

Muslim Slaves' Passage at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth Century¹

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The Spanish-Ottoman war led to the capture and enslavement of many subjects from both sides along the XVIth century. There is a substantial literature on the religious redemption of Christian captives, despite being less than those who were redeemed by private individuals.² On the other hand, we have also many studies about the slavery in Catholic King's territories, where some historians have estimated that there were more than 400.000 Muslim slaves between 1550-1650.³ The regional and local researches on them have been focused especially in determine how they arrived in the Spanish dominions, what was their proportion in terms of sex, age and "nation," what kind of jobs they were forced to do and, finally, how they could recover their freedom.⁴ The slavery in the Balearic Islands has been

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Abbreviations: ARM = Arxiu del Regne de Mallorca; AH = Arxiu Històric; EU = Extraordinaris de la Universitat; NOT = Notaris; RP = Reial Patrimoni; AGS = Archivo General de Simancas; EST = Estado; AMP = Arxiu Municipal de Pollença; C = Clavaria; lib. = book; f./ff. = page/pages. leg. = bundle.

2. Ellen G. Friedman, *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); Robert C Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters. White Slavery in the Mediterranean, The Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); José Antonio Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles. Vida y rescate de los cautivos cristianos en el Mediterráneo musulmán [siglos XVI-XVII]* (Barcelona: Bellaterra, 2004); Wolfgang Kaiser, ed., *Le commerce des captifs. Les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en Méditerranée, XVe-XVIIIe siècle* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2008); Cecilia Tarruell Pellegrin, "Circulations entre Chrétienté et Islam: Captivité et esclavage des serviteurs de la Monarchie hispanique (ca. 1574-1609)," unedited PhD thesis (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales y Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 2015); *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000-1500 ce)*, Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse edited by, (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2017).

3. Alessandro Stella and Bernard Vincent, "Europa, mercado de esclavos," *Protohistoria: historia, políticas de la historia* 2 (1998): 55; Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi. Una storia mediterranea (XVI-XIX secolo)* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2016), 72.

4. Vicente Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud en Valencia en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Valencia: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978); Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la edad media* (Sevilla: Diputación provincial de Sevilla, 1979); Bernard Vincent, "La esclavitud en Málaga en 1581," in *Minorías y marginados en la España del siglo XVI*, ed. Bernard Vincent

studied mainly for Majorca and Ibiza in XIVth-XVth centuries, so we neither have an archipelago overview of the subject nor another one for the XVIth century. The available studies have analyzed the slaves' characteristics and the process of enslavement itself, as in other Spanish territories, but they have barely examined how slaves were conducted to the islands and how they left the archipelago, that is, the movements of arrival to and departure from the enslavement society.⁵ Therefore, this paper aims to study the arrival and the departure of Muslim slaves (North African or Turkish) at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth century. As much as possible, we will analyze both movements at the whole archipelago, despite having less sources for Ibiza and, especially, Minorca than for Majorca.

Defensive actions, privateering and trade: the main ways to obtain Muslim slaves

Pregnancy reduced both slaves' value and work capacity. There was a significant chance for them to die during childbirth, a high infant mortality and children were not profitable until several years after.⁶ Therefore, slaves were neither replaced, nor their number was increased, biologically, but through war (defensive actions and privateering) and trade. Many Muslims were captured during their attacks against the Spanish coasts.⁷ Others, although

(Granada: Diputación Provincial de Granada, 1987), 239-70; Aurelia Martín Casares, *La esclavitud en la Granada del siglo XVI. Género, raza y religión* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2000); Raúl González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la edad media* (Jaén: Universidad de Jaén, 2006); Arturo Morgado García, *Una metrópoli esclavista. El Cádiz de la modernidad* (Granada: Ediciones Universidad de Granada, 2013); Iván Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud a la Barcelona del Renaixement (1479-1516). Un port mediterrani sota la influència del primer tràfic negrer* (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, 2015).

5. Francisco Sevillano Colom, "Demografía y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 34 (818) (819) (1973): 160-97; Pedro de Montaner Alonso, "Aspectos de la esclavitud en Mallorca durante la edad moderna," *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 37 (830) (831) (1979): 289-328; Jaume Sastre Moll, "Notas sobre la esclavitud en Mallorca. El 'libre de sareyns e de grechs de l'any MCCCXXX,'" *Mayurqa: Revista del Departament de Ciències Històriques i Teoria de les Arts* 21 (1985): 101-120; Onofre Vaquer Bannasar, *L'esclavitud a Mallorca. 1448-1500* (Palma: Govern Balear, Conselleria d'Educació, Cultura i Esports; Institut d'Estudis Balearics, 1997); Ricard Soto Company, "¿Una oferta sin demanda? La esclavitud en Mallorca antes de la peste negra (ss. XIII-XIV)," *Historia agraria: Revista de agricultura e historia rural* 21 (2000): 11-32; Antoni Mas Forners, *Esclaus i catalans: esclavitud i segregació a Mallorca durant els segles XIV i XV* (Palma: Lleonard Muntaner Editor, 2005); Antoni Ferrer Abárzuza, *Captius i senyors de captius a Eivissa: una contribució al debat sobre l'"esclavitud" medieval, segles XIII-XVI* (Valencia: Publicacions de la Universitat de Valencia, 2015).

6. Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud*, 40; Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 250-59 y 340-49; Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 139, 239-39 y 359.

7. Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud*, 41-45; Eloy Martín Corrales, "Esclavos norteafricanos en la Cataluña del siglo XVIII," in *Captius i esclaus a l'Antiguitat i el Món Modern*, ed. María Luisa Sánchez León and Gonçal A López Nadal (Naples: Jovene, 1996), 365-87; Andrés Díaz Borrás, *El miedo al Mediterráneo: la caridad popular valenciana y la redención de cautivos bajo poder musulmán, 1323-*

we do not know how many yet, arrived there as a part of the booty from the Spanish campaigns at North Africa, the land raids conducted from presidios like Oran or privateering attacks under the Catholic King's flag against the Barbary coasts.⁸ We do not know either how many arrived at the Spanish ports, despite they seem less than the Sub-Saharan who were introduced in cities like Barcelona.⁹

The number of slaves at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth century is still unknown. However, recent studies suggest they were mainly North African males who were between fifteen to thirty-five years old, which contrasts with the Sub-Saharan majority that has been stated in cities like Cadis and Barcelona, or *Moriscos* in Granada, a situation much closer to the described for Malaga and Malta.¹⁰ As in the rest of the Spanish territories, slaves were replaced, and their number was increased, trough defensive actions, privateering and trade, rather than biologically.¹¹ Next, figure 1 shows how many Muslims were obtained through these ways at the Balearic Islands, although the data available are still very fragmentary, especially for the second half of the XVIth century.

1539 (Barcelona: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas; Institución Milá i Fontanals, 2001), 195-203; Santiago Colomar Ferrer, "Una frontera olvidada. Atacs i desembarcaments de corsaris nord-africans a Catalunya, València i Balears: 1571-1650," unedited PhD thesis (Universitat de Barcelona, 2015), 269-353.

8. Tomás García Figueras, "Cabalgadas, correrías y entradas de los andaluces en el litoral africano, en la segunda mitad del siglo XV," *Revista de historia militar* 1 (1957): 51-79; Juan Jesús Bravo Caro, "El municipio de Málaga y la toma de Túnez (1535). Los esclavos como botín de guerra," en *V Jornadas Nacionales de Historia Militar: El Mediterráneo: hechos de relevancia histórico-militar y sus repercusiones en España* (Sevilla: Cátedra General Castaños, 1997), 441-45; Eloy Martín Corrales, "Les répercussions de la course espagnole sur l'économie maritime marocaine (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)," *Revue Maroc-Europe. Histoire, Economies, Sociétés* 11 (1997): 227-48; Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Orán-Mazalquivir, 1589-1639: una sociedad española en la frontera de Berbería* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2000), 100, 161-62, 263, 275 y 391-96; María Teresa López Beltrán, "Cabalgadas en el mar de Alborán en tiempos de los Reyes Católicos," *MEAH, Sección Árabe-Islam* 50 (2001): 169-86; Pedro Andrés Porrás Arboledas, "El corso y la piratería ante la chancillería de Valladolid (1486-1490)," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 35, n.º 1 (2005): 131-58.

9. Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 81 y 131-39.

10. Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud*, 133-35; Vincent, "La esclavitud en Málaga," 243-44; Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*, 92-97; Anne Brogini, *Malte, frontière de Chrétienté (1530-1670)* (Roma: École Française de Rome, 2006), 660; González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga*, 67-68; Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 110-39; Andreu Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas? La defensa de las Baleares (1480-1620)," unedited PhD thesis (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, 2018), 1: 653-67.

11. Mas Forners, *Esclaus i catalans*, 57-60.

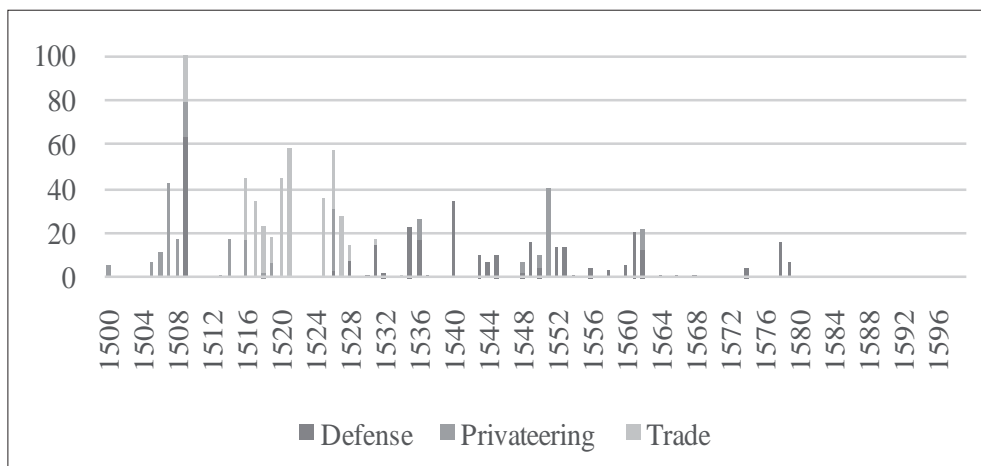


Fig 1. Muslim slaves captured in defensive actions at the Balearic Islands, seized by Christian privateers in Barbary or arrived through other ways, such as trade (XVIth century) Own elaboration. Source: Seguí Beltrán, “¿Unas islas asediadas?,” 1: 651.

Figure 1 shows that at least three hundred and twenty Muslims were captured in different parts of the archipelago along the XVIth century, as a consequence of the mistakes committed by privateers during their raids against the islands, whose defenses were progressively reinforced. The most part of them were seized at the northwest and southern part of Majorca, where the highest privateering activity levels have been detected, a situation we can observe at a lower level in the other islands.¹² Despite their limited capacity, local coastguard fleets obtained some prizes. For instance, some Majorcan ships captured sixty-three Muslim privateers, rescuing twenty-two fishermen who had been seized by them, at the island of Cabrera in 1509.¹³ Capturing enemy privateers was more common in land and the circumstances were more varied. First, many of them were seized as a consequence of their fights against the local militias, which is the most registered capture reason. For instance, three Muslim privateers were captured near the salt mines of Ibiza in 1536, three members of Turgut Reis’ crew were in seized during the assault against Pollença fourteen years later, whereas other two fell into islanders’ hands in an ambush against some Muslim privateers at Gosalba Cove in 1579.¹⁴ Second, some Muslim privateers were captured after shipwrecking at

12. Seguí Beltrán, “¿Unas islas asediadas?,” 1: 241-61 y 648.

13. Income made by Joan Miró, notary of the royal procurement. Majorca, 26/4/1509. ARM, RP, lib. 3.902, s.f. Miguel José Deyá Bauzá, “Entre la toma de Orán y los pactos con Argel: las Baleares y la conquista de Bugía,” en *Orán. Historia de la Corte Chica*, ed. Miguel Ángel Bunes Ibarra and Beatriz Alonso Acero (Madrid: Polifemo, 2011), 58.

14. Isidoro Macabich Llobet, *Historia de Ibiza* (Palma: Imprenta Alfa, 1965), 1: 255. Payment made by the *clavari* (local administrator). Pollença, 1550. AMP, C, lib. 1.259, ff. 41v and s.f. Payment of a message. 31/3/1579. ARM, AH, leg. 2.259, folder Pollença, doc. 13.

the islands, as those two who were seized at Minorca in 1548.¹⁵ Finally, some Muslim privateers were captured after being abandoned by their own mates. For instance, Amet, “moro de Fez,” fell into Minorcans' hands six years later, when he could not return to a forty French-Algerian ships fleet before they sailed from the cove where they had stopped.¹⁶ The crown promoted those land prizes, sometimes by exempting her subjects to pay the royal fifth from the captives' selling.¹⁷

Muslim slaves also arrived at the Balearic Islands as part of the booty of Christian raids against enemy territory. As in Barcelona, there is no evidence of a massive arrival of Muslim slaves from the North African ports conquered at the beginning of the XVIth century, like Bougie.¹⁸ Therefore, it seems that the most part of them reached the archipelago as a consequence of the privateering expeditions against the Barbary coasts, especially the Algerian shores. Privateers who sailed from the islands under Catholic King's flag captured there at least two hundred and thirty-five captives. We suppose that they were rathermore because our data is still very fragmentary and usually limited to privateering from Majorca, although we know about some expeditions which departed from the other islands to go “to Moorish lands to capture.”¹⁹ For instance, the ships of Antoni Bolaix and Antoni Lliteres captured fourteen Muslims during two expeditions “ad partes barbaricas” between July and September 1507.²⁰ Nine years later, the *fustes* of the storekeeper and Jeroni Maltès, which were skippered by Pere Mayol and Honorat Salom, seized and led two ships and thirteen Muslims to Palma.²¹ Ferran Burguès' *galeota* captured more than forty North Africans along some expeditions against the Barbary coasts between 1548-51.²² Vicenç Pujol and Pedro Bayo, who skippered two brigantines, seized nine Muslims at the same

15. Income made by Miquel Soler, notary of the royal procurement. Majorca. Majorca, 29/11/1550. ARM, RP, lib. 3.963, f. 207r.

16. Interrogation of Amet, “moro” from the city of Fez. Minorca, 13/6/1554. AGS, EST, leg. 316, doc. 229.

17. Gonçal A López Nadal, *El corsarisme mallorquí a la Mediterrània occidental, 1652-1698: un comerç forçat* (Palma: Govern Balear. Conselleria d'Educació i Cultura, 1986); Colomar Ferrer, “Una frontera oblidada.”

18. Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*, 126.

19. We have translated literally the original Catalan expression: “En terra de moros a captivar.” Ferrer Abárzuza, *Captius i senyors de captius*, 174-79.

20. Payments of the royal fifth for the captures made by the ships of Bolaix and Lliteres. Majorca, 30/7 y 18/9/1507. ARM, RP, lib. 3.901, f. 184v.

21. Determination of the Majorcan juries (local authorities). Majorca, 27/6/1516. ARM, EU, lib. 28, ff. 70v-71r. Payment of the royal fifth for the captures made by Mayol y Salom. 6/9/1516. ARM, RP, lib. 3.910, s.f.

22. Determination of the Majorcan juries. Mallorca, 15/5/1548. ARM, EU, lib. 37, f. 339r. Payments of the royal fifth for the captures made by Burguès' *galeota*. Mallorca, 12/5/1548. ARM, RP, lib. 3.960, f. 200v. 3/1/1551. ARM, RP, lib. 3.963, ff. 207r y 208v.

zone in 1562.²³ Although these examples only represent a small part of the expeditions which sailed from the Balearic Islands in the XVIth century, they are enough indicative of Muslim slaves' arrival through Christian maritime predation at North African coasts.

In addition to those Muslims slaves obtained through military actions, at least three hundred and seventeen more arrived at the Balearic Islands from other Mediterranean ports, especially from the central inland sea. Cities like Palermo, Naples and Cagliari have been important slave markets in the previous centuries when they surely gave access to Eastern Mediterranean slaves.²⁴ We must consider also the possibility of a slave redistribution between the different islands, a traffic where Minorca and Ibiza could act as intermediary centers to Majorca, in addition to possible exchanges from the last to the previous islands.²⁵ Nevertheless, both traffics are still very unexplored.

In summary, we have registered the arrival of at least nine hundred and seven Muslim slaves at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth century. The most part of them, five hundred and ninety, became slaves as a consequence of war actions at the archipelago, where three hundred and forty Muslim privateers were captured, or at the North African coasts, where two hundred and fifty people fell into Christian privateers' hands. In addition, three hundred and seventeen slaves reached the islands from other Mediterranean ports. Nevertheless, our data is still very fragmentary, not only because of the difference of sources between the islands. Indeed, it is due also to certain facts, as the exemption of the royal fifth to Spanish privateers, which provoked that the slaves who were part of their booty were not registered as they used to be before to justify the tax payment. Our data about the slave arrivals from other ports is limited because the local authorities reduced the value of the *dret de catiusmoros* to those who wanted to extract a Muslim slave and exchange him for a Christian captive. Therefore, according to these limitations, the number of Muslim slaves who arrived at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth century was surely rather higher than those almost thousand.

23. Income made by Tomàs Onofre Marcer, notary of the royal procurement. Majorca, 10/4/1562. ARM, RP, lib. 3975, f. 177v.

24. Vaquer Bennasar, *L'esclavitud a Mallorca. 1448-1500*, 61-62.

25. Antoni Ferrer Abárzuza, "Captius, o "esclaus," a Eivissa (segles XIII-XVI)," PhD thesis (Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 2011), 1: 92-93. Later studies suggest this kind of relation, which was only stated at first for Ibiza to Majorca, for the whole archipelago. Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?," 1: 649-50.

The departure of Muslim freedmen and slaves

The Muslims who had been captured at the Balearic Islands, or led there by Christian privateers, were sold publicly or privately, as those who arrived there from other Mediterranean ports. Some of them became slaves then for the rest of their lives, whereas others could recover their freedom after several years. We will not comment here the different possibilities to become a freedman, which were essentially the same at the Spanish territories, despite having a different frequency.²⁶

The *talla* contracts were the most common formula to gain freedom at the Balearic Islands.²⁷ Slaves became freedmen after paying the rescue indicated in those agreements or after being released by testamentary disposal. An uncertain number of them decided to become Christians and remained at the islands, while others preferred to return to Muslim lands, although they could not abandon the archipelago until they had paid the *dret d'eixida de sarrains*. Therefore, the local institutions took profit of the Muslim freedmen's situation, taxing them also annually with the *dret d'estada de sarrains* for the time they spend collecting the money to abandon the island or waiting for the liberation of some relative. Their situation seems quite similar to that of the "esclavos manumitidos" at Andalusia or the "cautivos francos o de puertas" at North Africa.²⁸

Unfortunately, the available data is reduced to Majorca, because in Minorca both taxes are registered with a null value, while it seems that the counting books have not been preserved in Ibiza. The collection of the second tax suggests that the freedmen's stage at the Balearic Islands varied a lot, depending on their economic and familiar situation. Some of them stayed in Majorca just for some months or almost a year since their liberation, the essential time to collect the money they needed for the passage and leave. For instance, Mamut "moro," who had been slave of the canon Abrines, was freed in the middle of 1552 and remained at the island until the middle of the next

26. Graullera Sanz, *La esclavitud*; Martín Casares, *La esclavitud*; Armenteros Martínez, *L'esclavitud*; Bono, *Schiavi*.

27. The *talla* contracts were a sort of releasement through labour and money, which was a very lucrative business to slave owners because they obtained a profit higher than the slave's market value, especially as the slave became older and lost their work capacity. Those contracts let slaves in a semi-freedom status, allowing them to circulate freely through the territory in order to offer their services to third parties and collect the money to pay their own ransom. The documents established a fee, normally weekly, according to what these slaves were known as setmaners. They could need more than ten years to collect the money to pay the total ransom, after what they received an alforria letter and were released. Mas Forners, *Esclaus i catalans*, 48-54; Ferrer Abárzuza, *Captius i senyors de captius*, 217-35.

28. Stella y Vincent, "Europa, mercado," 59; Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles*, 63-64.

year.²⁹ The stage was longer, between two and five years, in the most part of the Muslim freedmen we have registered. That was the case of Axa “mora,” who had been slave of the notary Joanot Garau and remained at Majorca for three years, from 1543 to 1546, whereas Abdallah “moro,” ex-slave of Antoni Socias, remained there for five years, from 1560 to 1565.³⁰ Other stages were even longer, exceeding the decade some of them. Said “moro,” who had been slave of the baker Jeroni Mir, remained as a freedman in Majorca for twelve years, from 1534 to 1546. Atzara “mora,” previously slave of Gaspar Estrany, stayed there at least for thirteen years, since she was released in 1543, whereas Axa Gual paid the tax two times for her stage between 1576-80.³¹ The same goes for the freedwoman Aràbia “mora,” whose house at the island of Jordi Abrí Dezcallar, in the parish of Santa Eulàlia at the city of Palma, was valued in fifty Majorcan pounds in the *estims* (cadaster) of 1576.³²

The *dret d'eixida de sarrains* indicates that at least other seventy-one Muslims abandoned the archipelago as slaves and were led to North Africa “per baratar ab un sclaucrestia”, that is to be exchanged for a Christian captive, but not always on equal terms and depending on each captive’s value.³³ For instance, Caterina Garcia embarked the Turkish slaves Aleix and Berli in 1520, to exchange them for her husband, the merchant Joan Garcia, who was captive at Algiers.³⁴ The shoemaker Llorenç Gallur sent a Turkish slave

29. Determination of the viceroy Gaspar de Marrades. Majorca, 6/7/1553. ARM, AH, lib. 584, s.f. Payments made by Mamut moro to the royal procurator real Francesc Burgués. Majorca, 8/7/1553. ARM, RP, lib. 3.968, ff. 37r-37v.

30. Release protocol of Axa “mora,” slave of the notary Joanot Garau. Majorca, 27/5/1543. ARM, NOT, lib. S-1.081 (Gabriel Sampol), f. 67v. Payment made by Axa “mora” to the royal procurator Francesc Burgués. Majorca, 13/4/1546. ARM, RP, lib. 3.957, f. 27v. Payment made by Abdallah “moro” to the royal procurator Jordi de Sant Joan. Majorca, 23/10/1565. ARM, RP, lib. 3.977, f. 51r.

31. Payment made by Said to the royal procurator. Majorca, 13/4/1546. ARM, RP, lib. 3.957, f. 27r. Payments made by Atzara to the same person. Majorca, 13/5/1550. ARM, RP, lib. 3.963, f. 32r. 5/7/1553. ARM, RP, lib. 3.965, f. 30v. 16/11/1556. ARM, RP, lib. 3.970, f. 37r. Pagos de Axa Gual to the royal procurement. Majorca, 10/11/1576. ARM, RP, lib. 3.985, f. 61r. 24/3/1580. ARM, RP, lib. 3.986, f. 53r.

32. José Ramis de Ayreflor y Sureda, “Catastro de la Ciudad de Mallorca (1576),” *Bolletí de la Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana* 15 (412) (417) (1914): 132. The same document gives references to other freemen, as Joan Morla “liberti,” but it seems they were converts. See more examples at Onofre Vaquer Bannasar, “Els lliberts a Mallorca (1448-1578),” in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat. Esclaus i lliberts a l’edat mitjana*, ed. Maria Teresa Ferrer Mallol and Josefina Mutgé Vives (Barcelona: CSIC, 2000), 643-58.

33. Determination of the Majorcan juries. Majorca, 28/4/1520. ARM, EU, lib. 29, ff. 210r-210v. Payment made by Jaume Riusech to conduct the Turkish slave Hasán to Algiers and exchange him for a Christian captive. Majorca, 5/5/1567. ARM, RP, lib. 3.979, f. 48r. Daniel Hershenzon, “ “[P]ara que me saque cabeza por cabeza...”: Exchanging Muslim and Christian Slaves across the Mediterranean,” *African Economic History* 42 (2014): 11-36; Bono, *Schiavi*, 257.

34. Determination of the Majorcan juries. Majorca, 28/4/1520. ARM, EU, lib. 29, ff. 210r-210v. Payment made by the tailor Joan Busa to the royal procurator Francesc Burgués. Majorca, 28/4/1520. ARM, RP, lib. 3913, s.f.

named Soltan Xa to the same city in 1573 for the rescue of Melsior Seguí, who was captive there. Those exchanges were not always possible, as it has been stated for Malaga, especially when Muslims demanded an excessive rescue for a Christian captive.³⁵ This raises the question on what happened to them, after they were conducted to North Africa for an exchange which had been cancelled. Nevertheless, the number of Muslim slaves who abandoned the archipelago thanks to those exchanges was surely higher than the registered, although the sources do not always relate their departure to them. This data is apparently omitted because the exchanges could begin also at the islands and, according to a previous notarial agreement, Muslims could return to their homelands as freedmen after giving guarantees that a Christian captive had been released at Barbary. For instance, Bartomeu Caldentey promised to liberate Amet “moro” in 1550, after a certain Mahomet had released the Sicilian presbyter Nafrio de Ciso in Algiers.³⁶ Caterina Gayà promised the same to the Muslim slave Nissa in 1605, with the condition that Nissa’s parents had to release first her husband, the Neapolitan Mateo Aitor, who was captive of Murat Reis at the Algerian city.³⁷

Escaping was the only option for some Muslim slaves to recover their freedom, but first they had to overcome the obstacles the authorities put to avoid it. Sources do not allow us to know how many attempts they did, although it seems that many of them were frustrated. Fugitives were severely punished and especially their leaders, who were hanged to serve as a lesson both to their collaborators and the rest of the slaves.³⁸

We can just give a provisional number of how many Muslims departed from the Balearic Islands as freedmen or as an exchange coin, because we don’t know how many could escape finally from there. We have registered at least five hundred and sixteen departures from Majorca in the XVIth century, that is an average of almost six per year, which is higher than the three per year that has been stated in the case of Ibiza, while we still lack data on Minorca. The irregular distribution of each island’s case still does not allow us to explain surely some of their variations along the century. However, there is no doubt that Algiers was their main destination because the high concentration of Christian captives justified sending Muslim slaves there to

35. González Arévalo, *La esclavitud en Málaga*, 404-05.

36. Determination of the viceroy Gaspar de Marrades. Majorca, 18/8/1550. ARM, AH, lib. 581, s.f.

37. Notarial protocol of the agreement between Caterina Gaià and Nissa, “moro” slave of the *doncell* (noble) Pere Fuster. Majorca, 16/5/1605. ARM, NOT, lib. M-1.374 (Bernat Morera), ff. 695v-696r.

38. Mas Forners, *Esclaus i catalans*, 62-63; Ferrer Abárzuza, *Captius i senyors de captius*, 476-79; Seguí Beltrán, “¿Unas islas asediadas?,” 1: 676-78.

be exchanged.³⁹ They reached there directly or after stopping in Valencia, Barcelona or Marseille, maybe depending on the possibility to find passage to the Algerian port.⁴⁰ Bougie and, a more distance, Tedelis were their second and third more important destinations, which proves that the three cities had a remarkable, but not always friendly, relationship with the Balearic Islands. The slaves' movement decreased as we go west, towards Oran or Tenes, which maybe had a closer relationship with the coast of Murcia and Granada. The same goes east, towards Djijel and Tunis, where they reached through Naples or Sicily and stopping there those who went to Rhode.⁴¹ The departure of Muslim slaves and freedmen towards the Mediterranean center maybe increased at the second half of the XVIIth century, when Majorcan privateers expanded their action area there and to the eastern zone of the inland sea. There, their attacks focused on Muslim navigation and coasts, especially when they could not capture French ships.⁴²

Conclusion

Muslim slaves (both North Africans and Turkish) were replaced, and their number was increased, through war and trade at the Spanish territories. The Balearic Islands were not an exception, although we do not know yet how many slaves could have been there. The most part of them, five hundred and fifty-five, reached the archipelago as a consequence of defensive actions or as a part of the booty of Christian privateering expeditions at Muslim lands. At least other three hundred and seventeen arrived at the islands from other Mediterranean ports. Muslim captives were sold and many of them remained as slaves for the rest of their lives. Some of them, although we neither do not know how many, could recover their freedom through different ways and, after collecting money to pay the passage or waiting for some relative's releasement for several years, they returned to their home or allied lands. At least seventy-one more abandoned the islands as slaves, in order to be exchanged for one or some Christian captives at Muslim lands. They departed from the archipelago in both cases especially to Algiers. Unfortunately, our data on the whole Muslim slaves' movement at the Balearic Islands is very fragmentary, not just because we have less sources for Minorca and Ibiza than for Majorca, but because the information they give changes depending on the

39. Friedman, *Spanish Captives*; Davis, *Christian Slaves*; Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles*.

40. Account books of the Majorcan royal procurement. Majorca, 1480-1581. ARM, RP, libs. 3.881-3.988.

41. Seguí Beltrán, "¿Unas islas asediadas?," 1: 682.

42. López Nadal, *El corsarisme mallorquí*; Natividad Planas, "Pratiques du pouvoir au sein d'une société frontalière. Le voisinage de Majorque et ses îles adjacentes avec les terres d'Islam au XVII^e siècle," unedited PhD thesis (Institut Universitaire Européen, 2000).

evolution of taxes like the royal fifth. Fortunately, despite these problems do not allow us yet to analyze precisely the number of Muslim slaves who arrived or departed from the islands through each way, we can give some provisional figures on both movements and contrast them. On the one hand, the arrival of eight hundred and seventy-two Muslim slaves at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth century suppose an average of almost nine slaves per year. On the other hand, the departure of at least five hundred and sixteen from Majorca gives an average of almost six departures per year, which is higher than the three that has been stated for Ibiza. Therefore, although they are still very partial, these figures suggest that there was a significant movement of Muslim slaves to and from the Balearic Islands, which surely was even higher than what has been stated here. Indeed, a deeper analysis of more sources, such as the notarial protocols preserved on each island, will prove it, giving us a better idea on how many Muslim slaves there were at the archipelago, how their number increased or decreased annually and, after expanding the focus, how the Mediterranean conjuncture could influence these changes.

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ملخص: مرور العبيد المسلمين عبر أراضي جزر البليار خلال القرن السادس عشر

تسببت الحرب الإسبانية العثمانية في احتجاز كثير من رعايا الجنابيين. وأصبح عدد من المسلمين عبيداً في أراضي الملك الكاثوليكي التي حلوا بها بقية حياتهم، في حين استعاد آخرون حريتهم وعادوا إلى أراضيهم بعد سنوات من الأسر، باستثناء من اعتنقوا المسيحية وظلوا تحت السيادة الإسبانية. ولم تكن حالة جزر البليار استثناءً في هذا السياق. ويعرض هذا المقال بالتحليل لوصول 872 من المسلمين إلى الأرخبيل وحيثيات استعبادهم داخل أراضيه إما في إطار مواجهات عسكرية أو أثناء ممارسة النشاط التجاري خلال القرن السادس عشر. كما يتناول بالدرس حالات رجوع البعض منهم إلى الأراضي الإسلامية، بعد استعادة حريتهم وجمع الأموال الضرورية لدفع ثمن العبور، وأيضاً حالات اقتياد آخرين منهم إلى بلدان شمال إفريقيا لاستبدالهم في عين المكان بالأسرى المسيحيين.

كلمات البحث: البحر الأبيض المتوسط، برابايا، جزر البليار، الأسر، العبيد.

Résumé: Passage des esclaves musulmans aux îles Baléares au XVI^{ème} siècle

La guerre hispano-ottomane a causé la capture de nombreux sujets des deux côtés. En conséquence, beaucoup de musulmans sont arrivés pour devenir des esclaves sur les territoires du roi catholique pour le reste de leur vie, tandis que d'autres ont retrouvé leur liberté et sont rentrés dans leurs pays après plusieurs années de captivité, sauf pour ceux qui se sont convertis au christianisme et ont fait le choix de vivre en territoires espagnols. Le cas des îles Baléares n'était pas une exception. Ce texte analyse l'arrivée et l'asservissement de 872 musulmans dans l'archipel à la suite d'affrontements militaires ou de transactions commerciales au XVI^{ème} siècle. Il étudie aussi comment certains d'entre eux sont revenus sur

les terres musulmanes, après avoir retrouvé leur liberté et rassemblé l'argent pour payer le passage, et comment d'autres ont été conduits en Afrique du Nord afin d'être échangés contre des captifs chrétiens.

Mots-clés: Méditerranée, Berbérie, Îles Baléares, captifs, esclaves.

Abstract: Muslim Slaves' Passage at the Balearic Islands in the XVIth Century

The Spanish-Ottoman war caused the capture of many subjects from both sides. Consequently, many Muslims arrived and became slaves at the Catholic King's territories for the rest of their lives, whereas others recovered their freedom and returned to their home lands after several years, except for those who became Christians and remained at the Spanish dominions. The case of the Balearic Islands was not an exception. This text analyzes the arrival and enslavement of eight hundred and seventy-two Muslims at the archipelago through war and trade in the XVIth century. It studies also how some of them returned to Muslim lands, after recovering their freedom and collecting the money to pay the passage, and how others were conducted there to North Africa to be exchanged for Christian captives.

Keywords: Mediterranean, Barbary, Balearic Islands, Captives, Slaves.

El paso de esclavos musulmanes por las Islas Baleares durante el siglo XVI

Resumen: La guerra hispano-otomana provocó la captura de numerosos súbditos de ambas partes. Los musulmanes llegaban como cautivos y eran esclavizados en los territorios del Rey Católico, muchos durante el resto de sus vidas, mientras que otros pudieron recuperar su libertad y regresar a sus lugares de origen, salvo aquellos que se convirtieron y decidieron permanecer en territorio cristiano. El caso de las Islas Baleares no fue una excepción. En este texto se analiza la llegada y esclavización de ochocientos setenta y dos musulmanes en el archipiélago por medio de la guerra y el comercio durante el siglo XVI. También estudia cómo se marcharon algunos de ellos hacia territorio musulmán tras recuperar su libertad, una vez conseguido el dinero necesario para pagar el pasaje o como parte del intercambio por cristianos cautivos en el norte de África.

Palabras clave: Mediterráneo, Berbería, Baleares, cautivos, esclavos.