



Commodity of the Silk Roads: The Production and Trade of Neutered Slaves in Early Modern India

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Abstract

Neutered slaves wielded significant influence as mediators within the socio-political framework of the Islamic courts and, as such, were regarded as valuable assets. Yet the institution of slavery continues to be a frequently neglected facet in Silk Road trade scholarship, which predominantly emphasises the contributions of merchants, leaders, and aristocrats in religious and cultural exchanges. Focusing on the historical practices of castration, the role of eunuchs at the Mughal courts, as well as their demand and availability in the Silk Road context, this research explores the connection between slaves, discipleship, and trade. It argues that slavery may have been instrumental in sustaining India's political and economic growth during the early modern period. By framing neutered slaves as both products and powerbrokers of trade that shaped Mughal society, it establishes a new platform for understanding the relationship between the institution of slavery and the historic third gender, which may help address contemporary challenges related to minority groups, identity and inclusion.

Keywords: Silk Road trade; Eunuchs; Tritiya-Prakriti community; Mughal Empire; Slavery

Introduction

While historical accounts highlight the prevalence of slavery during the Mughal period (1526–1556), it is doubtful that the Muslim rulers introduced the practice to India. In fact, it is more likely that the history of commodifying people on the Indian subcontinent aligns with the existence of slavery itself. 'Edicts of Ashoka' (circa 3rd century BCE), for instance, delineated the responsibilities owed to slaves and wage labourers in Greek and Aramaic (Olivelle 2023). The edicts subsequently enacted a prohibition on the slave trade within the Mauryan Empire and outlined the obligations of monastic communities to provide sustenance, clothing, and medical care in exchange for their labour (ibid.). The roots of ancient slavery, however, are often contested

scholarly subject, plagued with the varying interpretations of key terms related to servitude and labour. Ancient Indian texts, including the Arthashastra, Manusmriti, and Mahabharata, for instance, include overlapping social considerations regarding labour and community responsibilities where 'dāsa' and 'dāsyu' can refer to both servants and slaves (Sharma 1990).

While centuries before the establishment of a formal slave trade, wars and famines probably provided a platform for a steady supply of slaves in India (Major 2012), the institution of slavery became more distinct from the 8th century onward, under the Umayyad commander Muhammad bin Qasim, who reportedly enslaved tens of thousands of Hindu civilians and soldiers during his military campaigns (Levi 2002). This practice of capturing prisoners of war instead of killing them outright arguably contributed to the

development of large-scale slave markets (ibid.). The enslavement of various populations, including Hindus, Buddhists, Christians, and Shi'a Muslims, was widespread within the military forces of later Muslim kingdoms in Central Asia, too (Witzenrath 2015). Historical accounts from the Delhi Sultanate (1206–1526), for instance, describe an abundance of low-cost Hindu slaves exported to Central and West Asia, many of whom were forcibly converted to Islam as part of a strategic initiative to acquire war booty (ibid.). Sultan Firuz Tughluq was documented to have owned 180,000 slaves, including around 12,000 skilled artisans (Moosvi 2003). Balban's 13th-century military campaign in Ranthambore also reportedly defeated a Hindu army and captured individuals, beyond computation (Lal 1994). During Timur's late 14th-century invasion of Delhi, a significant number of skilled slaves were further reserved for the construction of the Bibi Khanum Mosque in Samarkand, highlighting the use of captured Hindus in monumental architecture (Foltz 1996). The human trade continued well into the 16th century, with Babur describing profits reaching 300–400% (Bano 2000) and the frontier towns of Kabul and Qandahar emerging as major hubs for the caravan slave trade (ibid.).

The Indian Sultanates' state-building efforts led to the enslavement of people along maritime trade routes, too. Many of these individuals were castrated and brought to Indian royal households as highly prized eunuchs (Junné 2016). Consequently, their supply to Muslim courts was directly linked to the success of the slave trade. However, it is worth considering whether the phrase 'eunuch' encompassed the broader institution of neutered slaves in Islamic India. While in modern times, it generally refers to a man who has lost the capacity for or chosen to abstain from sexual intercourse and procreation (Kuefler 2013), historic eunuchs (from the Greek word for 'bed'; Frazer 2022) often served diverse functions, from guarding aristocratic bedchambers to acting as personal attendants to both men and women (ibid.). For example, Mughal eunuchs (also known as *khwājasarās*) often wore male attire, including turbans, and were employed in male roles, though their conception of manhood was seen as distinct or inferior (O'Hanlon 1999). Meanwhile, another mainstream religiously oriented group that practised self-

castration likely coexisted alongside the Mughal *khwājasarās*. The Tiritiya-Prakriti, devotees of the Hindu goddess Bahuchara Mata, have been documented as a third gender community since the 2nd century BC (Hurteau 2013) and also may have worked in *khwājasarā* capacity. Like eunuchs, their identities were often characterised by sexual impotence, which may have led to overlapping social roles.

As a result, this study employs the term 'neutered slaves' to refer collectively to both eunuch and Tiritiya-Prakriti individuals. The scholarship focuses on the connection between slaves, discipleship, and trade in early modern India from 1526 to 1857. It first explores castration as a criterion for initiating this type of slavery. It then examines the roles of neutered staff in Mughal courts. Finally, it explores the slave trade within the context of the Silk Roads. The study posits that the supply of castrated staff in Islamic courts depended on the trade of this type of slavery, making neutered slaves both products and powerbrokers of the trade routes.

Historical Practices of Castration

Human neutering has origins in various ancient civilisations, with Chinese records referencing it as early as the Shang dynasty (c. 1765–1222 BC; Tsai 1991). There are indications that castrated men also served as courtiers in the Neo-Assyrian Empire (934–610 BC), though this is a subject of ongoing debate (N'Shea 2019). Evidence of castrated individuals extends further to Ancient Egypt, the Persian Empire, and throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Erlinger 2016). Notably, castrated servants rose to prominence as influential figures during the Late Roman Empire and in Christian Byzantium. Here, young boys were often castrated for religious service in churches and temples, frequently with their families' consent (ibid.). Castration before puberty was intended to create individuals whose physical and psychological traits differed significantly from typical men (Ringrose 2007). Without the changes driven by testosterone during adolescence, these individuals retained childlike characteristics such as a lack of facial hair, a clear complexion, and a fat distribution pattern similar to those of women (ibid.).

Many societies also distinguished between 'natural eunuchs'- those who chose to live celibate lives regardless of age or gender,

individuals who were born with underdeveloped sexual organs or rare genetic conditions, and those whose state was induced through various forms of surgical intervention (Stevenson 1995). Their roles consequently diverged too; some were exploited sexually, while others were designated for wide-ranging servitude (ibid.). Castration practices also differed significantly across cultures and periods, and included methods such as inhibiting testosterone, removing the testicles, or complete genital removal to achieve a more feminine appearance (Tracy 2013). The 'Three slits and a stroke' technique in ancient China, for instance, involved incisions in the scrotum to extract the testicles and severing the blood vessels with a stroke (Morgentaler and Hanafy 2024). Similarly, the Byzantine 'castrati' technique encompassed removing only the testicles, leaving the penis intact (Siegel 2021).

Islamic castration often involved the removal of both the testicles and penis, with the aim of eliminating sexual desires and potential indiscretions (Hahm, 2010). The procedure was not only a prerequisite for slaves serving in the inner Muslim courts, but it also increased their monetary value on the trade market (Clarence-Smith 2006). While the Quran does not explicitly reference castration, the term 'mukhannathun' (those who resemble women; (Gul *et al.* 2021) appears in Hadith literature, though without any clear link to castration practices (ibid.). It is, however, possible that Islamic rulers associated castrated servants with 'fitna' (temptation; Berkey 2012) and thus treated them with honour and respect (ibid.). The position of neutered slaves in Islamic courts may have also been influenced by an emphasis on celibacy within certain Islamic thought traditions, including celibacy as a component of ascetic practice among Sufis (Bashir 2011) and as a form of religious and social protest among antinomian Sufi groups during the later medieval period (Bashir 2011). The same author further suggests that Mughal court servants were associated with guarding the Prophet's Tomb and the Ka'aba, based on historical accounts documenting the tomb being overseen by a group of 40 eunuchs from the mid-12th century (Abbas and Pir 2016). This implies that the Mughal rulers may have viewed castrated staff as having unique abilities to cross boundaries, which afforded them higher, more respectable societal positions. Alternatively, the rulers may have struggled to

categorise those who were not fully mature men, yet also clearly not women, and instead presented their physical ambiguity as a sign of their ability to mediate barriers (Marmon 1995). Since the Prophet forbade the castration of Muslims, in many instances, individuals from other religions were enslaved, given prestigious roles, and educated in Islamic texts (Kardono *et al.* 2019). This way, it is plausible that 'Hindu natural eunuchs' with anatomical anomalies or who self-castrated were drawn from the Tiritiya-Prakriti community and placed in service at Mughal courts.

Eunuchs at the Mughal Courts

The period between 1550 and 1800, in particular, saw a significant cultural collision in India, marked by the interplay of various historical forces. The Islamic conquest of Hindu territories, which had been reshaping the sociopolitical landscape for centuries, now faced the Portuguese conquest. When Babur, representing the Mongol dynasty, defeated the Sultan of Delhi in 1526, he further laid the foundations for the Mughal Empire. Consequently, the roles assigned to neutered slaves (*khwajasaras*; Lal 2017) reflected the changes in power. While they had been essential to the military establishment under the Mamluks and Delhi Sultans, they were rarely seen as soldiers under the Mughals (ibid.). Instead, these castrated male staff now worked alongside other classes of servants, including freed male and female slaves (Irfan 2022). Many were even granted freedom, emerging as influential figures within Mughal courts and broader societal structures (Jagiella 2021). The titles 'aitbar' (meaning 'reliance' (Chakarawarti 2024) and 'aitmad' (meaning 'confidence' (ibid.)) signified the substantial authority and trust neutered slaves had by frequently serving as close confidants to royal and noble figures and taking on significant responsibilities (Faroghi 2020). The designation 'nazir' ('one who keeps an eye'; Irfan 2023) further implies their role in overseeing and safeguarding royal harems (ibid.). Indeed, neutered slaves played the roles of trusted servants, conveying confidential messages and intelligence, as well as spying for various members of the royalty and nobility (Faruqi 2002). They provided counsel to nobles, too, performed religious duties, including calls for prayers, and managed the treasury, properties, lands, and incomes of royals (ibid.). Reports indicate that neutered

slaves also maintained much of the social gatherings and cultural life in Mughal courts (Bano 2008). Within the harem, the principal *khwajasaras* oversaw who and what went in and out and were in charge of the other slaves of the royal courts (ibid.).

The relationships between them and rulers were hence often characterised by a degree of intimacy, which sometimes led to the accumulation of substantial wealth evidenced by prestigious posthumous honours, including elaborately decorated tombs (Bernier, 1656-68, cited in Jaffrey, 1998:56; Hahm, 2010). Historical figures such as Malik Kafur, a Persian *khwajasara* who significantly bolstered the wealth of Alauddin Khilji's kingdom (1296-1316), as well as Ikhtiar Khan and Firoz Khan, both *khwajasaras* employed by Mughal emperors, illustrate the influential roles neutered slaves occupied within society (Lal, 1995, cited in Pamment, 2010:37; Sharma, 2000:31, in Pamment, 2010:37). Homosexual practices with their masters were not uncommon either (Yasmeen *et al.* 2023), indicating gender roles that were considerably more fluid during this period. Mughal literature and art from the 16th to 19th centuries, as well as European travel accounts, confirm a complex and distinct expression of masculinity and sexuality (ibid.). In contrast to later rulers like Aurangzeb and the subsequent British colonial authorities, early Mughal emperors exhibited greater tolerance towards gender variance in Hindu culture (Kanwal and Ali 2020). Consequently, the Mughal era cultivated a rich tradition of homoerotic poetry and artistic expression, indicating that pre-adolescence sex and status were not only recognised but celebrated in the cultural landscape of the time (Di Pietrantonio 2018). Even prescriptive Sanskrit texts on sexuality were translated into Persian to cater for the intellectual and aesthetic interests of the emerging Mughal elite (Truschke 2012). As much as the unique social status of neutered slaves allowed them to transcend traditional gender boundaries, this also came at a cost. Lacking the conventional milestones of masculine life, including marriage and fatherhood, they were often portrayed as jealous, arrogant and vicious towards men - qualities allegedly inherent due to their forced emasculation (Irfan 2022). Similarly, the conventional practice of separating *khwajasaras* from their familial environments necessitated that they direct their

allegiance exclusively to a master or patron (ibid). However, this expectation was not invariably met. Depending on the success of their castration, neutered slaves were documented as having affairs with the women they were tasked with protecting, complicating their relationship with their masters (Lal 2017). Unsurprisingly, any perceived threat to masculinity and loyalty put them at high risk of being killed, even over trivial disputes with men of noble and royal standing (ibid.).

Eunuchs and the Silk Roads Trade

While the institution of slavery, hence, may have deep historical roots in India, the early modern period exhibited not only an increase in enslavement within regional boundaries but also a significant influx of slaves from external sources (Faroghi 2020). This multidirectional trade encompassed both local and long-distance exchanges, facilitated by overland routes through Central Asia and maritime networks across the Indian Ocean (ibid.). Three main slave-producing regions supplied Islamic courts from around the 8th century onwards: central and eastern Europe, the Turkic steppes of central Asia, and sub-Saharan Africa (Witzenrath 2015). Indeed, the Silk Roads hosted widespread castration centres, including those in Khwarazm, Armenia, Ethiopia, Egypt, and the Arabian Peninsula (ibid.). As the Slavic and Turkic peoples became Christianised or converted to Islam, Africa remained the primary source of neutered slaves until the 19th-century end of the trade (Faroghi 2020). Numerous historical references to Turkish and Russian slaves, in addition, may indicate the presence of a reciprocal, interregional gift-giving system during the Mughal period (ibid.), particularly within the context of diplomatic exchanges with rulers of Central Asia (Faroghi 2020). Mughal Emperor Akbar, for instance, exemplified this practice by gifting skilled slave masons to Abd Allah Khan, the ruler of Bukhara (Sheth 2023).

Since Muslims, in general, did not castrate other Muslims (Penrose 2006), Hindu slaves were likely available and cheap. While generated in India, they do not appear to have been sold in mainstream markets (Nag 2023). Instead, caravan merchants primarily traded Hindu slaves overland after obtaining them from Bengal or Malabar before transporting and selling them to Islamic royal courts and noble households (Chakravarti 2024). The trade was

conducted through purchases or exchanges for highly sought-after commodities, including horses (*ibid.*). This lucrative trade extended beyond the subcontinent, with significant numbers of Hindu neutered slaves also found in courts of the Ghaznavid Empire and Mameluke Sultanate, suggesting India was a major supplier of people to other Islamic realms too (Bano 2024).

Purchased enslaved individuals were often taken to the castration centres before being transported (Hogendorn 1999). The common trade patterns involved buying children from their parents or from kidnappers who had already castrated them or merchants arranging the surgical procedure upon sale (Hambly 1974). Due to the higher survival rates associated with the procedure among boys compared to adolescents and adults, the operation was generally confined to those aged four to twelve, with a particular emphasis on boys between eight and ten years of age (Hogendorn 1999). Total castration was often a norm for the inner Mughal courts despite the significant mortality risk linked to the procedure, particularly from urethral blockage (Irfan 2023). Consequently, neutered staff became highly sought after in the market, often commanding prices that were up to ten times higher than those of uncastrated slaves (Kalb 2020). This way, economic principles alone were sufficient to prevent castration at the local markets without any need to appeal to Islamic strictures. Emasculation was often performed far from the final centres of demand, with the castrated boys forced to march for weeks and months (Hogendorn 1999). The distance allowed for greater savings on transportation costs that would otherwise be lost due to high mortality rates. (*ibid.*). If the skills of the practitioners in preventing haemorrhaging, urethral blockage, and infection lowered the death rate, then the savings outweighed the loss of costs for those who died (Hogendorn 1999). However, even with minimising surgery complications in less inferior living conditions, mortality rates often remained significant (*ibid.*). Environmental factors in particular played a crucial role as desert and mountainous regions tended to have lower infection rates compared to tropical and woodland areas (Hogendorn 1999). Despite Emperor Akbar's (circa 1556-1605) attempts to prohibit the institution of slavery, historical chronicles

document Mughal military expansion resulting in the enslavement and exportation of hundreds of thousands of individuals (Vink 2003). The arrival of the Portuguese in the 16th century only fuelled the trade further with the establishment of slave markets in coastal towns, the widespread use of African labour, and the trade in Hindu slaves, often in collaboration with local pirates (Pearson 1976). India's developing textile industry, advancing agricultural practices, and hunger for imperial architecture all contributed to an abundant supply of slaves that persisted right until the decentralisation of the Mughal Empire and the end of its military expansion in the 18th century (Richards 2024).

Conclusions

Military conquests and tax policies implemented by Muslim rulers in the Indian subcontinent during the early modern period were significant factors that contributed to the heightened rise in slavery. Neutered slaves, in particular, played a crucial role in shaping and maintaining the royal Islamic courts and, as such, were a backbone of the lucrative trade, an often-overlooked aspect of the Silk Road history. The elevation of social status among eunuchs and Tiritiya-Prakriti individuals rendered them integral to the cultural and economic frameworks of Islamic empires. Consequently, their historical significance can be interpreted as foundational to the contemporary Hindu and Islamic Tiritiya-Prakriti communities. A review of the transformations in social structures, power shifts, and power relations during this period can yield insights into the historical conceptualisation of the relationship between slave trade, castration practices and the third gender. Such an understanding may lay a foundation for addressing the contemporary challenges pertaining to inclusion and gender identity.

Competing Interests

The author has no competing interests to declare

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