-CP, Historical Archive of the Museum of the Inconfidência of Ouro Preto – Casa do Pilar), Banco de Dados do Arquivo Eclesiástico da Paróquia da Nossa Senhora do Pilar de Ouro Preto (BD-AEPNSP, Data bank of the Ecclesiastical Archive of the Parish of Our Lady of the Pillar of Ouro Preto), Livro de Batismos (LB, Baptismal Record Book), Códice (C.), Auto (A.), Ofício (of.).

NOTES

- 1 Named after the indigenous tribes inhabiting the area before the Portuguese-Brazilian explorations (Bergard, 2004, p. 145).
- 2 The earliest official record of the discovery dates back to the expedition of Antônio Rodrigues Arzão, who brought to the village of Espírito Santo three *oitavas* of gold (Furtado, 1999, p. 167).
- 3 On the political-administrative structure and establishment of Vila Rica as the political see of the Minas Gerais captaincy, see Gouvêa (2004) and Figueiredo (2013).
- 4 For a very complete analysis of the economy of Minas Gerais in the 18th century, see Bergard (2004, pp. 43-76).
- 5 For different approaches to the configuration of the urban space of Vila Rica, see Silva (2007) and Costa (2017).
- 6 *Revista Arquivo Público Mineiro*: “Auto de ereção de Vila Rica,” year II, vol. 1 (1897), pp. 84–86.
- 7 In the case of the Pilar parish, the Banco de Dados da Freguesia do Pilar (Data bank of the Pilar parish), directed and coordi-

nated by professor Adalgisa Arantes Campos, to whom we are grateful for granting us access to it. The Banco de Dados is a colossal research project that has made possible the publication of a series of studies, among them a dossier published by the journal *Varia Historia*, entitled “Vila Rica do Pilar: Reflexões sobre Minas Gerais na Época Moderna” and coordinated by Campos, Libby & Franco (2004), which included more than one dozen research works on the religiosity and demography of that parish. More recently, an article about the abandonment of newborns has also been published, where the case of Vila Rica is compared with the neighbour town of Mariana and the city of Recife, in the Pernambuco region (Franco, 2016). In addition, Patrícia Porto de Oliveira has coordinated a book on adult baptism among slaves during the first half of the 18th century, which is the result of her Master's thesis (Oliveira, 2022).

- 8 The sacramental books of the Conceição parish were micro-filmed and made available on the platform Family Search. Page after page, baptismal record after baptismal record, all of them were transcribed. Unfortunately, the *Livro de Assento de Batizados* (Baptismal Record Book) of slaves and children of slaves corresponding to the years 1727-1740 is missing. In order to cover that gap, we use the data provided by the classical demographic study by Iraci del Nero da Costa (Costa, 1979). The documentary funds of this parish have been the object of numerous studies. See, for example, Costa (1981), Vidal Luna & Costa (1981) or Motta & Costa (1992). More recently, Kátia M. Nunes Campos (2011) has published a demographic study of the period between the second half of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th century, which is based on the records of this parish and the crisscrossing of those records with other documents found in other collections.
- 9 On this issue, see the interesting monograph edited by Alex Borucki, David Eltis, and David Wheat (2020).
- 10 On Salvador de Bahia as a catalyst city and its role in the transatlantic slave trade, see Verger (1987), Ribeiro (2008), and Souza (2018). For a study on the commercial circuits connecting Minas Gerais with Bahia, see Santos (2013).
- 11 On the case of Rio de Janeiro as a slave port, see Florentino (1997), Rodrigues (2005), and the monograph coordinated by Florentino, especially Cavalcanti (2005).
- 12 AHMI-CP: C. 66, A. 737, 2^o Of., 1722.
- 13 As pointed out by Iraci del Nero Costa about the parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Antônio Dias (Costa, 1979), or more recently by Patrícia Porto de Oliveira about the other parish in Vila Rica, Nossa Senhora do Pilar (Oliveira, 2022, p. 10). For a recent analysis of the administration of baptism among adult slaves in Seville during the 16th and 17th centuries, its connection to the problem of evangelization in the Iberian peninsula and Africa, and its relationship with the slave import market of the city, see Corona Pérez (2021).
- 14 A relation also observed by Carrara for the Minas Gerais of the second half of the 18th century (2007, p. 145).
- 15 Many of the documentary funds of the first half of the 18th century preserved at the Casa do Pilar were lost in a fire in the mid-20th century. This sample is representative of approximately one-half of the notarial records preserved.
- 16 For an approach to the African slave trade in Brazil during the 18th and 19th centuries, see Florentino, Ribeiro & Silva (2004) or Acioli & Menz (2008).
- 17 All the cases in AHMI-CP: C. 33, A. 374, 2^o Of., year 1731.
- 18 On the organization of the slave trade from that region, see Curto (2002) or Cândido (2013).
- 19 Although it was also used to refer to a skin tone lighter than black and darker than white. In the case of the Iberian peninsula, see Fernández Chaves (2016).
- 20 BD-AENSP: B (1712-1770); AENSC: LB (1710-1740).
- 21 Of. 1: C. 1, A. 5; C. 8, A. 81; C. 19, A. 180; C. 21, A. 214; C. 22, A. 233; C. 23, A. 239; C. 23, A. 253; A. 24, 255; C. 26, A. 291; C. 34, A. 401; C. 38, A. 457; C. 38, A. 459; C. 41, A. 484; C. 42, A. 486; A. 42, A. 492; C. 43, A. 505; C. 43; A. 507; C. 43, A. 572; C. 47, A. 572; C. 47, A. 576; C. 48, A. 587; C. 50, A. 609; C. 51, A. 619; C. 57, A. 608; C. 58, A. 695; C. 65, A. 784; C. 66,

- A. 800; C. 69, A. 828; C. 71, A. 846; C. 72, A. 859; C. 73, A. 865; C. 73, A. 866; C. 74, A. 883; C. 77, A. 913; C. 77, A. 915; C. 80, A. 983; C. 91, A. 1107; C. 92, A. 1115; C. 92, A. 1121; C. 93, 1198; C. 98, A. 1194; C. 98, A. 1198; C. 98, A. 1199; C. 104, A. 1306; C. 104, A. 1308; C. 104, A. 1310; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 104, A. 1756; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 105, A. 1323; C. 105, A. 1324; C. 111, A. 1414; A. 113, A. 1440; C. 116, A. 1481; C. 119, A. 1507; C. 122, A. 1530; C. 123, A. 1545; C. 134, A. 1687; C. 140, A. 1755; C. 141, A. 1785; C. 142, A. 1789; C. 142, A. 1792; C. 218, A. 3493; C. 298, A. 6438; C. 333, A. 7017; C. 336, A. 7054; C. 435, A. 8986; C. 438, A. 8986; C. 449, A. 9458; C. 460, A. 9769. Of. 2: C. 2, A. 26; C. 11, A. 114; C. 12, A. 123; C. 12, A. 126; C. 13, A. 127; C. 16, A. 165; C. 16, A. 174; C. 17, A., 181; C. 17, A. 175; C. 21, A. 222; C. 21, A. 228; C. 22, A. 236; C. 29, A. 324; C. 29, A. 328; C. 30, A. 342; C. 33, A. 373; C. 33, A. 374; C. 38, C. 421; C. 39, A. 440; C. 40, A. 452; C. 40, A. 455; C. 41, A. 463; C. 41, A. 463; C. 42, A. 469; C. 43, A. 485; C. 46, A. 504; C. 46, A. 506; C. 47, A. 519; C. 48, A. 432; C. 50, A. 550; C. 50, A. 560; C. 51, A. 570; C. 52, A. 584; C. 52, A. 585; C. 54, A. 613; C. 55, A. 621; C. 56, C. 636; C. 58, A. 650; C. 59, A. 665; C. 60, C. 682; C. 62, A. 700; C. 63, A. 705; C. 66, A. 737; C. 68, A. 758; C. 101, A. 1257; C. 135, A. 1975; C. 135, A. 1976; C. 173, A. 3098; C. 180, A. 3319.
- 22 As it happened in Ayamonte (González Díaz, 1996, pp. 56-58), Huelvas, Palos de la Frontera, Moguer (Izquierdo Labrado, 2004, vol. 1, pp. 134-137) or Seville (Corona Pérez, 2022, pp. 168-180). For a recent example in Spanish America, see the doctoral thesis of Luis Molinari Mundim on the slave market of the city of La Plata, present-day Sucre, in Bolivia (Mundim, 2022, p. 526-528).
- 23 BD-AENSP: B (1712-1770).
- 24 This is not the place to critically examine the state of the art concerning this issue in the captaincy of Minas Gerais. We will only refer to the estimations made by Lima (2021, pp. 39-47), Silva (2017, pp. 32-41), and Monti (2020, pp. 15-28), which are probably the most up-to-date and complete ones on the Minas Gerais region during the 18th century. In the case of Vila Rica, see the monumental work by Marcos Magalhães de Aguiar, the first chapter of which focuses on the analysis of the “alforrias” (1999, pp. 6-74), as well as the more recent monograph by Precioso (2011).
- 25 For a first methodological approach to the issue in the context of Seville, see Corona Pérez (2022, pp. 321-342). For the implementation of the proposition based on the results obtained for Vila Rica, see Corona Pérez (in press).
- 26 It has also been observed during the second half of the 18th century and the first years of the 19th century (Campos, 2011, pp. 217-220).
- 27 Quoted by Paiva (2022, p. 72).
- 28 “Mapa geral do fogos, filhas, escravos e escravas, pardos forros e pretos forros, agregados, clérigos, almas, freguesias, vigários, com declaração do que pertence a cada termo e total, e geral de toda a Capitania de Minas Gerais, tirado no ano de 1767” (General map of households, sons, daughters, women slaves and men slaves, brown freed slaves and black freed slaves, tenant farmers, priests, residents, parishes, vicars, specifying who belongs to each place and to the total, and generally to the captaincy of Minas Gerais, elaborated in year 1767), found at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archive), Conselho Ultramarino (Overseas Council), Minas Gerais, Cx., 93, doc. 58. The document is quoted by Almeida (2010, p. 48).
- 29 Of. 1: C. 1, A. 5; C. 8, A. 81; C. 19, A. 180; C. 21, A. 214; C. 22, A. 233; C. 23, A. 239; C. 23, A. 253; A. 24, 255; C. 26, A. 291; C. 34, A. 401; C. 38, A. 457; C. 38, A. 459; C. 41, A. 484; C. 42, A. 486; A. 42, A. 492; C. 43, A. 505; C. 43, A. 507; C. 43, A. 572; C. 47, A. 572; C. 47, A. 576; C. 48, A. 587; C. 50, A. 609; C. 51, A. 619; C. 57, A. 608; C. 58, A. 695; C. 65, A. 784; C. 66, A. 800; C. 69, A. 828; C. 71, A. 846; C. 72, A. 859; C. 73, A. 865; C. 73, A. 866; C. 74, A. 883; C. 77, A. 913; C. 77, A. 915; C. 80, A. 983; C. 91, A. 1107; C. 92, A. 1115; C. 92, A. 1121; C. 93, 1198; C. 98, A. 1194; C. 98, A. 1198; C. 98, A. 1199; C. 104, A. 1306; C. 104, A. 1308; C. 104, A. 1310; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 104, A. 1756; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 105, A. 1323; C. 105, A. 1324; C. 111, A. 1414; A. 113, A. 1440; C. 116, A. 1481; C. 119, A. 1507; C. 122, A. 1530; C. 123, A. 1545; C. 134, A. 1687; C. 140, A. 1755; C. 141, A. 1785; C. 142, A. 1789; C. 142, A. 1792; C. 218, A. 3493; C. 298, A. 6438; C. 333, A. 7017; C. 336, A. 7054; C. 435, A. 8986; C. 438, A. 8986; C. 449, A. 9458; C. 460, A. 9769. Of. 2: C. 2, A. 26; C. 11, A. 114; C. 12, A. 123; C. 12, A. 126; C. 13, A. 127; C. 16, A. 165; C. 16, A. 174; C. 17, A., 181; C. 17, A. 175; C. 21, A. 222; C. 21, A. 228; C. 22, A. 236; C. 29, A. 324; C. 29, A. 328; C. 30, A. 342; C. 33, A. 373; C. 33, A. 374; C. 38, C. 421; C. 39, A. 440; C. 40, A. 452; C. 40, A. 455; C. 41, A. 463; C. 41, A. 463; C. 42, A. 469; C. 43, A. 485; C. 46, A. 504; C. 46, A. 506; C. 47, A. 519; C. 48, A. 432; C. 50, A. 550; C. 50, A. 560; C. 51, A. 570; C. 52, A. 584; C. 52, A. 585; C. 54, A. 613; C. 55, A. 621; C. 56, C. 636; C. 58, A. 650; C. 59, A. 665; C. 60, C. 682; C. 62, A. 700; C. 63, A. 705; C. 66, A. 737; C. 68, A. 758; C. 101, A. 1257; C. 135, A. 1975; C. 135, A. 1976; C. 173, A. 3098; C. 180, A. 3319.
- 30 Of. 1: C. 1, A. 5; C. 8, A. 81; C. 19, A. 180; C. 21, A. 214; C. 22, A. 233; C. 23, A. 239; C. 23, A. 253; A. 24, 255; C. 26, A. 291; C. 34, A. 401; C. 38, A. 457; C. 38, A. 459; C. 41, A. 484; C. 42, A. 486; A. 42, A. 492; C. 43, A. 505; C. 43, A. 507; C. 43, A. 572; C. 47, A. 572; C. 47, A. 576; C. 48, A. 587; C. 50, A. 609; C. 51, A. 619; C. 57, A. 608; C. 58, A. 695; C. 65, A. 784; C. 66, A. 800; C. 69, A. 828; C. 71, A. 846; C. 72, A. 859; C. 73, A. 865; C. 73, A. 866; C. 74, A. 883; C. 77, A. 913; C. 77, A. 915; C. 80, A. 983; C. 91, A. 1107; C. 92, A. 1115; C. 92, A. 1121; C. 93, 1198; C. 98, A. 1194; C. 98, A. 1198; C. 98, A. 1199; C. 104, A. 1306; C. 104, A. 1308; C. 104, A. 1310; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 104, A. 1756; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 105, A. 1323; C. 105, A. 1324; C. 111, A. 1414; A. 113, A. 1440; C. 116, A. 1481; C. 119, A. 1507; C. 122, A. 1530; C. 123, A. 1545; C. 134, A. 1687; C. 140, A. 1755; C. 141, A. 1785; C. 142, A. 1789; C. 142, A. 1792; C. 218, A. 3493; C. 298, A. 6438; C. 333, A. 7017; C. 336, A. 7054; C. 435, A. 8986; C. 438, A. 8986; C. 449, A. 9458; C. 460, A. 9769. Of. 2: C. 2, A. 26; C. 11, A. 114; C. 12, A. 123; C. 12, A. 126; C. 13, A. 127; C. 16, A. 165; C. 16, A. 174; C. 17, A., 181; C. 17, A. 175; C. 21, A. 222; C. 21, A. 228; C. 22, A. 236; C. 29, A. 324; C. 29, A. 328; C. 30, A. 342; C. 33, A. 373; C. 33, A. 374; C. 38, C. 421; C. 39, A. 440; C. 40, A. 452; C. 40, A. 455; C. 41, A. 463; C. 41, A. 463; C. 42, A. 469; C. 43, A. 485; C. 46, A. 504; C. 46, A. 506; C. 47, A. 519; C. 48, A. 432; C. 50, A. 550; C. 50, A. 560; C. 51, A. 570; C. 52, A. 584; C. 52, A. 585; C. 54, A. 613; C. 55, A. 621; C. 56, C. 636; C. 58, A. 650; C. 59, A. 665; C. 60, C. 682; C. 62, A. 700; C. 63, A. 705; C. 66, A. 737; C. 68, A. 758; C. 101, A. 1257; C. 135, A. 1975; C. 135, A. 1976; C. 173, A. 3098; C. 180, A. 3319.
- 31 Of. 1: C. 1, A. 5; C. 8, A. 81; C. 19, A. 180; C. 21, A. 214; C. 22, A. 233; C. 23, A. 239; C. 23, A. 253; A. 24, 255; C. 26, A. 291; C. 34, A. 401; C. 38, A. 457; C. 38, A. 459; C. 41, A. 484; C. 42, A. 486; A. 42, A. 492; C. 43, A. 505; C. 43, A. 507; C. 43, A. 572; C. 47, A. 572; C. 47, A. 576; C. 48, A. 587; C. 50, A. 609; C. 51, A. 619; C. 57, A. 608; C. 58, A. 695; C. 65, A. 784; C. 66, A. 800; C. 69, A. 828; C. 71, A. 846; C. 72, A. 859; C. 73, A. 865; C. 73, A. 866; C. 74, A. 883; C. 77, A. 913; C. 77, A. 915; C. 80, A. 983; C. 91, A. 1107; C. 92, A. 1115; C. 92, A. 1121; C. 93, 1198; C. 98, A. 1194; C. 98, A. 1198; C. 98, A. 1199; C. 104, A. 1306; C. 104, A. 1308; C. 104, A. 1310; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 104, A. 1756; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 105, A. 1323; C. 105, A. 1324; C. 111, A. 1414; A. 113, A. 1440; C. 116, A. 1481; C. 119, A. 1507; C. 122, A. 1530; C. 123, A. 1545; C. 134, A. 1687; C. 140, A. 1755; C. 141, A. 1785; C. 142, A. 1789; C. 142, A. 1792; C. 218, A. 3493; C. 298, A. 6438; C. 333, A. 7017; C. 336, A. 7054; C. 435, A. 8986; C. 438, A. 8986; C. 449, A. 9458; C. 460, A. 9769. Of. 2: C. 2, A. 26; C. 11, A. 114; C. 12, A. 123; C. 12, A. 126; C. 13, A. 127; C. 16, A. 165; C. 16, A. 174; C. 17, A., 181; C. 17, A. 175; C. 21, A. 222; C. 21, A. 228; C. 22, A. 236; C. 29, A. 324; C. 29, A. 328; C. 30, A. 342;

- C. 33, A. 373; C. 33, A. 374; C. 38, C. 421; C. 39, A. 440; C. 40, A. 452; C. 40, A. 455; C. 41, A. 463; C. 41, A. 463; C. 42, A. 469; C. 43, A. 485; C. 46, A. 504; C. 46, A. 506; C. 47, A. 519; C. 48, A. 432; C. 50, A. 550; C. 50, A. 560; C. 51, A. 570; C. 52, A. 584; C. 52, A. 585; C. 54, A. 613; C. 55, A. 621; C. 56, C. 636; C. 58, A. 650; C. 59, A. 665; C. 60, C. 682; C. 62, A. 700; C. 63, A. 705; C. 66, A. 737; C. 68, A. 758; C. 101, A. 1257; C. 135, A. 1975; C. 135, A. 1976; C. 173, A. 3098; C. 180, A. 3319.
- 32 On the conversions of “oitavas de ouro” to “reis,” see Paiva (1995: p. 226).
- 33 Of. 1: C. 1, A. 5; C. 8, A. 81; C. 19, A. 180; C. 21, A. 214; C. 22, A. 233; C. 23, A. 239; C. 23, A. 253; A. 24, 255; C. 26, A. 291; C. 34, A. 401; C. 38, A. 457; C. 38, A. 459; C. 41, A. 484; C. 42, A. 486; A. 42, A. 492; C. 43, A. 505; C. 43, A. 507; C. 43, A. 572; C. 47, A. 572; C. 47, A. 576; C. 48, A. 587; C. 50, A. 609; C. 51, A. 619; C. 57, A. 608; C. 58, A. 695; C. 65, A. 784; C. 66, A. 800; C. 69, A. 828; C. 71, A. 846; C. 72, A. 859; C. 73, A. 865; C. 73, A. 866; C. 74, A. 883; C. 77, A. 913; C. 77, A. 915; C. 80, A. 983; C. 91, A. 1107; C. 92, A. 1115; C. 92, A. 1121; C. 93, 1198; C. 98, A. 1194; C. 98, A. 1198; C. 98, A. 1199; C. 104, A. 1306; C. 104, A. 1308; C. 104, A. 1310; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 104, A. 1756; C. 104, A. 1313; C. 105, A. 1323; C. 105, A. 1324; C. 111, A. 1414; A. 113, A. 1440; C. 116, A. 1481; C. 119, A. 1507; C. 122, A. 1530; C. 123, A. 1545; C. 134, A. 1687; C. 140, A. 1755; C. 141, A. 1785; C. 142, A. 1789; C. 142, A. 1792; C. 218, A. 3493; C. 298, A. 6438; C. 333, A. 7017; C. 336, A. 7054; C. 435, A. 8986; C. 438, A. 8986; C. 449, A. 9458; C. 460, A. 9769. Of. 2: C. 2, A. 26; C. 11, A. 114; C. 12, A. 123; C. 12, A. 126; C. 13, A. 127; C. 16, A. 165; C. 16, A. 174; C. 17, A. 181; C. 17, A. 175; C. 21, A. 222; C. 21, A. 228; C. 22, A. 236; C. 29, A. 324; C. 29, A. 328; C. 30, A. 342; C. 33, A. 373; C. 33, A. 374; C. 38, C. 421; C. 39, A. 440; C. 40, A. 452; C. 40, A. 455; C. 41, A. 463; C. 41, A. 463; C. 42, A. 469; C. 43, A. 485; C. 46, A. 504; C. 46, A. 506; C. 47, A. 519; C. 48, A. 432; C. 50, A. 550; C. 50, A. 560; C. 51, A. 570; C. 52, A. 584; C. 52, A. 585; C. 54, A. 613; C. 55, A. 621; C. 56, C. 636; C. 58, A. 650; C. 59, A. 665; C. 60, C. 682; C. 62, A. 700; C. 63, A. 705; C. 66, A. 737; C. 68, A. 758; C. 101, A. 1257; C. 135, A. 1975; C. 135, A. 1976; C. 173, A. 3098; C. 180, A. 3319.
- 34 In the case of the Conceição parish, the data are available only until 1741.
- 35 We have decided to include the “coartada” women (only 17 cases) together with the “forra” women, understanding “coartação” as conditional freedom. On this phenomenon in the context of Minas Gerais, see Paiva (2022, pp. 207-254).

ONLINE RESOURCES

Family Search: www.familysearch.org
Slaves Voyages: www.slavesvoyages.com

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