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Carmen Fracchia's *"Black but Human": Slavery and Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. 256 pp.  
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English-speaking scholars have often focused exclusively on the French and British Empires when exploring the visual culture of slavery, ignoring the gap in scholarly literature on the Spanish colonies, and perhaps even more so, the Spanish metropole. In recent years, historians and literary scholars including Victor I. Stoichita, Elizabeth R. Wright, Aurelia Martín Casares, Erin Rowe, Baltasar Fra Molinero, and Debra Blumenthal have begun to lay the foundation for the study of Transatlantic Slavery and the development of visual culture in imperial Spain.<sup>1</sup> William D. Philips' influential monograph has detailed the nature of slavery in medieval and early modern Iberia, demonstrating the early presence of enslaved North African Muslims and Moriscos due to Muslim-Christian religious conflicts, and the later influx of enslaved Sub-Saharan African by the fifteenth century as a result of the Transatlantic Slave Trade.<sup>2</sup> Other scholars have produced regionally focused works on Spanish slavery, including Debra Blumenthal's book on enslaved black Africans, Muslims, and eastern Mediterraneans in Valencia.<sup>3</sup> Research from Luis Méndez Rodríguez has also explored the use of slave labour in artisanal workshops of Seville during the Spanish Golden Age (ca.1492-1659).<sup>4</sup> From an art historical perspective, Victor I. Stoichita, Kate Lowe, and Erin Rowe

have written chapters in edited books and published studies on the visual representation of black subjects in painting and sculpture, mainly as it pertains to the religious culture of the Iberian world.<sup>5</sup> However, there are virtually no English language monographs that have provided a rigorous study of slavery and visual culture in imperial Spain.

As a senior scholar of slavery, race, and visual culture in late medieval and early modern Spain, Carmen Fracchia has published several journal articles and book chapters on the urban characteristics of slavery in Spain and New Spain, the depiction of the enslaved Africans in Spanish Golden Age painting, and the life of Juan de Pareja – a formerly enslaved painter and assistant to Diego Velázquez at the Spanish and Papal courts.<sup>6</sup> *'Black but Human': Slavery and Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700* (2019; fig. 1) is her first single-authored book published in English, and the only monograph focused exclusively on visual culture of slavery in Hapsburg Spain.<sup>7</sup> The six chapters of her book are organized thematically, exploring the slave trade as a central feature in the artistic, economic, and religious developments of imperial Spain. The temporal focus of her book is established specifically between 1480 and 1700 during the Hapsburgs rule over imperial Spain, which took place shortly after the Reconquista (ca. 801 - 1492) had reshaped the geopolitical and religious landscape of the Iberian Peninsula. These two centuries would also be marked by the Portuguese and Spanish monopoly over the early Transatlantic Slave Trade, illustrating how black labour and the visual conflation between blackness and bondage was integral

to the economic and social developments of early modern Iberian societies during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Fracchia's well-illustrated book uses various genres and types of Spanish artworks, but focuses mainly on early modern oil paintings, polychrome sculptures, and wood relief carvings centred on the representation of black subjects in Iberian religious culture. Fracchia also diversifies her visual sources by using an assortment of medieval genres including sketches, prints, panel paintings, illuminated manuscripts, as well as jewelry to make her book more visually compelling and interesting. In addition to visual sources, her research is enhanced with legal documents and religious tracts, examining slavery and the visual arts against the backdrop of the Spanish Inquisition (1478 – 1834) and the Catholic Counter Reformation (ca. 1501 – 1650).

Fracchia's book falls into her typical sphere of research, which focuses on how Spanish slavery and visual culture were integral to the formation of race, religion, and intellectual thought during sixteenth and seventeenth century Spain. Central to the author's main argument is the proverb, '*Black but Human*,' that emerged in the carols and work songs of enslaved and emancipated black people, reflecting the painful experiences of slavery, while also strengthening black solidarity and resistance to inhumane bondage. (11-33) Despite Spanish efforts to commodify people of African descent, Fracchia suggests that the '*Black but Human*' proverb became a "powerful expression of the deep-rooted Afro

Hispanic belief in their own humanity, associated with the humanity of Christ, the purity of the soul and the notion that Africans' souls are white." (25)

'*Black but Human*' is strongly influenced by Victor I. Stoichita's earlier writings on the representation of the black subjects in Spanish art, which is explored in the third volume of the *Image of the Black in Western Art* (2011). In the introduction of her book, Fracchia openly acknowledges that the book is largely grounded on four out of the ten volumes of the *Image of the Black in Western Art*. (4) She focuses particularly on the second volume of the *Image*, which discusses the Castilian representation of the *Miracle of the Black Leg*, and Stoichita's chapter in the third volume where he discusses the social binary between black and white people in visual and literary sources of early modern Spain.<sup>8</sup> (4) Fracchia engages with many of the same artworks as Stoichita, including Diego Velázquez's *The Mulatress* (1619), *Adoration of the Magi* (1619), and portrait of *Juana de Austria with her Black Slave Girl* (1553) alongside textual and literary sources.

While Fracchia's selected artworks produce a relatively original and understudied visual archive of slavery in Spanish art, the sheer magnitude of artworks that are examined throughout Fracchia's monograph does not leave adequate space for detailed interpretations of the themes, issues, and iconography. Instead, the chapters serve as a broad survey of the visual culture of slavery in imperial Spain supplemented by a wide array of primary sources that contextualize early modern politics and religion in the Iberian empire. Along with

the author's frequent use of bloc quotations, the absence of interpretation renders her argumentation less nuanced from an art historical perspective. Therefore, *'Black but Human'* functions better as a historical survey of slavery in imperial Spain that is complemented by notable artworks rather than a rigorous art historical book on visual depictions of slavery in imperial Spain.

The first two chapters establish the theoretical basis of the book, describing the Spanish literary and theological discourses on the dehumanization of black people as chattel. According to Fracchia, Blackness was conflated with social inferiority and bondage; however, bondage did not necessarily denote Blackness due to Spain's ethnically diverse enslaved population. With the arrival of West Africans in Spain and the presence of enslaved people from North Africa and the Mediterranean, cities such as Seville and Valencia became some of the most ethnically diverse urban metropolises in Western Europe, rapidly developing from the cultural exchanges produced by the Mediterranean and Transatlantic Slave Trades. As a result, a small percentage of Moors, Berbers, Jews, and Turks were enslaved in imperial Spain alongside Indians from the Indian subcontinent and Indigenous people who were brought to Spain from the Americas. However, Fracchia suggests that West Africans from Guinea-Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Senegal, Gambia, and parts of Mali and Burkina composed the majority of the Spanish and Portuguese enslaved populations. (100)

Despite the cultural demographics of early modern Spain, Fracchia employs the term "Afro-Hispanic" to describe free and enslaved people of

African descent without providing an appropriate definition of the term. Many North Africans would have been considered “African,” without necessarily having darker pigmentation like sub-Saharan Africans. Likewise, centuries of racial intermixing between white Spaniards, Arabs, and Indigenous North Africans prior to and during the Reconquista resulted in Iberian people who had dark complexions but were not necessarily considered “black” according to early modern theories of race. As a result, terms like “Afro-Hispanic” can be problematic for scholars of slavery studies, especially given the racial ambiguity of early modern Spain. For instance, Fracchia echoes the contributions of John M. Lipski, a renowned linguist who has written extensively on cultural and linguistic exchanges between Africans, Spaniards, and Portuguese. Lipski argues that enslaved and emancipated black people in imperial Spain were heavily influenced by Afro-Portuguese, Andalusian, and other African languages.<sup>9</sup> As a result, the dialects and speech of enslaved black Creoles were mocked by the Spanish public to hide its Moorish and North African roots. It is therefore difficult to comprehend what constituted “blackness” and “whiteness,” especially considering Spain’s multiracial and multireligious societies and the prevalence of racial intermixing during the Reconquista period, which was only further complicated by the influx of enslaved Africans during the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

In her second chapter “What is Human about Slavery?” Fracchia describes how royal and ecclesiastical officials from the Salamanca school of thought (ca.

1500 – 1600) and the Council of Trent (1545 – 1563) rationalized racial slavery as a means of rehumanizing and assimilating enslaved Africans and Creoles into Catholicism. Slavery was the condition for black acculturation into Spanish society, and the baptism of black people was needed to “whiten” or spiritually redeem the supposedly sinful and corrupted nature of African souls. Fracchia argues that, under newly established blood purity laws, religious difference was established through skin color, privileging white Spaniards who were perceived as “Old Christians.” (25, 28, 35, 45-7, 150, 192) White Spaniards were cleansed from the “bad races,” and could occupy positions of power in contrast to Moors, Jews, and black people who were deemed “New Christians” and were relegated to slavery and subservience. Race in imperial Spain was therefore conceived across religious lines and “the categories of ‘Old Christians’ and ‘New Christians’ coexisted with the persistent belief that darkness or blackness tended to connote slavery.” (45)

Fracchia's argument is well articulated; however, she does not reference the important earlier works of decolonial theorists including Aníbal Quijano and Sylvia Wynter who have argued that the laws on Spanish blood purity were a defining moment where white Christians biologized the notion of heresy and established the foundation for the hegemonic structures of coloniality.<sup>10</sup> Fracchia does reference María Elena Martínez's work on *limpeize de sangre*; however, her argument is also indicative of important epistemological and ontological studies including Wynter's *Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom* (2003)

and *1492: A New World* (1995) in which she argues that race was a biological concept which developed from religious notions of blood purity that othered non-Christians.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the reader is left wondering why Fracchia does not reference and give credit to earlier scholars of colonialism to bolster her argument, considering the prevalence of decolonial thought in Spanish and Latin American scholarship.

'*Black but Human*' is at its strongest during the latter chapters of the book, when Fracchia explores the institution of slavery alongside the visual culture of Hapsburg Spain (ca. 1506-1700). In her fourth chapter, "Props and Costumes," she details the distinctive features of Spanish slavery, grounding her chapter on the influential work of William D. Philips.<sup>12</sup> Her chapter highlights the understudied visual culture of Spanish slavery, examining three drawings from German painter Christoph Weitz's *Trachtenbuch* (1529) that depicts enslaved Africans in Spain. Weitz's costume book depicts the dress, physical characteristics, and activities of various people from different social ranks and races in Spain and other parts of Europe, including runaway enslaved Africans. (fig. 2) Moreover, Fracchia notes several Spanish newspapers including *Diario de Madrid* and *Gaceta de Madrid* as potential archives for new studies on slavery and visual culture. In these newspapers, enslaved black people were advertised as domestic servants, and were described using important details such as age, ethnicity, status, price, name of the enslaver, and transaction address. Thus, Fracchia's sources are an untapped archive which could lead to further studies including, but not limited

to, the visual culture of enslaved dress in imperial Spain, enslaved people and runaways in Spanish visual arts, and the nature of slave sale advertisements in the Spanish Empire.

It is also worth noting that her book chapters would have benefitted from further reorganization and clarification. Although Fracchia's chapters are organized thematically, it is hard to decipher the exact themes of each chapter because they lack structured paragraphs, clear arguments, and descriptive subtitles. She provides a considerable amount of information and historical context in her chapters; however, at times, she seemingly does not know how to organize and articulate her points effectively. For instance, her last chapter demonstrates the subordinated position of African children in Spanish court portraiture and the ways in which Diego Velázquez and Juan de Pareja reinscribed humanity to enslaved Africans by defying the conventions of aristocratic portraiture. Although Fracchia alludes to the juxtaposition between racist court portraits and the emancipatory works of Pareja and Velázquez, her argument is not clearly articulated, making the reader wonder why her chapter is named "The Image of Freedom." Furthermore, her fourth chapter, "Props and Costumes," would have served better at the beginning of the book since it provides a detailed contextual analysis of slavery in imperial Spain for scholars who are less informed about the country's imperial history and ties to Transatlantic Slavery. In the chapter, Fracchia notes that enslaved black people in Spain performed urban and rural labour, working in domestic households, public

granaries, soap factories, plantations, mines, and on farms. (111-15) She even exhibits instances where enslaved people performed artisanal labour as painters, sculptors, silversmiths, and glassmakers. (164) Here, Fracchia does not openly acknowledge the influence of William D. Philips' monograph on slavery in medieval and early modern Iberia. Although she cites his work multiple times throughout her book, and specifically in her fourth chapter, Fracchia should have expressed the importance of Philips monograph to the study of slavery in medieval and early modern Iberia. Fracchia's monograph would have also benefited from a more meticulous assessment of the gendered realities of urban slavery imperial Spain, particularly with respect to the high rates of concubinage, miscegenation, and sexual coercion among enslavers and domestic labourers in households, which has been explored in Philips' influential monograph.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, Fracchia's work could contribute to the growth of slavery studies. She has already written comparative scholarship on the nature of urban and domestic slavery in Spain and New Spain with a particular focus on the visual representations of enslaved and emancipated people in metropolitan areas such as Seville and Mexico City.<sup>14</sup> She has argued that the religious and topographical images of enslaved black people in urban areas of Spain seem to concentrate on ethnic tensions between Africans and Europeans, whereas New Spanish depictions demonstrate coexistence between enslaved and emancipated black people and the rest of the population in urban areas. I believe that other scholars of slavery and visual culture could also use her book

as a basis of comparison, exploring urban aspects of slavery and visual culture in imperial Spain alongside similar slave minority sites in Europe, Canada, or the American North.

*'Black but Human'* successfully captures the importance of the Transatlantic Slavery in imperial Spain, most notably through its examination of paintings and drawings created by northern European artists who were circulating the Spanish kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. Flemish miniaturist, Joris Hoefnagel, and his *View of Seville* (1573) becomes one of the central points of analysis of Fracchia's fourth chapter, demonstrating how "the economic value of the enslaved Africans and their descendants were central to early modern Spain." (91) Fracchia suggests that *View of Seville* illustrates Spain's relationship with the Transatlantic Slave Trade, which was previously articulated in her article on urban slavery.<sup>15</sup> The painting's decorative border depicts two chained African men on a large ship guarded by exotic animals, creatures, and flowers, which are meant to represent the newfound fauna and flora from the Spanish colonies of *America, Dominica, and Hispania Nova*. (fig. 3) Fracchia argues that the juxtaposition between the chained Africans and the fauna and flora demonstrates Hoefnagel's fascination with cabinets of curiosities. More importantly, the iconography depicts the enslaved men "as chained exotic animals that belong to the precious collections of Hapsburg Spain rather than as human beings." (94) The enslaved black Creole who occupies a central position in Hoefnagel's *View of Seville* also "shares his isolation with the captured Africans,"

highlighting the process of acculturation into a Spanish society where slavery and enslaved people are “taken as natural features of the urban landscape.” (85)

The richness and depth of the Fracchia's argument is clearly apparent in her analysis of Hoefnagel's landscape of Seville. However, she could have strengthened her argument by referencing art historians such as Geoff Quilley and Charmaine A. Nelson who have written extensively on the relationship between geography, race, and landscapes paintings.<sup>16</sup> Nelson has argued that “the racialization of geography parallels or is bound to the racialization of populations and [...] served the imperial ends of the colonizer who manipulates the perception of foreignness or indigeneity to suit their own imperial agenda.”<sup>17</sup> Although Spain was not considered a colonial settlement, Fracchia notes that slave labour was nevertheless integral to the imperial fabric of Spanish cities such as Seville, which produced sugar cane shortly after the collapse of the slave markets and sugar plantations of the Mediterranean. The emergence of the plantation system in fifteenth-century Spain became an intermediary economic solution before plantations were eventually introduced to the colonies, a phenomenon that deserves further attention in slavery scholarship. Hoefnagel's drawing clearly positions black people as an integral source of profit to the emerging capitalist systems of early modern Spain. Furthermore, Hoefnagel's painting manipulates the concept of foreignness to justify Spain's imperial domination of Indigenous lands and its economic exploitation of Africans. Thus, there are many important themes in *View of Seville* that are not articulated in

Fracchia's book which could highlight the complex relationship between race, geography, and the landscape paintings of imperial Spain.

The fifth chapter entitled "Commodification" is perhaps the most interesting of the monograph. In this chapter, Fracchia examines Spanish visual depictions of the medieval *Miracle of the Black Leg* (1574), which expands on her book chapter in *One Leg in the Grave Revisited: The Miracle of the Transplantation of the Black Leg by the Saints Cosmas and Damian* (2013).<sup>18</sup> She describes the story of the Christian martyrs, Cosmas and Damion, who miraculously cured a man by amputating his diseased leg and transplanting a black leg from the corpse of an Ethiopian man. Whereas medieval representations of the miracle depicted the corpse of an African man whose leg was grafted onto the torso of a white body, Castilian visual representations of the miracle depict a living Black subject whose is mutilated to save the white patient. According to Fracchia, Spanish representations of the *Miracle of the Black Leg* such as Isidro de Villoldo's polychrome relief can be taken as an allegory of the cruelty of Transatlantic Slavery. (fig. 4)

The author argues that one key element in all Spanish depictions of the miracle is the "indifference shown by the saints and the European verger towards the mutilated Ethiopian/Moor corpse/Afro Hispanic man," who instead focus their attention on the well-being of the white patient. (148) This indifference towards brutality against black people was common theme of slavery in Spain and the rest of the transatlantic world, where local police forces and slaveowners actively

brutalised enslaved black people. (148) Depictions of the mutilated African man in the *Miracle* referred to the methods of control that enslavers and the local police force – known as the Holy Brotherhood (*Santa Hermandad*) —used to regulate the social behavior of the enslaved population. Mutilation, branding, and flogging, among other methods of torture, were commonly used to punish and prevent enslaved people from escaping their enslavers. (148-53) Fracchia also contextualizes her analysis of the relief sculpture with literary accounts that demonstrate a powerful relationship between slave owning ecclesiastical officials who were patrons to Isidro de Villoldo, further demonstrating how the visual culture of slavery pervaded the religious culture of early modern Spain. (147) This chapter therefore acts as a critical intervention in the realm of slavery studies that demonstrates a newfound understanding of slavery and medical violence in which black bodies were brutalized and objectified to save white lives.

In her sixth and final chapter, “The Image of Freedom,” Fracchia builds on her chapter from the edited book *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World* (2013), where she examines the construction of subjectivity and the emergence of a “slave subject” in Spanish portraiture.<sup>19</sup> She first explores how Black children were exploited in Spanish portraiture as a way of articulating the social position of royalty and the power of imperial Spain in portraits such as *Juana de Austria with her Black Slave Girl* (1553) and *Charles VII, King of Naples and future Charles III of Spain, with his black page* (1737). Once again, Fracchia references a wide array of visual sources that lay the foundation for future studies on slave portraiture.

However, she does not acknowledge the key visual aspects of the portraits. For instance, the noticeable differences in height between the enslaved subjects who are shorter in stature compared to their white enslaver counterparts, as depicted in the portraits of Charles VII and Juana de Austria. In both portraits, the enslaved subjects are looking up at the royal figures as a sign of deference and respect. In contrast, the white sitters stand tall and command the viewer's gaze through their compositional presence, dress, and postures, demonstrating the possessive relationship between enslaved subjects and their enslavers. (fig. 5, fig 6) In the portrait of Juana de Austria, this possessive and supposedly benevolent relationship is further articulated by the princess's white hand that rests on the head of the black enslaved girl.

Victor I. Stoichita has examined this exact portrait, describing the movement of the princess's hand as a codified and calculated demonstration of her authority over the enslaved subject.<sup>20</sup> By juxtaposing a beautiful white lady with a supposedly ugly black body, Stoichita also argues that this comparison lends luster to whiteness through the debasement of Blackness.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, Kirk Savage's ground-breaking monograph *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves* (2018) could also have bolstered Fracchia's analysis by demonstrating how the kneeling position of the enslaved boy in the portrait of Charles VII operated as the conventional slave posture of abasement and obeisance. As Savage has articulated, the kneeling position reinforced the authority of the white sitter and "upheld the power relations of slavery."<sup>22</sup>

Several other authors should have also been mentioned, which would have effectively transformed Fracchia's monograph into a rigorous art historical study.<sup>23</sup> At multiple points in her book, Fracchia cites chapters from *Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe* (2012) and *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (2005); however, she does not always articulate important points from these studies that could bolster her art historical analysis, nor does she openly acknowledge and credit the authors who have written about the same artworks or the general study of slavery in imperial Spain including Baltasar Fra Molinero, Kate Lowe, Debra Blumenthal, and Annemarie Jordan.<sup>24</sup> For instance, Annemarie Jordan has argued that several visual elements in the portrait of Juana de Austria underscore the imaging of empire and Portugal's international reach under the Hapsburgs.<sup>25</sup> More specifically, the princess is depicted holding an Oriental fan from Ryukyu Island in the Japanese archipelago, which was accessorized in the Portuguese court long before it was fashionable at other European courts. The enslaved girl is therefore exoticized alongside the Oriental fan "represent[ing] Asia, the eastern half of Portuguese empire, while the black slave girl, as Africa, represents the western half."<sup>26</sup> Similar arguments have been articulated by Beth F. Tobin, Charmaine Nelson, and Angela Rosenthal who should have been cited and credited in Fracchia's book due to their ground-breaking influence on the visual culture of slavery in the Atlantic world. Nelson and Tobin have argued that black children became a strategic demonstration of colonial reach, wealth, privilege, and luxury.<sup>27</sup> They were often dressed in exoticizing garb and livery and

depicted alongside imported objects and riches to emphasize their foreignness.<sup>28</sup> Rosenthal has also emphasized that black children eventually emerged in European aristocratic paintings where they were dwarfed, effeminized, and animalized, acting as loyal pets and objects of leisure and luxury for the wealthy elite.<sup>29</sup>

Fracchia's strongest argument is explored at the end of chapter six where she examines the artworks of renowned Spanish court painter Diego Velázquez and his enslaved sitter, Juan de Pareja, who also became a painter shortly after he was manumitted by Velázquez. (174) In this final chapter, Fracchia suggests that the black subjects depicted in the paintings of Velázquez and Pareja radically differ from the portrayals in royal portraiture. She notes that Velázquez's decision to use Pareja as his portrait sitter undermined the artistic conventions of early modern portraiture, which were restricted for the Spanish elite. (161) In the portrait of *Juan de Pareja* (1650), the enslaved sitter is portrayed as a Spanish gentleman, instead of an enslaved man, wearing a dark grey velvet double and coat with a white collar. (fig. 7) The choice to adopt an enslaved subject into the "restrictive genre of portraiture [...] magnifies the effect of Pareja's sense of humanity and worth." (177) Likewise, Fracchia argues that Juan de Pareja challenged Spanish ideologies of Black impurity in his *Calling of Saint Matthew* (1661; fig. 8). The *Calling of Saint Matthew* demonstrated Pareja's assimilation into Spanish society not as a "New Christian," but as an "Old Christian," whose racial identity was tied to the Biblical Ethiopians "as a process of liberation for Black

people." (188) Fracchia ultimately demonstrates that these selected artworks are particularly important in the discipline of art history because they not only exhibit the presence of enslaved painters in early modern Spain, but also highlight the visual archives of resistance where black painters defied bondage and social marginalization through artistic production.

On the other hand, I do not completely agree that the '*Black but human*' proverb was a liberating and emancipating message for enslaved black people, especially as it relates to the depiction of Pareja in the *Calling of Saint Matthew*. I agree that Pareja's attempt at visually associating himself with Biblical Ethiopians in the *Calling* became a liberating message for enslaved black people who were racial oppressed in a society fixated with Christian religious culture. However, Fracchia also argues that the whitening of Pareja's skin and Europeanization of his features in the *Calling* symbolized his spiritually redemption as a newly emancipated man, allowing the formerly enslaved painter to dissociate himself from the persecution of black Muslims who were also considered "New Christians" (188-9). She suggests that "whitening the self therefore does not imply the achievement of freedom by the rejection of his African roots. It signifies the adoption of the currency of freedom in imperial Spain." (189) In my opinion, this statement reveals much about how the notion of black subordination and white hegemony was deeply engrained in Spain at an epistemological and ontological level. Fracchia's argument demonstrates a conflation between whiteness, purity of soul, and freedom, which by extension, associates blackness with bondage,

sin, and corruption. In this case, the “currency of freedom” was one’s proximity to whiteness, reinforcing the idea that white complexion and European features embodied the ideal conception of humanity, and that the rejection of blackness, both spiritually and physically, was necessary to ultimately achieve spiritual salvation and social assimilation in Spanish society.

Ultimately, *‘Black but Human’* provides a challenging but useful read for graduate students of art history but is most appropriate for scholars of early modern Spanish art and Transatlantic Slavery who could produce more important comparative scholarship on the nature of slavery and visual culture in Europe and the Atlantic colonies. Occasionally, Fracchia’s monograph acts as a rearticulation of her previous scholarship in edited books and journal articles. She borrows and incorporates a considerable amount of her past scholarship including her work on urban and domestic slavery in Spain, Hoefnagel’s *View of Seville*, Castilian depictions of *the Miracle of the Black Leg*, and the lives and artworks of Diego Velázquez and Juan de Pareja, most notably *Kitchen Maid with Supper at Emmaus or The Mulata* (ca.1618), *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, and Velázquez’s famous portrait of *Juan de Pareja*. Nevertheless, *‘Black but Human’* is the only monography on slavery in Hapsburg Spain, foregrounding the study of slavery and visual culture in the Spanish Empire, and accordingly, it acts as an important point of reference for future scholarship on this region and topic including the recently published book *Juan de Pareja: An Afro-Hispanic Painter in the Age of Velázquez* (2023).

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<sup>1</sup> See scholarly works such as Aurelia Marfín Casares, "Free and freed black Africans in Granada in the time of the Spanish Resistance," Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, eds. Thomas F. Earle and Kate Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Elizabeth R. Wright, The Epic of Juan Latino: Dilemmas of Race and Religion in Renaissance Spain (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016); Baltasar Fra Molinero, "Juan Latino and his Racial Difference," Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, eds. Thomas F. Earle and Kate Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> William D. Phillips, Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

<sup>3</sup> Debra Blumenthal, Enemies and Familiars: Slavery and Mastery in Fifteenth Century-Valencia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015).

<sup>4</sup> Luis Méndez Rodríguez and Jeremy Roe, "Slavery and the Guild in Golden Age Painting in Seville," Art in Translation vol 7. no 1 (2015): pp. 123–39.

<sup>5</sup> For more scholarship on the visual culture of slavery and race in Spain, see Victor I. Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art: Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," The Image of the Black in Western Art: From "Age of Discovery" to the Age of Abolition, vol 3., eds. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates (Cambridge: Harvard University Press); Erin K. Rowe, Black Saints in Early Modern Global Catholicism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Kate Lowe, "The Lives of African Slaves and People of African Descent in Renaissance Europe," Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe, ed. Joaneath Spice (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2013); Erin K. Rowe, "Visualizing Black Sanctity in Early Modern Spanish Polychrome Sculpture," Envisioning Others: Race, Color, and the Visual in Iberia and Latin America, ed. Pamela A. Patton (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> Fracchia has written extensively on the urban and domestic characteristics of slavery in imperial Spain and New Spain. She has also focused much of her research on the life and paintings of Diego Velázquez and his formerly enslaved sitter, Juan de Pareja, who also became a painter shortly after his manumission. For more of her scholarship, see Carmen Fracchia, "Picturing the Afro-Hispanic struggle for freedom in early modern Spain," Post/Colonialism and the Pursuit of Freedom in the Black Atlantic, ed. Jordan Branche (Abingdon: Routledge, 2018); Carmen Fracchia, "Constructing the black slave in early modern Spanish painting," Others and Outcasts in Early Modern Europe: Picturing the Social Margins, ed. Tom Nichols (Abingdon: Ashgate, 2007); Carmen Fracchia, "(Lack of) visual representation of black slaves in Spanish golden age painting," Journal of Iberian and Latin American Studies, vol 10. No. 1 (2004): pp. 23-34; Carmen Fracchia and H. Macartney, "The fall into oblivion of the works of the slave painter Juan de Pareja," Art in Translation, vol 4. no. 2 (2012); pp.163-184; Carmen Fracchia, "The place of African slaves in early modern Spain," The Problem and Place of the Social Margins, eds. Andrew Spicer and Jane L. Stevens Crawshaw (Oxford: Routledge, 2016).

<sup>7</sup> I have not been able to verify whether there is a lack of Spanish scholarship on slavery and visual culture in imperial Spain since I am not well versed in the Spanish language. This review can therefore only comment on English language scholarship that has been produced on this topic.

<sup>8</sup> Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art." She also uses Jean M. Massing's work on Christoph Weiditz and his costume book. See Jean M. Massing, 'Weiditz and Costume Books,' The Image of the Black in Western Art: From the 'Age of Discovery' to the Age of Abolition: Europe

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and the World Beyond, eds. David Bindman and Henry Louis Gates Jr. (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2011).

<sup>9</sup> John M. Lipski, "Golden Age 'Black Spanish' Existence and Coexistence," Afro-Hispanic Review, vol 5, no. 1 (1986), p. 12. For more of Lipski's work, see John M. Lipski, A History of Afro-Hispanic Language: Five Centuries, Five Continents (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); John M. Lipski, The Speech of the Negros Congos of Panama (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins Pub, 1989); John M. Lipski, Afro-Bolivian Spanish (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> For more scholarship on decolonial theory, see Sylvia Wynter, "Unsettling the Coloniality of Being/Power/Truth/Freedom: Towards the Human, After Man, Its Overrepresentation—An Argument." CR: The New Centennial Review vol 3, no. 3 (2003): 257-337; Sylvia Wynter, "1492: A New World," Race, Discourse, and the Origin of the Americas: A New World View eds. Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex M. Nettleford (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Aníbal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." International Sociology, vol 15, no. 2 (2000): pp. 215–32.

<sup>11</sup> For Martínez's influential work on Spanish blood purity laws, see María E. Martínez, Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

<sup>12</sup> Phillips, Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, pp. 103-121.

<sup>13</sup> See Phillips, Slavery in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia, pp. 72-5, 85-90.

<sup>14</sup> For more of Fracchia's comparative scholarship, please see Carmen Fracchia, "The Urban Slave in Spain and New Spain" The Slave in European Art from Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem, eds. Elizabeth McGrath and Jean M. Massing (London: The Warburg Institute, 2012); Carmen Fracchia, "Depicting the Iberian African in new Spain," Mexico 1680: Intellectual and Cultural Life at the Apogee of the Barroco de Indias, eds. Jean Andrews and Alejandro Coroleu (Bristol: HiPlam, 2007).

<sup>15</sup> See Fracchia, "The Urban slave in Spain and New Spain."

<sup>16</sup> Geoff Quilley, "Pastoral Plantations: The Slave Trade and the Representation of British Colonial Landscape in the Late Eighteenth-Century," An Economy of Colour: Visual Culture and the Atlantic World, 1660–1830, eds. Geoff Quilley and Kay Dian Kriz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Charmaine A. Nelson, "Representing the Enslaved African in Montreal," Slavery, Geography, and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica (London, UK: Routledge/Taylor & Francis, June 2016), p. 117.

<sup>18</sup> See Carmen Fracchia, "Spanish Depictions of the Miracle of The Black Leg," One Leg in the Grave Revisited: The Miracle of the Transplantation of the Black Leg by the Saints Cosmas and Damian, ed. Kees Zimmerman (Groningen: Barkhuis, 2013).

<sup>19</sup> Carmen Fracchia, "Metamorphoses of the early self in Early Modern Spain: Slave Portraiture and the Case of Juan de Pareja," Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World, eds. Agnes I. Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

<sup>20</sup> Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art," p. 198.

<sup>21</sup> Stoichita, "The Image of the Black in Spanish Art," p. 198; Angela Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture: Blushing and the Legibility of Whiteness in Eighteenth-Century British Portraiture," Art History, vol. 27, no 4 (2004), p. 569.

<sup>22</sup> Kirk Savage, Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America, new ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), p, 106.

<sup>23</sup> Pioneering works in the discipline of art history should have also been cited in her book. For instance, see Marcus Wood, Blind Memory: Visual Representations of Slavery in England and America (New York: Routledge, 2000); Kay Dian Kriz, Slavery, Sugar, and the Culture of Refinement: Picturing the British West Indies, 1700-1840 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). Charmaine A. Nelson, Representing the Black Female Subject in Western Art (Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2010).

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<sup>24</sup> Kate Lowe, "The Lives of African Slaves and People of African Descent in Renaissance Europe" Revealing the African Presence in Renaissance Europe, ed. Joaneath Spice (Baltimore: Walters Art Museum, 2013); Debra Blumenthal, "La Casa dels Negres: Black African Solidarity in Late-Medieval Valencia" Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, eds. Thomas F. Earle and Kate Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 178.

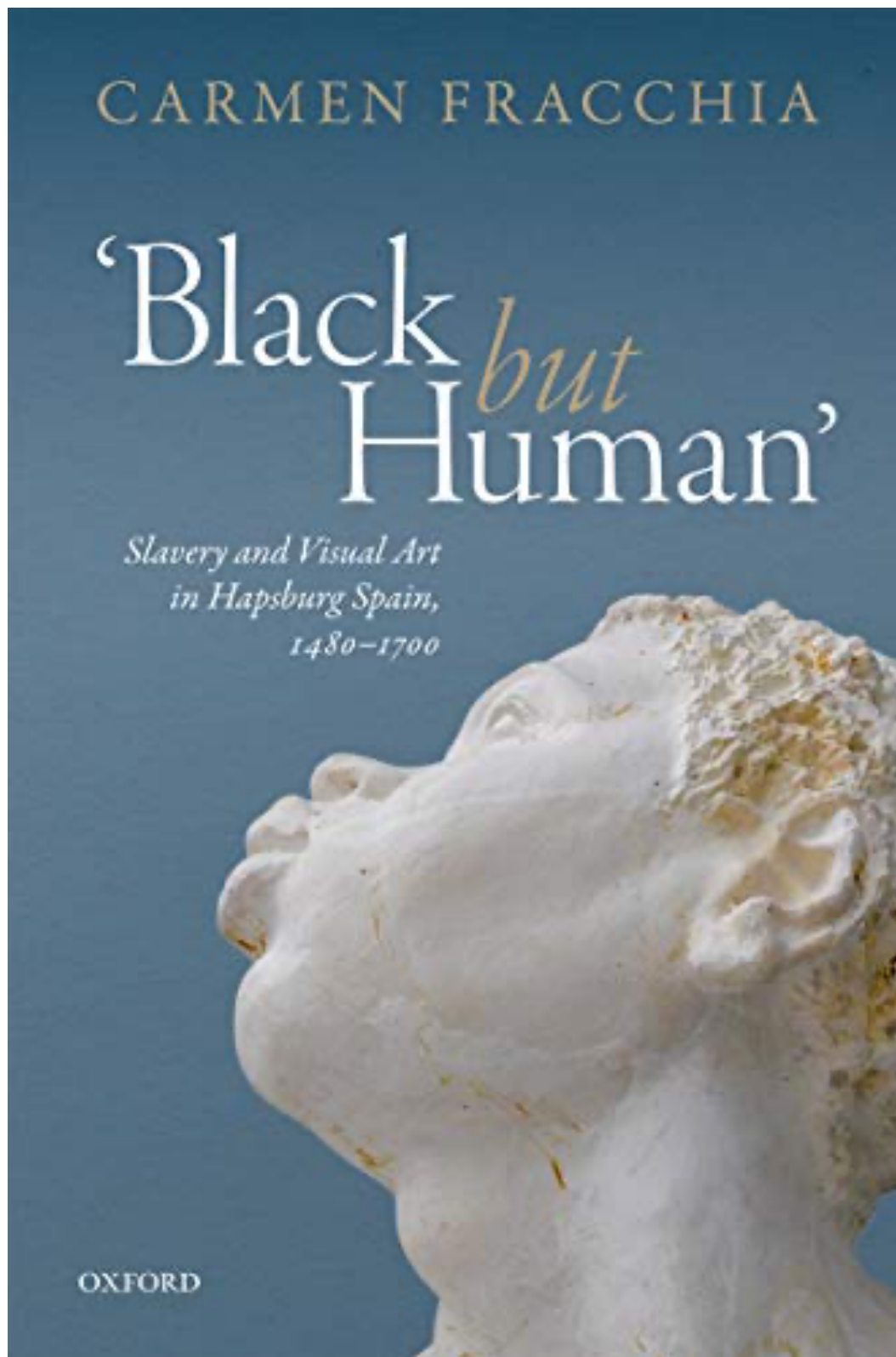
<sup>25</sup> Annemarie Jordan, "Images of Empire: Slaves in the Lisbon household and court of Catherine of Austria" Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, eds. Thomas F. Earle and Kate Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 178.

<sup>26</sup> Jordan, "Images of Empire," p. 178.

<sup>27</sup> Luxury can be defined as the money and consumption of useless commodities generated by overseas trade, colonial ventures, and the slave trade. This included sugar, tea, tobacco, China, silk, ivory, and coffee. For more information, see Beth F. Tobin, "Bringing the Empire Home: The Black Servant in Domestic Portraiture," Picturing Imperial Power: Colonial Subjects in Eighteenth-Century British Painting, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 29-30, 36.

<sup>28</sup> See Tobin, "Bringing the Empire Home," p. 27; Charmaine A. Nelson, "Slavery, Childhood, and the Racialized Education of Black Girls," The Education of African-Canadian Children: Critical Perspectives, eds. Awad Ibrahim and Ali A. Abdi (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2016), p. 84; Nelson, Representing the Black Female, p. 48.

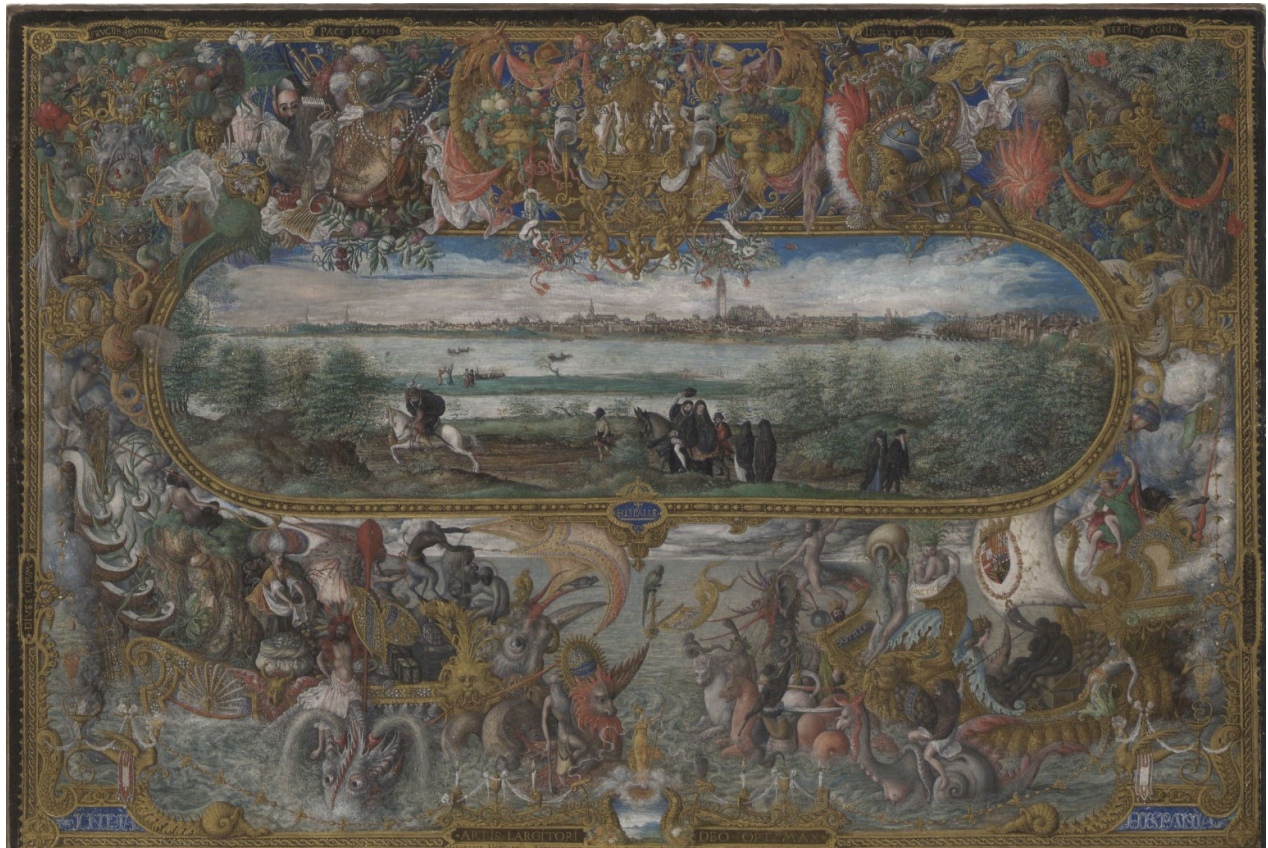
<sup>29</sup> This convention was established by European royalty and subsequently mimicked by aristocrats. See Rosenthal, "Visceral Culture," p. 569.



**Figure 1:** Carmen Fracchia, "Book Cover," print, 23.3 x 15.9 cm, 'Black but Human': *Slavery and Visual Arts in Hapsburg Spain, 1480-1700*, 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).



**Figure 2:** Christoph Weiditz, "Sklave," *Trachtenbuch* (1529), p. 59, Pencil on paper, Germanische National Museum, Nuremberg, Germany.



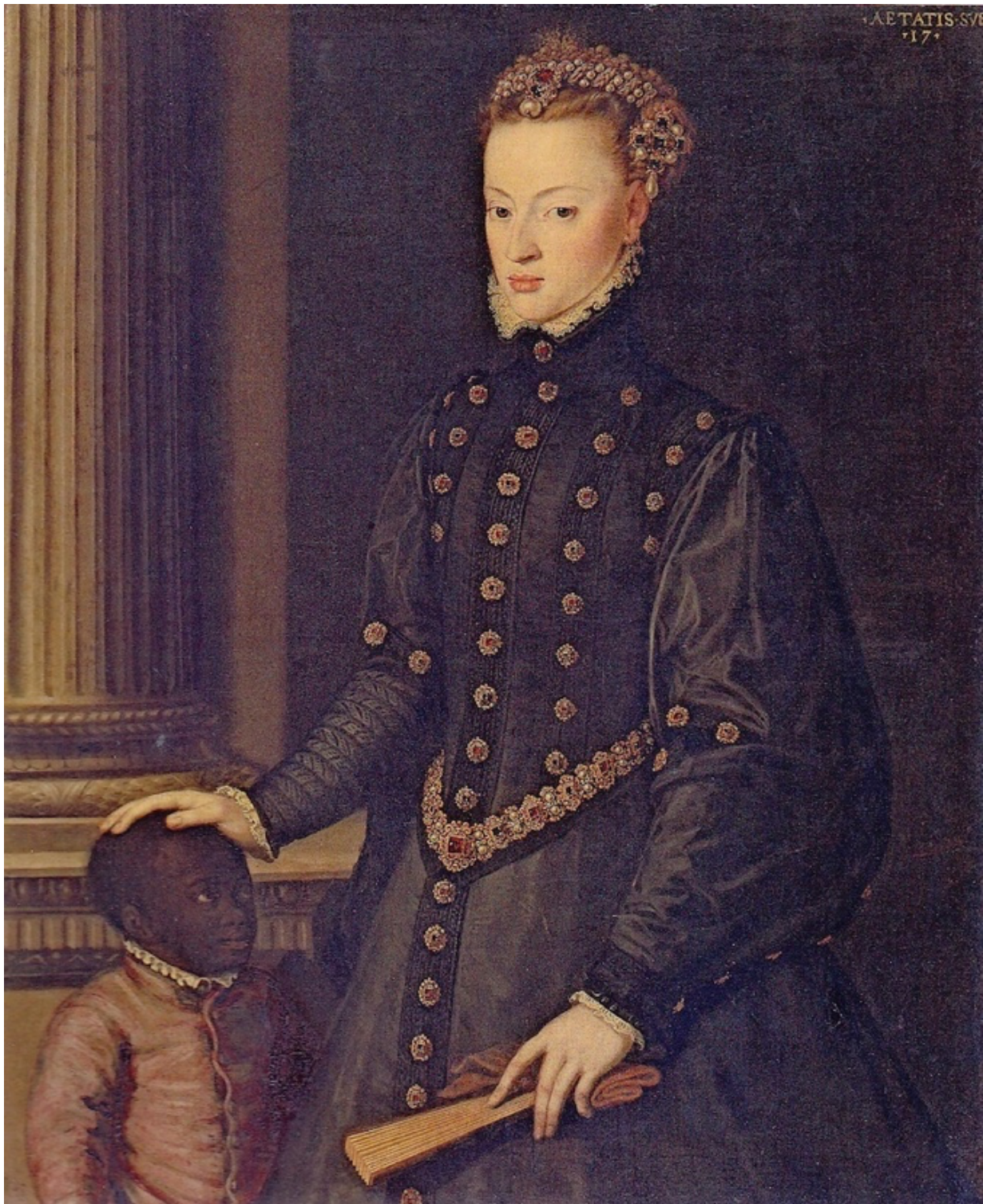
**Figure 3:** Joris Hoefnagel, *View of Seville* (1573), Watercolour, Bodycolor, and Gold Paint Mounted on a Panel, 27.1 x 32.3 cm, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier Cabinet des Estampes, Brussels, Belgium.



**Figure 4:** Isidro de Villoldo, *The Miracle of the Black Leg* (1574), Polychromed Wood, Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid, Spain.



**Figure 5:** Il Molinaretto (Giovanni Maria delle Piane), Charles VII, King of Naples (future Charles III of Spain), with his Black page (1737), Oil on Canvas, Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Spain.



**Figure 6:** Cristovão de Morais, Juana de Austria with her Black Slave Girl (1553), Oil on Canvas, 99 x 81 cm, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium.



**Figure 7:** Diego Velázquez, Juan de Pareja (1650), Oil on Canvas, 83.1 x 69.9 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York, USA.



**Figure 8:** Juan de Pareja, The Calling of Saint Matthew (1661), Oil on Canvas, 225 x 325 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, New York, USA.