JOURNAL OF MARITIME RESEARCH

Vol XXI. No. II (2024) pp 224–234

ISSN: 1697-4840, www.jmr.unican.es

The French exchange of captives during the Modern Era

Isabella Lambert[1]

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:
Received 01 Jan 2024;
in revised from 24 Jan 2023;
accepted 18 Mar 2024.

Keywords:
French captives, exchange for freedom, ransom, piracy, Modern Era.

ABSTRACT

Being a structural phenomenon in the Mediterranean in modern times, racing off the French coast experienced its golden age after the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Trade and the exchange of captives developed concomitantly with the intensification of the use of galleys and the rise of the "Nordic" powers in the Mediterranean.
In addition to "classic" captives and renegades, a final typology of exchanged captives appeared, when the private role of intermediaries and merchants took on importance to save captives meant to be exchanged.

1. Introduction.

From the 11th century, during periods of truces and reprisals, piracy was prohibited. There could therefore be no captive. This was a necessary condition for maintaining peace, to which all the signatory countries were very attentive. It was also a matter of preventing a one-off problem from degenerating into a breakdown of the war truce. The principle, affirmed from the very first treaties, was that any captive must be released without financial compensation, therefore without ransom. Concretely, however, the application of the principle of release without ransom posed many problems[2].

First, proof had to be provided that the captive was within the framework of the peace agreement. Three conditions had to be met, on which most of the disputes focused: the captive had to be the subject of one of the sovereigns signing the peace, the pirate also, and finally his capture had to have taken place after the signature and ratification of the treaty. The first point was quite delicate to decide, because it was necessary to be able to verify the origin of the captive, which, in the absence of an identification document, such as a passport or identity card, left free reign to any falsification[3].

Apart from the search for control of certain strategic points in the Mediterranean area, such as Ceuta (taken by the Portuguese in 1415) or the islands of the Tunisian coast, the issues within the areas of the Western Mediterranean had also taken on the appearance of a struggle for the demarcation between Christianity and Islam[4].

Just like France, the crown of Aragon was too busy with its wars in Spain or Italy to embark on an expansionist policy in the Maghreb. These two nations needed to establish peace in this sector of the Mediterranean. As for the Maghreb powers, they had long since abandoned any ambition of conquest in Europe and were too preoccupied with their internal problems[5].

[1]La Rochelle University. France.
*Corresponding author: Isabella Lambert. E-mail: ilcinearts@gmail.com.

[2] ACA, Cancillería, Reg 2242, fº 136v (17/4/1399), fº 139v-140v, letter from James II to Philip the Fair, July 13, 1310, Teruel and letter patent from Philip the Fair dated April 26, 1313, C, reg. 336, fol. 114, revealing the limited scope of diplomatic action on the resolution of commercial disputes and retaliation.

[3] JOHANSEN Baber, Echange commercial et hiérarchies sociales en droit musulman, Les institutions traditionnelles dans le monde arabe, Ed. H. Bleuchot, Paris, 1996, p.24-26 et Robert Brunschvicg, La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides, des origines au XVe siècle, Paris, 1940, Tome 1, p.412.

[4] FONTENAY Michel, La Méditerranée entre la Croix et le Croissant. Navigation, commerce, course et piraterie (XVIe- XIXe siècle), Paris, Classiques Garnier, Collection Les Méditerranées, 2010.

[5] LOPEZ PEREZ Maria Dolorez, La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb en el siglo XIV (1331-1410), Barcelone, 1995 voir également DOMINIQUE VALERIAN, Le facteur économique dans la politique catalane à Bougie (XIIe -XVe siècle), « L'Expansió catalana a la Mediterrània a la baixa edat mitjana », FERRER I MALLOL Marie-Thérèse et COULON Damien, dir., Barcelone, 1999, p. 145-160 and SHELOMOH DOV GOITEN, Mediterranean

However, during this period, took place a parallel expansion of a charitable feeling in society, thanks to the action of Trinitarian and Mercedarian monks who were collecting private donations from all over France and Spain, as well as the spontaneous formation of associations and brotherhoods. It is difficult to know whether this was a sign of the impact of religious values into secular society, or whether the Church was only taking over a pre-existing solidarity, which it converted into a religious movement. The Church and the jurists of Islam referred to the members of their respective communities, as a duty of charity for the redemption of these captives, doomed to a terrible fate, since now in the hands of the "Infidels."

On the Muslim side, the redemption of prisoners was preferred to an exchange. But in the case where the "Infidels" refused to otherwise redeem the Muslims they detained, jurists considered the exchange with captive Christians licit, even if the latter risked subsequently taking up arms against the "dâr al-islâm[6]." On the Christian side, the historian Cipollone reminds us that the redemption of captives was a moral question, and on the Muslim side, it was a duty of the *Umma* (the Community of believers) and therefore a legal question[7].

Putting an end to, or at least limiting as best as possible, the consequences of piracy could therefore appear to be the first condition for restoring commercial prosperity in the Mediterranean. The close link between the problem of captives and that of peace would explain this fundamental distinction for redemptions. Between a state of peace and a state of war, human trafficking carried out by exchange of captives seemed to have the expected result of maintaining an apparent peace[8].

2. The old "truces", "letters of marque and reprisals".

Except for the treaty of 1221, signed by Emperor Frederick II, which concerned all Christian (and Muslim) captives, the agreements only covered the subjects of the signatory countries, which sometimes posed a problem[9]. Thus, in 1304, a Valencian corsair, Péré Ribalta, having captured subjects of the Hafsid sultan, despite a truce between Tunis and the kingdom of Aragon, forced them to declare themselves Bougiotes, because there was no truce with Bougie at the time. If they accepted this proposal, he agreed to sell them as slaves in Pantelleria, from where they could easily be redeemed. If they refused, he threatened to sell them to Romania, and they would never be able to return home.

The captives accepted and were therefore sold to Pantelleria. But Barthomeu de Malta, a merchant from Messina, who went on board to buy them, recognized one of them, the skipper of the captured boat, whom he had seen during a previous trip to Tunis, and it became then necessary to free all the prisoners[10].

This practice was quite unreliable because, very often, the captives, once returned to their country of origin, retracted their declaration of nationality. This is why James the Conqueror decided to prohibit any exchange or withdrawal upon arrival at port. Diplomatic correspondence, however, testified to the frequency of disputes over the origin of the captives.

The nationality of the pirate was also a subject of discussion, for the same reasons, but also to avoid a nation being made responsible for the violation of the peace. Thus in 1324, Ibn Ğundī, who had sold subjects of the Crown to Bougie, was suspected by James II of Aragon of being Grenadian. But in a letter that he had addressed to the king, the Sultan of Granada replied that this man was not his subject and therefore did not fall within the scope of the treaty[11].

Finding the captive was the primary objective, which gave rise to sometimes long and fruitless investigations. In times of peace, the ransom was therefore not payable, but the fear of reprisals or a breach of the peace could occasionally lead to its payment. In this sense, the exchange or settlement of these ransoms, not provided for by the treaties, were the only means of avoiding a breach of the peace. They could be seen as a pragmatic mode of conflict regulation and therefore avoided minor incidents[12].

Also, only captives taken outside of periods of truce were in principle subject to a ransom demand. Two scenarios then presented themselves: if the state of war persisted, then only the laws of the market prevailed, which did not necessarily exclude diplomatic or even military actions. But then, a real "trade in captives" flourished. And, whatever happened, the captive would have to negotiate a redemption price with his master and somehow collect the agreed sum[13].

If the truce was signed, then the calculation and settlement of the ransom were more strictly regulated and codified, and required long and difficult negotiations, such were the human, economic and diplomatic stakes. The negotiators distinguished two types of captives, which did not bind the kingdoms in the same way: on the one hand, those held by sovereigns – their number was sometimes considerable; and on the other hand, those which were the property of individuals. In the first case, the political dimension was stronger because the captives con-

society, vol. I, Economic foundations, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1962, p. 29-42, p. 560, p. 570, et 1967, p. 212-213.

[6] FOREY A.J, « The Military Orders and the Ransoming of Captives from Islam (Twelfth to Early Fourteenth Centuries) », Studia Monastica, 33/2, 1991, p. 259-280.

[7] CIPOLLONE Gérard, Cristianità- Islam... (op. cit. n. 8), p. 387, doc. 44 et p. 296.

[8] DUFOURQ Charles-Emiile, L'Espagne catalane et le Maghreb aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles : de la bataille de Las Navas de Tolosa (1212) à l'avènement du sultan mérinide Abou-l-Hasan (1331), Paris, 1966 et M.D. LOPEZ PEREZ, La Corona de Aragón y el Magreb en el siglo XIV (1331-1410), Barcelone, 1995 également D. VALÉRIAN, Le facteur économique dans la politique, p. 145-160.

[9] Archivo de la Corona de Aragon, Cartas Reales Diplomaticas (ACA, CRD), Jaime II, caja 21, nº 4160 (26/07/1304) Collection of documents concerning the relations of the countries of the Crown of Aragon with the Maghreb from 1212 to 1323.

[10] GONZALEZ HURTEBISE Eduardo, Guía histórico-descriptiva del Archivo de la Corona de Aragón en Barcelona. Madrid: 1929, p 37.

[11] SEVILLANO COLOM Francisco, Démographie et esclaves du XVe siècle à Mayorque, (« Demografia y esclavos del siglo XV en Mallorca »), Revista d'estudis historics, 1973, p. 175.

[12] KAISER Wolfgang, L'économie de la rançon, Hypothèses, 2006/1, pp. 359-368.

[13] Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Baila General, Cautivos, Libros de presentaciones, nos 193-210 (1419-1666).

stituted in this respect a diplomatic negotiation lever for the Pasha, Sultan, who held them. The more subjects belonging to the adversary were owned, the more the latter was in the position of requester for redemption or exchange[14].

But, to the extent that the captives were on both banks, the interest in their release was shared. This is evidenced by the negotiations carried out in 1313, between the envoy of the King of Majorca, Grégori Salembé, and the Sultan de Bougie, following the signing of a treaty the previous year. The Bougiote negotiator for the Christians first proposed exchanging forty Muslims for twelve Christians detained by the sultan. This proposal was refused because the Majorcan was held by financial constraints. The discussions lasted, Salembé threatened to break them off. An agreement was finally concluded, relating to thirty-two freed Bougiote subjects, two of whom were paid by the consul of the Majorcans, undoubtedly on behalf of the merchants present in the port and eager to see the agreement concluded[15].

If the poorest, such as sailors or peasants taken during raids on the Mediterranean coasts, were subject to redemption by orders, the exchanges made it possible to lower the initial amount set for the ransoms[16]. Thus, during the exchange of numerous Muslim captives held in Marseille, it was a Tunisian envoy who came to negotiate. Several documents indeed attested to the trip of a certain "Oumir Diulmal [...], Andalusian [Morisco] merchant living in Tunis" and Tunisian envoy, a trip he made in 1620. However, it shows – and this until at least the middle of the 18th century – the absence of an institution dedicated to welcoming Muslim merchants and sailors to Marseille for their exchange[17].

Nevertheless, the maintenance of diplomatic ties between Marseille and Tunis was clearly established, considering the numerous letters from Yūsuf Dey and his protégé, Ustā Murād, sent to the Marseille Chamber of Commerce. Most of them were written in Italian, and they generally demonstrated a desire to maintain good commercial relations with Marseille. In particular, they often demanded the exchange of captives, sometimes expressly named, such as this "Andalusian" Allonso Fernandes who was held in the Marseille jails, and whose release Ustā Murād demanded in 1619[18].

3. The exchange, subject to long negotiations.

During these captive exchange procedures, the number of people released on both sides was not always equivalent[19]. This is why many exchanges took place privately. Whatever the period in which these occurred, they gave rise to long negotiations[20].

Thus, in the 15th century, the Marseille merchant Bertrand Forbin carried out these two activities simultaneously, as a merchant in goods and as an intermediary in the redemption of captives[21]. In 1444, the business of the Forbin merchants of Marseille seemed to emerge from the slump in which it had been for six years. The two brothers Bertrand and Jean Forbin concluded, by notarial deed with Nice, Genoa and Naples, commercial contracts for the redemption of captives. Bertrand Forbin had been appointed consul of Marseille in Genoa[22]. From 1441, coral fishing also became another source of a substantial income and was added to the trade in leather, Syrian cotton, and that of the redemption or exchange of captives in the Barbary ports[23].

At the end of their lives, the Forbin merchants were still carrying out large-scale business in Marseille, without having to set up distant expeditions[24]. They sent wine to Rome, used their foreign correspondents, notably the agents of the German society with whom Bertrand Forbin was on excellent terms, to carry out redemptions of captives or exchanges of slaves on behalf of high-ranking figures[25].

The Forbin company also bought back Marseillais captured by Catalans or Barbaryans. Apart from the practice of their merchant professions which they exercised brilliantly, the Forbins fulfilled public functions on several occasions. Jean was three times syndic of the city and Bertrand participated in several embassies sent by the municipal council of Marseille to Italy, which had earned him, in 1425, the flattering title of squire and familiar of the king.

Certain guarantees appeared in the act of exchange. For example, if one of the two captives died during the journey, the

[14] DEVOULX Albert, La marine de la Régence d'Alger, t. 13, 1868, pp. 384-420 et Le registre des prises maritimes, t. 15, 1870, pp. 70-79, 149-160, 184-201, 285-299, 362-374, 447-457; t. 16, 1872, pp. 70-77, 146-156, 233-240, 292-303.

[15] (de) MAS-LATRIE Louis, Traité Gênes-Tunis 1391, L.de Mas-Latrie éd., Traités, p. 130-132, art. 2 et Ibid., art. 3. Le traité prévoit également des échanges, plus ponctuels, si des captifs hafsides sont libérés par des Génois.

[16] Archivio della Veneranda Confraternita della Beata Vergine Maria della Carita, Eglise Saint-Paul, la Valette, Fondo Legato Dinapoli, Redenzione degli schiavi, vol 1, fº 21, 15 Septembre 1660 et AOM, 102, fº 57 ("molti per essere poveri, non hanno modo alcuno di riscatto": most of them were poor and could not pay the ransom.

[17] In that case, the sultan was committing into freeing Genoese peoples (art. 4). Et E. de K. Aguiló, Bolletí de la Societat Arqueológica Luliana, 1915, p. 217-226.

[18] ACCIM, J 1888, Correspondance avec Osta Morat, lettre du 14 mars 1619.

[19] (de) K. Aguiló, E., « Incident surgit ab motiu del canvi d'esclaus cristians y moros », negotiation for the exchange of thirty-two Muslims for twelve Christians, involving not only the Majorcan negotiator, but also the Christian consuls present in the port of Bougie, who had an interest in facilitating the transaction to bring peace to the port.

[20] SMIDA, Mongi, Consuls et consulats de Tunisie au XIXe siècle, Tunis, Éditions de l'Orient, 1991.

[21] ACCIM (Marseille), 35 letters written in French regarding the Forbin family and their exchange or purchase of captives. And see also « Protocoles » written by the clerk, Me Pierre CALVIN: ADBDR, Funds Verdillon 52, folios 2,3,21,22,34. About numorous contracts between Thomas Colomier, merchant and private families who were paying a ransom to buy a member of their family back.

[22] PANZAC Daniel, Une activité en trompe-l'œil : la guerre de course à Tripoli de Barbarie dans la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle, ROMM 47, 1988, pp. 127-143.

[23] Malausséna Paul l., « Promissio redemptionis : le rachat des captifs chrétiens en pays musulman », Annales du midi, 1968, nº 88, pp. 255-281.

[24] ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria399, acte du 23 juillet 1451 et Funds Doat 15, folio 246.

[25] ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria 396, 253, 397 fº 118 et 398 fº 56 and ADBDR, Funds Verdillon 106, fº 65.

other remained “free and clear.” ”. However, thanks to a bilateral agreement concluded between France and Algiers from 1534 to 1537, during an informal alliance between Francis I and Sultan Suleiman I, the French Mediterranean coasts were protected from the Habsburgs by Barbary corsairs. For six months, between 1543 and 1544, thirty thousand sailors from the Ottoman fleet even wintered in Toulon. The previous winter, the Ottoman fleet had already spent a winter in Marseille. This gave rise to exchanges between Muslim captives and French captives not listed in the French archives[26].

Furthermore, in the 16th century, a commission of merchants or “rode” could deliberate, in Marseille, for example, or in La Ciotat, for the release of Moorish women, their exchange or their sale[27]. A merchant from La Ciotat, Jean Rey, had thus, during his trip to Barbary, kidnapped twenty Moors, including two women and a girl, to exchange them with Christian captives working for the “Compagnie du Corail”[28].

Another method of freeing captives consisted of bringing together Muslim and Christian captives in the same place to exchange them. Thus, Sebastiano Capello and Agy Mamet Triarchi were both taken to the island of Tabarka, a Genoese trading post, off the coast of Tunisia[29]. Transport costs then fell to each intermediary. The French historian Jean Pignon shows that this counter was traditionally the place of exchange between Muslim and Christian captives. The Genoese consul of Tabarka could intervene during the exchange, according to the act of April 14, 1683, “following the ratification which will be given by the Lord of Tabarka”.

But in any case, when the release was the subject of a written act, it was added, in certain cases, that the captive would only remain free if he had already received his ”free card” or ”defense card”. freedom ”. In general, if the exchanges only took place between ”healthy and vigorous” captives who had ”strength and vigor”, they were also carried out with the guarantee of freedom, in case the other captive had renounced meanwhile his religion[30]. The principle remained the same until the 18th century during, for example, the exchange of Francesco Galasso[31], for whom the French consul, Auger Sorhainde, was responsible for keeping his ”free card” in the chancellery, while waiting for the so-called Hussein reaches Tunisia. The exchange and redemption procedure could sometimes last several months or years before its completion, as long as the captive’s return was safe and sound within his family.

4. The importance of intermediaries.

In addition to “classic” captives and renegades, a final typology of captives appeared, when the role of intermediary in exchanges gained importance. It could be explained by the conditions imposed by the owners of captives in Barbary. They agreed to free their hostages, subject to being able to exchange or barter them with other Moorish captives employed on French or Spanish galleys[32].

There were many Muslims who found themselves captive in Christianity. Failing to be bought or exchanged, they were most often sent to the galleys of Malta, Spain, France or Italy[33]. Considered as “good war” spoils – since “infidels” for Christians – they were resold on the slave markets of Valencia, Barcelona, Genoa or Livorno[34], where exchanges were created for the trading of slaves in Mediterranean.
French consuls on site usually served either as negotiators or as intermediaries in official or private exchanges between Turkish and French captives[35]. Thus, from 1591 to 1710, the consuls Severt, Hercule Tamagny, Augier Sorhainde, Jean le Vacher (Carthage) played a role in important redemption or exchange transactions[36]. It even happened that the consuls intervened directly to carry out repurchases by exchange, which had the advantage of avoiding a large part of the costs inherent in repurchase contracts and of avoiding a payment in cash. The funds of the Nunciature of Venice, the Litterae ad Principe and the series known as “Dei Principi” contain a multitude of letters concerning the exchange of French prisoners: in 1575, for example, an exchange took place between a French knight related to the Great Master of the Order of Saint John, and a certain Ammar Mustapha.

Likewise, towards the middle of the 17th century, Emanuel of Aranda and two of his companions were released, in exchange for five Turks held in Bruges, and this for a sum of money. Another example, reported by a French consulate officer in Algiers: in 1784, three Moors captive in Spain were exchanged for Spaniards[37].

Sometimes, attempts at exchange could end in bitter failures[38]. Thus, between 1613 and 1621, one hundred and ninety-three French ships and sixty boats were boarded by Algerian

[26] BELHAMISSY Moulay, Les captifs algériens et l’Europe chrétienne, (1518-1830), Alger, Entreprise Nationale du Livre, 1988, p. 20.

[27] CALAFAT Guillaume, Les juridictions du consul : une institution au service des marchands et du commerce-Publications de l’École française de Rome, 2017 (généré le 16 juin 2017). Disponible sur Internet : ISBN : 9782728312610. DOI : 10.4000/books.efr.3293.

[28] ACCM, BB 41, fº 163

[29] PIGNON REIX Jean, « Gênes et Tabarka au XVIIe siècle », Cahiers de Tunisie, 109-110, 1979.

[30] ADBDR, Funds Verdillon 43, fº 86, 19 juin 1387: a merchant from San Remo received forty florins from a Marseille merchant to whom he promised to bring a genovese slave back.

[31] CADN, acte du 6 novembre 1711- Antonio Zamit.

[32] ADBDR, Funds Chanot, reg. 19 à 24, fº 97, et folios 123, 152, mention d’un “factor” de Julien de Casaulx, pour l’achat d’une esclave à Gênes en 1374.

[33] ACM, BB 40, fol.197, BB 41, fol. 163 : commission pour la libération des mauresques vendus sur les galères génoises par les marchands marseillais et provençaux en 1562, et marchand de la Ciotat : Jean Rey avait enlevé 20 maures dont deux femmes et une fille pour échange avec captifs chrétiens travaillant pour la Compagnie du Corail.

[34] ADBDR, Funds Verdillon, 10, fº 52, 20 septembre 1359, Symon d’Apt clothier from Marseille exchanged with Pierre Gras from Montpellier, a twenty-four-year-old olive-haired Barbary, for forty cords of hemp cloth estimated at an amount of forty florins.

[35] MANNING Patrick, “Contours of Slavery and Social Change in Africa”, American Historical Review, vol. 88, no 4, 1983, p. 835–857 (DOI 10.2307/1874022)1983, p. 835.

[36] BOUTIN Abel, Les Traités de paix et de commerce de la France avec la Barbarie, 1515- 1830, Paris, Pédone, 1902.

[37] AOM, Principi 29, fº 161, regarding the ransom of Maître Jean L’Evêque de la Cassière, 1572-1581.

[38] BnF, MF 12219, fº 4v, O. El Mesmoudi, 2008, p. 252-253.

corsairs. A year later, two representatives from Marseille, Jean de Glandèves and Antoine Bérengier, attempted without success to exchange around forty Algerian slaves employed in the galleys for an identical number of French captives, but only managed to escape.

Also in the 17th century, it nevertheless seems that the French consulate in Tunis was more involved in these exchanges. Thus, the captive Migliano di Francesco Pini from the island of Gillo, arrived in Tunis to replace his brother Pasquale in captivity, slave of Haïder Courougli of Tripoli, residing in Tunis[39]. Pasquale was thus able to go to Livorno to redeem Hassen, son of Haïder. The contract will be registered by the French consulate and signed by two Muslim witnesses, Osta Mohammed al Qassas and Osta Ali al Qassas, on August 9, 1658[40].

It could also happen that the restitution of prisoners was done reciprocally and was stipulated by agreements, such as that of August 12, 1616, published by Mr. Grandchamp[41]. This agreement was arranged by Jacques de Vincheguerre, despite his bad reputation, because he would have served as a nominee for the pirate Osta-Mourad-bey[42]. Nevertheless, the agreement was followed by the arrival of a Tunisian embassy which came to offer Louis XIII ostriches, Arabian horses and leopards to seal the peace. Among the captives, whose names are given in the acts of our chancellery, that of Vincent de Paul, kidnapped in 1605 by Tunisian corsairs during a crossing from Marseille to Narbonne[43]. Sold as a slave, he changed masters three times and managed to convert the last one, a Savoyard renegade, who brought him back to France[44]. Through this harsh apprenticeship, Vincent de Paul was prepared for the functions of chaplain to the general of the galleys and moved towards sainthood[45].

5. "Commercial" exchanges.

In France, and in its neighboring countries such as Spain, the trade in fabrics, leathers, coral, etc. was extremely linked to the trade in captives with the Ottoman regencies. In Marseille[46], from the 14th century, almost all the captives to be exchanged in Marseille, came from countries bordering the Black Sea, where the "Slav trade" took place in the Middle Ages[47].

Often the Christians exchanged were elderly and the work force they represented was limited[48]. No doubt it was better for their owner to negotiate the price of their freedom while also allowing that of his compatriots held in the Christian captive's country of origin[49]. However, it remains difficult to know the exact number of exchange operations between Christian captives and Moorish captives[50].

For example, letters almost all written in Italian generally demonstrated a desire to maintain good commercial relations with Marseille. They frequently demanded the exchange of captives, sometimes expressly named, such as this "Andalusian" Allonso Fernandes, whose release Ustā Murād demanded in 1619.

In short, the diplomatic and institutional framework put in place by the treaties, even subject to frequent questioning on both sides of the Mediterranean, sought to create the conditions for a secure market. For the Provençals, who settled a few miles from Tabarka, these legal and commercial agreements were a victory against the positions acquired in North Africa by the maritime republics of Genoa and Venice, in the 14th and 15th centuries, but also by Spain at the beginning of the 16th century. At the very beginning of the 17th century, the new Sultan Ahmed I recognized that he could not fight against the Barbary corsairs. French king Henry IV then addressed the Regencies of North Africa directly and ordered the restitution of property and release of the French captives[51]. In 1605, François Savary, Lord of Brèves, concluded an agreement in Algiers, including an exchange of slaves. In Tunis, the bilateral agreement was more respected.

It seems that at the end of the 18th century, exchanges were even less numerous than in the century before. The author Abla Gheziel relies on the words of Laugier de Tassy to show that "the deys of Algiers did not agree to exchange Muslims for

[39] BOYER de SAINT-GERVAIS Jacques, Mémoires historiques qui concernent le gouvernement de Tunis, avec des réflexions sur la conduite d'un consul et un détail du commerce, Paris, Ganeau fils.

[40] MEZIN Anne, Les Consuls de France au siècle des Lumières, Paris, Direction des archives et de la documentation, Ministère des Affaires étrangères, 1997, p. 394-395.

[41] GRANDCHAMP Pierre, La France en Tunisie au début du XVIIe siècle (1611-1620), Tunis, Imprimerie Générale, T2 et t3 (1611-1620 et 1706-1714).

[42] ACCIM, thirty-five letters written in French, Italian and Ottoman – with Yūsuf Dey, from 1617 to 1637: ACCIM, J 1887, "Barbary Commerce – Tunis", "Correspondence with Yssouf Dey"; then with Ustā Murād: ACCIM, J 1888, "Barbary Trade – Tunis", "Correspondence with Osta Morat, captain of the galleys of Tunis then bey [sic] and dey (1616-1640)".ACCIM, J 1887, « Articoli fatti qua in Tunis per il Signor Giacomo de Vinciguerra, Generale di Vasselli Armati per la Città di Marsilia con l'Ill.re Hyssuf Dai, Capitano Generale della Militia di Tunis per la pace e tranquillità del negotio e sicurtà dei mercanti francesi », fol. 2, ACCIM, G 43.ACCIM, J 1889, « Commerce de Barbarie », « Tunis – Correspondance avec le Divan (1621-1634) », « Extrait de la lettre écrite par le divan des janissaires de Tunis à Monseigneur de Guise et Messieurs les Consuls et seigneurs de cette ville, traduite le 3 mars 1621 ».

[43] ACCIM, J 1405, « Consulat de Tunis – Claude Sévert, consul suppléant (1617-1624) », 6 avril 1618.

[44] Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF): St. St., M 4-b (2), f.15r, 1605, et St., Q 3-d, f.123r, 23 novembre 1607, ACDF, St. St., HH 3-b, not foliated.

[45] MOLLAT Michel, « De la piraterie sauvage à la course réglementée » Gérard. A. Jaeger, Vues sur la Piraterie, p. 70-95.

[46] AM Arles, GG 70 - Sacristy, tome 1, 1497-1596, Folio 208-1667.

[47] Martinez Torres Jose Antonio, Prisioneros de los infieles. vida y rescate de los cautivos cristianos en el mediterraneo musulman, Barcelona, Bellaterra, 2004, p. 41.

[48] AM Arles, GG 70 – Sacristy, tome 1, 1497-1596, Folio 208 verso, 1686, Baptism of Joseph Cays. Et AM Arles, GG 70, GG 70 – Sacristy 1, 1497-1596, Folio 159 verso, 1584, « Un record de huict hommes cathéchizés » .

[49] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1842-2, carpeta 14, fº 4.

[50] SAVARY de BREVES François, Relation des voyages de Monsieur de Brèves, tant en Grèce, Terre Saincte et Aegypte qu'aux royaumes de Tunis et Arger, ensemble un traicté faict l'an 1604 entre le roy Henry le Grand et l'empereur des Turcs, et trois discours dudit sieur, le tout recueilly par le S. D. C. (Jacques Du Castel.), Paris, N. Gasse, 1628, p.362.

[51] Henri IV to the consuls de Marseille, 28 septembre 1607, AMM, BB 59, fº 15 et Savary de Brèves to the Consuls of Marseille, Paris, 24 octobre 1616, ACCM, BB247 (OC) dans E. Plantet (éd.), 1893-1899.

Christians"[52]. When a Muslim was captured, he was considered "dead" and his property went to the treasury. As for the regency of Tunis, the studies of Sadok Boubaker have shown that the practice of exchange was on the contrary quite common there in the 17th century. Those contracts appear in diplomatic archives and show that merchants were accepting to conclude their business partly with men and partly with goods. It is also possible that a significant part of these exchanges was not recorded in the archives, which supposes that the operation was most often carried out privately between families, without any registration in the chancery.

6. The places of the exchange.

Most of the captives were bought or exchanged in Genoa, Livorno or Venice by Marseille merchants, who resold them to their fellow citizens, or to owners of foreign ships and sailors[53]. Jewish and Marseille merchants also brought them directly from the Levant. Sales and trade increased particularly around 1380, a period during which several ships from Marseille had made the trip from Rhodes to Alexandria and Majorca. On the other hand, Catalans from Majorca, Barcelona, Montpellier, and Sardinia came to obtain supplies of slaves in Marseille.

However, Marseille was not a very important slave market: indeed, the names of the sellers were not found more than two or three times in the notarial deeds and they were not professionals in the slave trade[54]. It seems, upon reading all these private acts, that Marseille traders only occasionally bought or sold a slave for their personal needs, or for very specific exchanges[55], for example, on the orders of the King or one of his subjects of high rank, or when they had received spoils of war from which they wished to part.

Moreover, these captives were often exchanged like common goods, for fabrics, spices or something else. In Marseille, they fulfilled essentially domestic functions alongside their masters. Women were employed as wet nurses or servants. By living in the master's house, these servants integrated themselves into their family life. The slave was sometimes even placed in apprenticeship and would never return to his country[56].

7. The difficulty of exchanging Moorish captives.

The Moorish captives had, unlike the Christian captives, no means of freeing themselves from their servitude, except to be demanded by the deys or rais for exchange. Masters had a right of resale over fugitive slaves and could claim them anywhere. On the other hand, they could also free them by a simple act passed before a notary. Finally, it happened that slaves received their freedom as a legacy in the will of their masters, to be rewarded for their good and loyal services. Sometimes some handmaids were endowed or allowed to marry[57]. Their condition was very similar to that of free servants, often engaged in long-term contracts, but this rarely appeared in the archived notary minutes[58].

However, neither the missions of religious orders nor the diplomatic missions really negotiated exchanges for the redemption of captives[59]. On the contrary, studies of the archives (in Marseille, Arles, Nantes, Paris) show the simultaneous presence of different forms of redemption[60]. If buyouts by individuals seemed to have been in the majority, it was undoubtedly because they were simply less visible.

The repurchase by recourse to specialized intermediaries, by negotiation of the price, made it possible to distinguish them from repurchases by religious orders or diplomatic missions, in Spain and Portugal in particular, since the time of the Reconquista, with a word borrowed from the Arabic: "alfaqueque." It was to these merchants, Christians, Jews, and Muslims, who circulated between the two shores of the Mediterranean, that individuals, but also brotherhoods or other institutions of redemption, preferably addressed themselves[61]. Especially when they felt powerless to manage the entire redemption cycle or when the first payment of a ransom had not been successful[62].

Trading companies and merchant networks between European ports such as Valencia, Cadiz, Marseille or Livorno[63] and the ports of the Maghreb, especially Algiers and Tunis, functioned as buy-out agencies, including for distant clients to whom they offered delivery services. transport, various financing services, and credit instruments to avoid transporting currencies[64].

But these "agencies" also carried out exchanges of captives. Thus, the Spanish presidencies, the Genoese Island of Tabarka, the Bastion de France and other coral fishing counters served as antechambers for negotiations.

---

[52] GHEZIEL Abla, « Captifs et captivité dans la régence d'Alger (XVIIe-début XIXe siècle) », Cahiers de la Méditerranée, 2013, p.42.

[53] BOUBAKER Sadok, Réseaux et techniques de rachat des captifs à Tunis au XVIIe siècle, 2008, Le commerce des captifs. Les intermédiaires dans l'échange et le rachat des prisonniers en Méditerranée, XVe-XVIIIe siècle, Etudes réunies par Wolfgang Kaiser, Ecole Français de Rome, p. 28.

[54] ASG (Genova) Riscatto dei schiavi, reg.156, lettre from Prior Garcin in Marseille, September 19 1711, letter to the Genovese consul, June 15, 1712.

[55] ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria 52, Clerk Laurent Aycard mentioning the sales of Tartar slaves, November 8, 1381.

[56] About thirty acts of sales from 1350 to 1385, merchants: 18 from Marseille, 2 from Montpellier, 2 from Majorqua, 2 from Barcelona, 2 from Sardegna, 2 from Perpignan, 1 from Cagliari, 1 from Nice, 1 from Avignon, et 1 from Tortosa.

[57] ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria 48, folio 220.

[58] ADBDR, Funds A. D Laget-Maria, 650 fº 198. March 5, 1381 and ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria 44, fº 106, January 21, 1376.

[59] ADBDR, Funds Malauzat 6, folio 12 : En 1319, Pierre Victor place Anne son esclave, en apprentissage pour un an auprès d'un tailleur.

[60] AOM 442, fº 209 et 443 fº 138, AOM 446, fº 231, repurchase of captives, and AOM 443, fº 246, 15 juin 1586 : Ali Ogli, renegade, became "Raïs" in Istanbul and offers to represent the Order of Malta to take care of the exchange or sale of Maltese captives.

[61] Christian WINDLER, Diplomatie et inter-culturalité, les consuls français à Tunis (1700-1840), Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg im Breisgau in Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine 50-4, octobre-décembre 2003, Genève, p.29.

[62] Charles VERLINDEN, Marchands chrétiens et juifs dans l'État mameluk au début du XVe siècle d'après un notaire vénitien, Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome, 1981, fasc. LI : 19-86.

[63] Francesca TRIVELLATO, « Juifs de Livourne, Italiens de Lisbonne, hindous de Goa. », Op.cit., Annales HSS, 58-3, 2003, p. 581-603.

[64] M.T BOYER-XAMBEAU, Ghislain DELEPLACE et Lucien GILLARD, Banquiers et princes, monnaie et crédit dans l'Europe du XVe siècle, Turin, 1991, p. 76.

The formation of commercial companies between merchants of all religious origins is also less known: Catholics, Orthodox and Muslims, established for example in Malta, carried out exchanges, following negotiations that were most often oral[65]. Several European merchants also came to establish themselves on the island of Malta and tried to make their trade prosper there: to the Italians, established since the 16th century, mainly from Naples and Sicily, were added Greeks (from Langos, of Cyprus, of Cirigo, of Chios), present since the Hospitallers had established themselves with a community of ancient Rhodians. But it was above all French merchants, from the beginning of the 16th century, (Marseillais and Provençaux like Matthieu Vassal, Antoine Bérenger, the Daniel family, etc.) who invested the Maltese market, due to a relaxation of the regulations imposed by the Order of Malta, concerning the entry of French ships into the port.

Indeed, with the dual objective of supplying the island market and reselling or exchanging captives and slaves, the knights now agreed to grant a license to any Maltese or foreign merchant, Christian or not, wishing to make a name for themselves in trafficking. captives, and more generally in Mediterranean trade. The negotiation of captives appeared as a means of introducing to Malta goods which were lacking on the island, both consumable and non-consumable.

Not only could captives or slaves be exchanged for goods, but merchants who acted as redemption intermediaries often took advantage of a trip to Muslim lands to bring back products that were missing from the island market: leathers, animal skins, wax, wool, olive oil, wheat, chickpeas, fresh or dried prickly fish, more luxurious products from the Levant (spices, silks, carpets, cotton, etc.)[66]. Finally, credit operations, carried out according to the legal customs of each place, were confirmed, if necessary, on the other side of the Mediterranean[67].

Other coasters went to Rome, Corneto or Gaeta to load grain, while galleys from Valencia stopped at Marseille so that people from Perpignan could load cloth on board for the ports of the kingdoms of Sicily[68]. In July 1436, a galley of Saint Mary, commanded by Stefano della Torre of Naples, landed Moorish slaves in Marseille. These had been captured off the coast of La Ciotat on a Bougie galiote. It is assumed that these were exchanged with French captives. In 1472, Antoine Martinenc, originally from Six-Fours, was captured by King Ferrand in a galley: he was only exchanged three years later for a slave[69].

One of the ways, as we saw previously, which allowed families to avoid paying the ransom was that of exchanging the captive for a Moorish slave[70]. An example is given to us with the contract signed on March 18, 1383, between several members of the Davin family of Marseille for the redemption of their first cousin, Bérenger Davin, sailor, about to leave for Sardinia, in Alghero[71]. The family took care of purchasing a Moor to be able to carry out the exchange of prisoners. Béranger Davin, with his ship, usually engaged in trade in the Mediterranean, particularly with Sardinia.

Traces of these redemptions, exchanges or acquisitions are also present in the municipal archives of cities such as Aix-en-Provence, Narbonne, Arles, Toulon, Nice, Valence, Cadiz, or Livorno and Venice, for transactions which also took place in the Maghreb ports, especially Algiers, Bougie and Tunis[72]. This trade, which originated based on the payment of ransoms, then evolved to operate through redemption agencies[73].

8. The price of the repurchase or exchange.

Particularly for distant customers, who did not wish to travel, merchants offered transport services, then financial services guaranteeing those transactions, such as setting up credit instruments to avoid transporting hard cash[74].

Despite the participation of the slaves themselves, and thanks to the savings they had accumulated for their own redemption, these operations were quickly codified around a reference price[75]. This was set, in 1580, at around one hundred crowns per head for an adult male in good health. This price could vary, depending on whether the repurchase was accompanied by an exchange of valued goods, or whether the repurchase or exchange was made with a country whose exchange value of the currency was high.

The Christians had difficulty during this period in balancing expenses with the contingents of Muslims to be exchanged. This at least with the Barbary cities, because, for Malta, in 1550-1560, it seems that there were more Muslims to exchange than Christians to redeem[76].

Seven *Litterae hortatoriae*, inserted in two volumes in the Vatican, "Epistolae ad principles 23 and 26", were devoted to slaves in the hands of Turks, corsairs, or Christian merchants, who wished to exchange them or collect a ransom. The places

[65] ACCIM Marseille, J 1887, « Articoli fatti qua in Tunis per il Signor Giacomo de Vinciguerra, Generale di Vasselli Armati per la Città di Marsilia con l'Ill.re Hyssuf Dai, Capitano Generale della Militia di Tunis per la pace e tranquillità del negotio e sicurtà dei mercanti francesi », fº 2 ; l'original se trouve dans : ACCIM, G 43.

[66] ACM Marseille, BB 40, fº 197.

[67] FONTENAY Michel, « La place de la course dans l'économie portuaire : l'exemple de Malte et des ports barbaresques », Annales ESC, 43-6, 1988, p. 1321-1347.

[68] Libri Conciliarum 93, fº 179v, 27 janvier 1574, 94, fº 88v, 10 janvier 1576, 91, fº 79v-80r, 13 octobre 1562.

[69] ADBDR, Chanot 123, fº 136. En sens inverse un Amalfitain, Pascale Sana, fut pris par Nicolas Gaétan de Marseille, en 1474.

[70] ADBDR, Funds Verdillon 52, fº 22 vº , 5 mai 1399.

[71] ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria, ne 54, fº 16 vº, 18 mars 1383 et 3 juin 1383, A.D. Funds Laget-Maria, nr 648, fº 80 vº.

[72] MARTINEZ TORRES, Jose Antonio, Prisioneros de los infieles. vida y rescate de los cautivos cristianos en el mediterraneo musulman, Barcelone, Editions Belleterre, 2004, p.63.

[73] BOUBAKER Sadok, « Course et corsaires à Tunis à l'époque moderne (XVIe-début XIXe siècle) », dans 'Des galères méditerranéennes aux rivages normands', In hommage to André Zysberg, Présentation by Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, Caen, Cahiers des Annales de Normandie, nr 36, 2011, p. 79-86.

[74] LOPEZ Maria Dolores, «La Corona de Aragón y el Norte de Africa: las diferentes areas de intervencion mercantil catalano-aragonesa en el Magreb a finales del siglo XIV y principios del siglo XV», Acta historica et archaeologica mediaevalia, 11-12, 1990-1991, p. 315.

[75] BOYER XAMBEAU Marie-Thérèse, DELEPLACE Ghislain et GILLARD Lucien, Banquiers et princes, monnaie et crédit dans l'Europe du XVe siècle, Turin, 1991.

[76] BROGINI Anne, Une noblesse en Méditerranée. Le couvent des Hospitaliers dans la première modernité, PUF, 2017, p.15.

of detention listed in these *Hortatoriae* put Algiers in first place[77]. Followed by Tunis, Tripoli, Bizerte, Tetouan, Bône, Carthage and Numidia[78]. For the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, Rhodes, Chios, and Cyprus were the most common places[79].

The ransoms demanded were stipulated either in ducats, sequins or ecus[80]. Venetian sequins enjoyed an advantage over Spanish currency. The highest ransoms were those demanded in Algiers, Constantinople, and Rhodes[81]. The most significant were those paid by those who redeemed themselves: one hundred and fifty crowns, two hundred and fifty crowns and one hundred sequins, even if it was necessary to deduct the interest paid to the merchants who advanced the funds (from 25 to 40%).

Neither negotiations by monks nor treaties could prevent the corsair peril. According to Consul Jean Ambrosin, the catch in 1669 amounted to nine merchant ships, 250,000 piastres and around one hundred and fifty captives. In 1671, De Lormes estimated the loot at one million five hundred thousand pounds and four hundred slaves taken under the French banner. Chabane Kodja Dey had eighty of them in his private penal colony, which was the subject of a new campaign and resulted in the liberation of three hundred slaves. But as soon as the number of captives fell, it seemed to rise almost immediately, largely under the leadership of the Marseillais.

The corruption of an officer responsible for commanding the penal colony was a regularly employed strategy. Father Jehannot used this process several times, notably in 1731, with a Turkish officer. In addition, not being too eager to ask for a buyout made it possible to drive up prices less.

On letters of credit and on money loans for the redemption of any slave, it was necessary to pay 10% interest on average in the 16th and 17th centuries. And, sometimes, for a Barbary slave held in France, an obligation was made to buy another Christian slave for the fixed price of one hundred crowns, which was another form of exchange[82]. This allowed the pasha to buy disabled, elderly or blind people for ten or twenty crowns, to resell them for a hundred...or to exchange them for Muslim captives of greater value...The boarding fee then amounted to two percent of the price of the slave to "get through the door". For missions proposing redemptions of groups of captives, the pasha then agreed to discounts, especially if gifts in money or in kind were granted.

9. Fragility of the captive trade.

Even if it could then appear very structured, with, at the bottom of the scale, the captains of ships or "boat skippers," in charge of the transport or transfer of captives from one bank to the other, then, the merchants active on both shores of the Mediterranean who offered their services and networks on site for exchange or redemption, trade and the exchange of captives remained fragile. Thus testified the leaders of the Corail Company, Thomas Lenche and his nephew Antoine.

Furthermore, it should be noted that merchants eventually opened large credits to their brokers, called "censals". Indeed, they often engaged well beyond their specific role and participated closely in sales, purchases and, above all, barter operations[83]. The census was part of the link in a chain[84].

However, on this point, historians who have dealt with trade in the Levant in the 19^{th} and early 20^{th} centuries, such as Paul Masson, have been very discreet about these intermediaries in their works. Their attention was rather held by the relations between powerful merchant houses in Marseille and Barbary or, again, by the erupting conflicts between the Echelles and arbitrated by the consuls after long negotiations[85]. Which tells us little about the confrontations that existed or about the balance of power between Europeans and Barbary Islanders.

Three possibilities were available to the European merchant acting through intermediaries or brokers. First, it was a matter of selling to wholesalers or shopkeepers in the *Batistan* (the slave market) who then sold retail to customers in the city. In this first case, payment for the goods was received in cash, at varying deadlines, and this was the preferred solution for merchants. But for example, in Smyrna, it only applied to a minimal fraction of the cargoes received.

For the second case, it could be a question of negotiating with caravan merchants who brought, for example, Persian silk: political circumstances had seriously reduced the scale of this traffic but it gave rise to barter or exchange of captives[86].

Finally, the European merchant could contact "barterers," the majority of whom were Jews who took care of the entry merchandise and provided the return merchandise in exchange.

The intermediaries were often associated with barterers and handed over to them the captives and goods of their European patron, occupying, if necessary, the status of debtor towards the latter.

---

[77] Ep. Pr. 23, fº 169, Hortatoria, datée du 5 décembre 1589, Archives institutionnelles de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Archives institutionnelles conservées par la mission archives (site François-Mitterrand), Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal ¿ Ms-8001 à 8873 ¿ Manuscrits italiens : Ms-8501 à 8599 : Ms-8558 .

[78] T. LUTTRELL Antony, The Hospitallers in Cyprus after 1386, Cyprus and the Crusaders, Papers given at the International Conference, Nicosie, 6-9 Septembre 1994, N.Coureas et J.Riley-Smith, Nicosie, 1995, p.130 et s.

[79] ROSTRAGNO Lucia, « Mi faccio turco », supplément à Orient Moderno IV, 1983, [En ligne : https://www.jstor.org/stable/40954355]

[80] LUCHERINI Vinni, "Memorie della Roma monumentale »), riflessi della politica papale nelle «descriptiones» di Giovanni Diacono e Pietro Mallio dedicate ad Alessandro III - A stampa in Medioevo: immagine e memoria." Atti del convegno internazionale (Parma, 2008), Milano, Electa, 2009, pp. 297-318.

[81] Bartolomé BENNASSAR, 1988, « Conversion ou reniement ? Modalités d'une adhésion ambiguë des chrétiens à l'islam (XVIe -XVIIe siècles) », Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations, 43 (6), p. 1349-1366.

[82] CARRIERE Charles, Négociants marseillais au XVIIIe siècle ; contribution à l'étude des économies maritimes, Revue d'Histoire Moderne & Contemporaine Année 1976 23-1 pp. 149-159.

[83] VERLINDEN Charles, « Marchands chrétiens et juifs dans l'Etat mamelouk au début du XVe siècle, d'après un notaire vénitien », Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome 51, 1981, p. 19-86.

[84] MANCA Ciro, « Problemi aperti sul commercio e sul riscatto degli schiavi cristiani nel Mediterraneo dopo Lepanto », Africa 29, 1974, p.23

[85] PARIS Robert, Histoire du commerce de Marseille, de 1660 à 1789, éd. G. Rambert, Paris, Plon, 1957, p. 45.

[86] KAISER Wolfgang, Une aristocratie urbaine entre la plume et l'épée, les nobles marchands de Marseille, XVIe-XVIIe siècle, Grell et Ramière de Fortanier Editions, Paris 1999, p 88.

10. Scarcity of currencies and increase in barter.

In times of economic crisis or monetary crisis, resorting to barter seemed a comfortable solution for many merchants. They were even tempted to exchange men for goods. Peyssonnel broadly described these barter operations which had taken on, he said, great importance in Smyrna over the past twenty years, because most of the trade had disappeared and cash had become rare[87].

There were two kinds of barter. "Momentary" or instantaneous barter, because it was accomplished instantly, by exchange with respective goods and captives[88]. Anticipated barter, more complex and more widespread: the merchant specializing in barter received the goods for exchange from the European trader[89]. It was then up to him to find buyers among the population or to identify the owners of the captives to be exchanged. On the agreed date, he was to be back with the prisoners or the goods he had agreed to provide in payment[90].

Bartering bothered many, but the frequent presence of caravans necessitated this recourse, even if its use remained limited in a few cities – Smyrna – but there was concern to see the practice insidiously spreading throughout Turkey, spreading the seeds of an unfair competition between the Ottoman provinces. It was also harmful to the interests of French merchants, especially when there was an exchange of goods with captives or slaves. Thus, the leagues were set up by the French, unions of sellers and buyers keen to maintain a decent relationship, from their point of view, in the terms of trade.

From the 12^{th} century, thanks to the existence of new means of payment, Frankish trading houses increasingly sought to free themselves from the supervision of intermediaries. They got into the habit of sending postmen to make direct purchases, even in the large internal markets of North Africa. They carried with them bills of exchange which allowed them to avoid money transfers in cash. It made it possible to acquire more security for their release and immediate settlement of the debt.

The register of notary P. Calvin thus contained numerous contracts between the merchant Thomas Colomier and Varois. In these acts, it involved the payment of ransom or the purchase of Moorish slaves for exchange of captives. The amount paid was refundable in case the captive died or the ransom was too high. Additionally, in the contract, a clause was mentioned that if the unfortunate person, after his release, was captured again by the Moors while returning from Africa, the skipper of the ship was obliged to ransom him at his own expense[91].

Sometimes, the slaves, considering that they had little chance of being redeemed and refusing to convert, would themselves actively intervene in the transactions for their own liberation, by announcing their next movements, by suggesting possible exchanges, by weaving information links which went from Barbary to Constantinople, to Naples, to Livorno, via Malta, via Stromboli, to Palermo and Trapani, in short, following the same routes as the Barbary race[92]. Their knowledge of places, people, institutions became real know-how, in case, after their exchange or redemption, they wanted to embark on a commercial activity, become collaborators or spies, organize the rich – but risky – activity of making other slaves flee[93], from Tunis to Sicily, or from Algiers to the Balearic Islands, after a day at sea if the wind was favorable, or even practicing the profession of professional hunter of fugitive slaves, acting in cahoots with the tenants[94] ...

But if Muslim slaves were fewer in number in France, their condition was worse there, because they remained there longer, often until the end of their days, hoping in vain to be exchanged. Indeed, in the ports of the Ottoman Regencies, there were Frankish traders constantly coming and going, who quite naturally served as intermediaries for French captives wishing to contact their loved ones. The reverse was certainly not be the case, did not exist or perhaps just in homeopathic doses. Nevertheless, as we saw previously, there was some specific categories of captives allowed to lead an original negotiation as "Rehen" (Moorish) or hostage, at the (Madrilenian) court to negotiate an exchange with other Moorish captives for Christian captives[95].

It seems that, in Spain or France, most of the Christians or Protestants captives to be exchanged were elderly. In fact, the labor force they represented was limited[96]. No doubt it was better for their owners to negotiate the price of their freedom by also obtaining that of their compatriots held in the country of origin of the Christian captive[97]. Let us not forget that traders also bought back Moorish captives, to repatriate their capital to their parent company[98]. However, through the payment of ransoms or exchanges of captives, they hoped to receive in return the cargoes of products they needed for their trade within the Barbary regencies, notably woolens.

It remains that the practices of capture and exchange of captives, through war, racing or acts of piracy, nevertheless proved to be the driving forces behind economic activity generated by

[87] PEYSSONNEL et DESFONTAINES, Voyages dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger, Paris, 1838, tome I, p 183.

[88] BOUBAKER Sadok, « Usages de la lettre de change à Smyrne dans la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle : l'exemple de la maison Roux de Marseille 1759-1789 », In : Simonetta Cavaciocchi (dir.), Relazioni economiche tra Europa e il mondo islamico, secc. XIII-XVIII, 2 volumes, Tome 1, p. 51.

[89] AOM 419, fº 228, 17 octobre 1544 (Jewish merchants), 423, fº 234, quoted by Anne BROGINI.

[90] HERSCHENZON Daniel, Les réseaux de confiance et de crédit sur la Méditerranée occidentale, capture et rescousse, 1580-1670, Casa de Velazquez, 2012, p.131-140.

[91] PEYSSONNEL et DESFONTAINES, Voyages dans les régences de Tunis et d'Alger, Paris, 1838, tome I, p 183.

[92] NAV (Notarial archives of Valetta), Archivio della Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede (ACDF): St. St., M 4-b (2), Privilegi ai mercanti e agli Ebrei, fº 15r, 1605, ACDF, St. St., Q 3-d, fº 123r, 23 novembre 1607, ACDF, St. St., HH 3-b, non folioté, [à consulter en ligne: https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/215064].

[93] HERSCHENZON Daniel, op.cit., Les réseaux de confiance et de crédit, p.131-140.

[94] AMAE, MD France, Dossier 1729, 293-297, Crémieux 1908 et AMAE, MD, France, Dossier 1729, 298-301 and « Mémoires et documents, Algérie », 12, « Raisons de commerce pour entretenir la paix avec les Algériens, présenté à Mgr Colbert en janvier 1680 par le sieur Dusault », fº 182v.

[95] AGS, Série K, 1533B36, Correspondance de Charles IX à Philippe II sur la libération de Turcs retenus à Rome pour échange avec des captifs chrétiens.

[96] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1842-2, carpeta 14, fº 4.

[97] ADBDR, Funds Verdillon 52, fº 2,3,21,22, 34.

[98] MAROT Louis, Relation de quelques aventures maritimes de L.M, pilote réal des galères de France, Paris, Gervais Clouzier, 1673.

French merchants in North Africa, from the 15th to the 18th century[99].

The exchange of captives, although it was accompanied by a confrontation between Christianity and Islam, saw its importance grow as social and economic needs were fulfilled, with the move and installation of various French communities of merchants, who established a social awareness of the importance of these exchanges[100].

Conclusions.

The indifference of Louis XIII to the fate of the captives was a good example of the type of international relations that France forged with North Africa during this period and triggered the number of exchanges of captives[101]. However, the last treaty concluded with Morocco was broken, following a misunderstanding. Even if he did not wish to allocate sums to the redemption of captives, French king Louis XIII agreed to nevertheless sign a new agreement, if his finances were not strained[102]. The treaty was therefore ratified again and a symbolic exchange of captives took place. But the emissary of King Louis XIII, De Chalard, made the mistake of spending his entire budget on only a third of the slaves he was to free. He borrowed the money for the remaining third, which angered the king. The latter had him imprisoned and refused to spend another penny[103]. Then he entrusted the monk-soldier Henri Escoubleau de Sourdis, Archbishop of Bordeaux, with the mission of De Chalard.

De Chalard had, however, exchanged twenty-seven Muslims for twenty-eight French people detained in Marrakech, then had bought back two hundred and fifteen of them. He had had to borrow for forty of them, and had promised payment for three hundred and thirty-three others, who were conditionally released[104]. He also presided over the release of ninety-seven captives from Brittany who had financed their ransom themselves. The States of Brittany accused him of having spent four times more than the sum they had allocated for the release of the latter[105].

In front of Salé and Algiers, when the French army allied with Protestant battalions to fight Catholic Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, a squadron of ships was deployed "to cleanse the sea of its corsairs", in the words of the royal declaration. This gave Louis XIII credibility, and allowed him to distract from the liberties he was taking with religion during the Thirty Years War.

If in France, the trafficking and exchange of captives held in Barbary referred to the trade in human beings, mainly European, these flourished mainly between the 11th and 18th centuries and were nourished by slave markets on the coast of the Barbary Coast[106]. Certainly, it was a trade based on violence, but it led us to go beyond the idea of the traditional confrontation between the Turks and a (Latin) "Christendom", by showing that the relations were not only woven around an idea of religious redemption[107], but also on business exchanges between the two shores of the Mediterranean, leading to collaboration and cooperation between merchants[108] and intermediaries supporting these commercial operations[109]. Even if it appears as a very materialistic vision of this human exchange, the number of communities of merchants settling in the Ottoman provinces was quite significant and revealed the use of new banking tools[110].

Summary.

Being a structural phenomenon in the Mediterranean in modern times, racing off the French coast experienced its golden age after the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Trade and the exchange of captives developed concomitantly with the intensification of the use of galleys and the rise of the "Nordic" powers in the Mediterranean.

In addition to "classic" captives and renegades, a final typology of captives appeared, when the private role of intermediaries and merchants took on importance to save captives meant to be exchanged.

It can be explained by the conditions set by owners of French captives in Barbary and economic conditions conducive to barter or the exchange of prisoners. The owners of the captives agreed

[99] AOM 419, fº 228, 17 octobre 1544 (Jewish merchants).

[100] MOUDINE Mohamed, Le rachat des esclaves musulmans en Europe Méridionale, du XIIIe siècle à la fin du XVIIIe siècle, le cas du Maroc, thèse de doctorat, Université de Provence, Aix-Marseille I.

[101] KAISER Wolfgang, « Voisins barbares, étrangers proches. Pratiques d'assimilation et de démarcation à Marseille » (XVe-XVIIe siècle s), dans Le barbare, l'étranger : images de l'autre, Actes du colloque organisé par le CERHI (Saint-Étienne, 14-15 mai 2004), Saint-Étienne, 2005.

[102] PENZ Charles, Personnalités et familles françaises d'Afrique du Nord, Maroc, 1588-1814, Paris, Editions SGAF, p.146.

[103] « Mémoires données par le bailli de Forbin », 1639, ADBDR, Funds Coriolis, 62/28 et BnF, Collection Dupuy 569, fº 193.

[104] ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria, ne 54, fº 16 vº , 18 mars 1383 et 3 juin 1383, ADBDR, Funds Laget-Maria, nr 648, fº 80 vº .

[105] MORINEAU Michel, « Flottes de commerce et trafics français en Méditerranée au XVIIe siècle (jusqu'en 1669) », XVIIIe siècle: Naissance d'une domination. Marchands européens, marchands et marchés du Levant aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles », Cahiers de la Méditerranée, hors-série nr 1, nr 86-87, 1970, p. 135-171 and 1976, p. 145-184.

[106] MANNING Patrick, 'Contours de l'esclavage et modifications sociales en Afrique' (« Contours of Slavery and Social Change in Africa »), American Historical Review, vol. 88, nº 4, 1983, p. 835–857.

[107] AYMARD Maurice, « Chiourmes et galères dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle », in G. Benzoni (dir.), Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del '500 alla luce di Lepanto, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1974 p. 71-94.

[108] ADBDR, Funds Verdillon 43, fº 86, June 19, 1387: a resident of San Remo received forty florins from a Marseillais by promising to bring him a slave from Genoa. ADBDR, Funds Chanot, reg. 19 to 24, fº 97, and fº s 123, 152, mention of a "factor" of Julien de Casaulx, for the purchase of a slave in Genoa in 1374. ADBDR, Funds Verdillon, 10, fº 52, September 20, 1359, Symon d'Apt draper from Marseille exchanged with Pierre Gras de Montpellier, a twenty-four-year-old olive-haired Barbary, for forty ropes of hemp cloth estimated at an amount of forty florins.

[109] MAZIANE Léila, Salé et ses corsaires (1666-1727), un port de course marocain au XVIIe siècle, Caen, Presses Universitaires de Caen, Publications des Universités de Rouen et du Havre, 2007, p.63.

[110] LOPEZ PEREZ Marie-Dolores, «La financiación de las empresas corsarias catalano-aragonesas durante la Baja Edad Media : los armamentos de naves mallorquinas», El comerç alternatiu, corsarisme i contraban (S. XV-XVIII): VIII Jornades d'Estudis Històrics Locals : Palma, 23-25 de Novembre de 1989 / coord. por Gonçal Artur López Nadal, 1990.

to release them, if they could be exchanged or bartered with other Moorish captives, intended, most of the time, to be in the domestic service of their masters or to row on French galleys.

They were then considered "good war" spoils – since "infidels" for Christians – they were for the most part resold on the slave markets of Valencia, Barcelona, Genoa or Livorno, the hub and exchange of the slave trade in Mediterranean.

If the wars of shipping and piracy also led to the capture of Saracens or Moors used as slaves in France, notably in the 14th century, the only means which allowed families to avoid paying the ransom was that of the exchange of the captive against a Moorish slave.

Traces of these exchanges are present in France in the municipal archives of cities such as Aix-en-Provence, Narbonne, Arles, Toulon, Nice, Valence, Cadiz, or Livorno and Venice, with traders carrying out private transactions in the ports of the Maghreb, especially Algiers, Bougie and Tunis. This trade, which was born based on the payment of ransoms, then evolved to operate through exchange and redemption agencies, particularly for distant clients who did not wish to travel. The merchants then offered them their transport services, then financial services guaranteeing transactions to avoid the transport of hard cash.

The negotiators distinguished two types of captives to be exchanged which did not commit the owner in the same way: on the one hand, those who were held by the sovereigns – their number was sometimes considerable; and on the other hand, those which were the property of individuals. In the first case, the captives constituted in this respect a diplomatic weapon of the first order for the country which held them. The more subjects of the adversary one had, the more the latter found himself in the position of claimant. But to the extent that the captives were on both banks, the interest of each was to carry out an exchange, which took place frequently, and most often in a private manner, hence the difficulty in counting them.