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NELL'ECONOMIA EUROPEA  
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IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMY  
FROM THE 13<sup>TH</sup> TO THE 18<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

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Roser Salicrú i Lluch<sup>1</sup>

*Slaves in the Professional and Family Life of Craftsmen in the Late Middle Ages*

The great spread of slavery in the late mediaeval period, a phenomenon that embraced fundamentally the major ports of the Christian Mediterranean, took place after the Black Death. From the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century the presence of slaves, men and, especially, women, from the Eastern Mediterranean gained the ascendancy over the hitherto predominant profile of the Iberian or Berber Moorish slaves resulting from the land and sea battles with the Islamic world. It can also be linked, in one way or another, to the demographic crisis and/or to the general rise in wages after the disaster of 1348<sup>2</sup>.

Indebted, to a large extent, to the many studies and to the pioneering and still inescapable work of reference by Charles Verlinden<sup>3</sup>, the studies of late mediaeval slavery have principally focused on the analysis of the trends in the traffic and on the definition of the origins, sex, age and prices of the slaves, being based largely on notarial documents, the most used up to now as they are also the most abundant and homogeneously distributed. However, the fundamentally urban domestic nature of mediaeval slavery has also been emphasized<sup>4</sup>. As a result, the juxtaposition of the spread of the phenomenon of slavery with the profiles of the owners has made it possible, on one hand, to see that, at least in the major “centres of slavery”, like Barcelona, slaves were not a luxury product<sup>5</sup>; and to infer on the other, almost mechanically, that these owners of any socio-professional condition, especially craftsmen, exploited the labour of the slaves they owned for their own benefit and according to their own professional activity.

Therefore, as in the other major Mediterranean port cities that have been studied in depth<sup>6</sup>, in Barcelona there existed an authentic “democratization” of slave ownership, as

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<sup>1</sup> Institució Milà i Fontanals, CSIC (Barcelona). This paper is part of the research project approved and financed by the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia, entitled “The Crown of Aragon in the Medieval Mediterranean: Bridge between Cultures, Mediator between Christendom and the Islamic World” (HUM2007-61131).

<sup>2</sup> Concerning this I refer to my considerations in R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *L’esclau com a inversió? Aprofitament, assalariament i rendibilitat del treball esclau en l’entorn català tardomedieval*, in “Recerques”, 52-53, 2006, pp. 49-85, especially pp. 51-61.

<sup>3</sup> CH. VERLINDEN, *L’esclavage dans l’Europe médiévale*, I, *Péninsule Ibérique – France*, Bruges 1955 (De Tempel); II, *Italie – Colonies italiennes du Levant – Levant latin – Empire byzantin*, Ghent 1977 (University).

<sup>4</sup> Something for which the monographic study by J. HEERS, *Esclaves et domestiques au Moyen Âge dans le monde méditerranéen*, Paris 1981 (Fayard, with multiple reprints) is largely responsible.

<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, both in Pisa (F. ANGIOLINI, *Padroni e schiavi a Pisa nel XV secolo*, in *De l’esclavitud a la llibertat a l’Edat Mitjana*, Barcelona 2000 (IMF-CSIC), p. 725) and in the cities of Tuscany in general (R. DELORT, *Le petit peuple des esclaves en Toscane, à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in *Le petit peuple dans l’Occident médiéval. Terminologies, perceptions, réalité. Actes du Congrès international tenu à l’Université de Montréal. 18-23 octobre 1999*, Paris 2002 (Publications de la Sorbonne), p. 393), slaves (or, more to the point, female slaves, which were the overwhelming majority) denoted wealth, as they were owned only by comfortably well-off people.

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, for Genoa, D. GIOFFRÉ, *Il mercato degli schiavi a Genova nel secolo XV*, Genoa 1971 (Fratelli Bozzi); for Valencia, the very recent digital edition (December 2007) of the doctoral thesis of F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud en Valencia durante la Baja Edad Media (1375-1425)*, defended in June 2006 at the University

they could be in the hands of owners from any non-marginal socio-professional sphere. And, if we exclude merchants and citizens, it is clear that a great variety of tradesmen and craftsmen of all kinds stand out as the principal owners of slaves<sup>7</sup>.

Nevertheless, we actually still know very little about the living conditions of slaves and, therefore, about both their exploitation and professional insertion and their social, personal and family insertion; attempts have often been made to shed light on these through the reality of the lives of freedmen and women. Seeing as Barcelona was one of the Mediterranean cities where the presence of slaves was most significant<sup>8</sup>, and seeing as the wealth and diversity of the Catalan sources allow us, moreover, to approach the phenomenon from a variety of perspectives, their example may be particularly enlightening in this respect. However, Barcelona, like other places in the Iberian Peninsula, possesses a peculiarity that has to be borne in mind, at least on a comparative level, with respect to what was happening in the rest of the Mediterranean: the number of female slaves evidently exceeds the number of male ones, but, for geographical and historical reasons<sup>9</sup>, male slaves are present far more consistently and are socially much more representative than, for example, in Genoa<sup>10</sup> or in the

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of Valencia [http://www.tesisenxarxa.net/index.html]; and, for Andalusia – where, in accordance with the availability of documents and historical conditioners, the estimates are later in time–, A. FRANCO SILVA, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la Edad Media*, Seville 1979 (Diputación Provincial); IDEM, *La esclavitud en Andalucía, 1450-1550*, Granada 1992 (University); and R. GONZÁLEZ ARÉVALO, *La esclavitud en Málaga a fines de la Edad Media*, Jaén 2006 (University).

<sup>7</sup> See particularly R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus i propietaris d'esclaus a la Catalunya del segle XV. L'assegurança contra fugues*, Barcelona 1998 (IMF-CSIC), pp. 80-81 and appendices III/A, III/B, III/C, III/D, pp. 121-135, and IX, pp. 177-206, remembering that the figures refer almost exclusively to male slaves. For the 14<sup>th</sup> century, J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus islàmics a Barcelona: blancs, negres, llors i turcs. De l'esclavitud a la llibertat (s. XIV)*, Barcelona 2003 (IMF-CSIC), tables on pp. 153-159, 160-165 and 166-169, lists the more than three hundred purchases and sales of male and female Moorish slaves recorded in Barcelona throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, in order of the professions of the sellers and buyers, and it also makes it possible to appreciate that same diversity, in this case for both the possession of male and female slaves.

<sup>8</sup> The conservation of a register of insurance against slaves escaping, compulsory only for owners of adult male slaves in the Principality of Catalonia (the Guarda d'Esclaus de la Generalitat), shows us that in 1424, 1,150 owners in Barcelona and its territory (*vegueria*) insured 1,647 male slaves, 916 of the owners being from the city of Barcelona, who insured 1,379 slaves (cf. R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit.). Another estimate shows 1,759 slaves insured, in 1431, in all Catalonia, 1,225 of them in the city of Barcelona (*ibid.*, table 4, based on the figures taken from *Cortes de los Antiguos reinos de Aragón y de Valencia y Principado de Cataluña*, Madrid 1896-1922 (Real Academia de la Historia), XVIII, pp. 22-23, also included by J. MIRET Y SANS, *La esclavitud en Cataluña en los últimos tiempos de la Edad Media*, in "Révue Hispanique", XLI, 1917, pp. 80-81 of the offprint). In line with the ratios commented upon in the following note, and taking into consideration that Verlinden estimated that, at this time, in Catalonia, the number of female slaves was at least double the number of male ones, in Barcelona there must have been a stable slave population of over 4,000 people, which could be between ten and almost twenty percent of the city's population. In Genoa, on the other hand, it is calculated that, at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, there were around 3,000 slaves (female slaves, to be exact); in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, around 2,500; and, after the conquest of Constantinople, between 1467 and 1472, around 1,200 (cf. D. GIOFFRÉ, *Il mercato*, cit., pp. 53 ss.).

<sup>9</sup> Because of the land and sea frontier with Islam, the constant supply of prisoners from corsair attacks and piracy and land raids and battles constitutes a steady supply of mostly male slaves. According to J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, cit., pp. 54-55, throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, among the Moors, male slaves always accounted for over 60%. For the 15<sup>th</sup> century, at least a quarter of the male slaves insured against escape in Barcelona in 1424-1425 were non-black Moors from Granada or Berbers (R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit., pp. 87-88 and box 8); if we were to add to them the blacks and all the other slaves considered Muslim (Turks, Tartars...) they might even reach half of all male slaves. CH. VERLINDEN, *L'esclavage*, cit., I, p. 453, calculated that, in Barcelona, or more generally in Catalonia, the ratio of female slaves with respect to the number of male slaves could be considered, on average, 1.5:1, although in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century it might rise to a ratio of 3:1 (1411), 2.66:1 (1424), 2.5:1 (1441), 1:1 (1442) and 2.5:1 (1445), figures that, in any case, are a long way off those mentioned in the following two notes.

<sup>10</sup> According to D. GIOFFRÉ, *Il mercato*, cit., p. 151, in Genoa the ratio oscillated according to the origin of the slaves (28:1 among the Bosnians, 11:1 among the Bulgarians and Greeks, 8:1 among the Albanians, 6:1 among the Circassians, 4:1 among the Turks), but the average for the 15<sup>th</sup> century is 13.6% male slaves against 86.4% female slaves. Figures from 1413 refer to 28.2% men against 71.8% women; in 1449 it was 8.5% men to 91.5% women, and in 1458 2.6% men to 97.5% women (*ibid.*, p. 79).

cities of Tuscany<sup>11</sup>, where the number of male slaves, almost invisible, is barely more than symbolic.

This peculiarity of Barcelona will introduce us to the nature of male slave labour, but it will also allow us to see a sexual division of the work that is a direct reflection of the different economic roles of men and women in the context of society and the family, which entails a different insertion of men and women in professional and domestic life and, therefore, in the family circles of their owners or the beneficiaries of their labours.

### *The Use of Slave Labour in the Municipal Ordinances of Barcelona*

Symptomatic of the worries of the population, the legislation in the major urban centres gradually reflects, in varying degrees, the socio-economic and cultural impact of the new, large-scale reality that, from the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is slavery.

Before the authentic proliferation of the presence of slaves from the Eastern Mediterranean, while slaves were still basically captives taken during the battles with the Moors, the municipal ordinances of Barcelona merely prevented slaves escaping, regulated their freedom of movement, attempted to stop the free population offering them shelter and tried to stop them having money<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, and very noticeably, after 1350 the *ordinacions* multiplied and were drawn up in a far more detailed way<sup>13</sup>, whilst the mechanisms to control the slave population became far more precise<sup>14</sup>. Nevertheless, it was after the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>15</sup> when the ordinances dealing with the presence of slaves as a social and public order problem emerged and which clearly showed the new concerns and needs of the

<sup>11</sup> M. BONI, R. DELORT, *Des esclaves toscans, du milieu du XIV<sup>e</sup> au milieu du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, in “Mélanges de l’École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge”, 112, 2000, 2, pp. 1069-1070, mention 203 female slaves and 19 males in Florence and Pisa between 1366 and 1368, or 289 females and 5 males in Florence in 1427-1428, for example; similar figures in F. ANGIOLINI, *Padroni e schiavi a Pisa nel XV secolo*, in *De l’esclavitud*, cit., p. 718, or R. DELORT, *Le petit peuple des esclaves en Toscane, à la fin du Moyen Âge*, in *Le petit peuple dans l’Occident médiéval. Terminologies, perceptions, réalité. Actes du Congrès international tenu à l’Université de Montréal. 18-23 octobre 1999*, Paris 2002 (Publications de la Sorbonne), p. 387. However, M. BONI, R. DELORT, *Des esclaves*, cit., pp. 1073-1074, suggest a possible lack of visibility of part of the male slave population.

<sup>12</sup> See F. ROCA SOLÀ, *La regulació de la vida ciutadana por el municipi de Barcelona (1300-1350)*, Barcelona 1975, typed doctoral thesis, II, pp. 473-484, and J. MUTGÉ I VIVES, *Les ordinacions del municipi de Barcelona sobre els esclaus*, in *De l’esclavitud*, cit., pp. 247-254.

<sup>13</sup> Something not exclusive to the case of Catalonia, seeing as, despite the fact that there the presence of a slave population never became as consistent as in Barcelona, the drafting of legislation on slaves in the main Tuscan cities also describes, logically, a similar chronology (Pisa 1359, Florence 1364-1366, Siena 1372, Lucca 1372, as referred by R. DELORT, *Du servage et de l’esclavage: notes sur la société toscane des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *Les sociétés méridionales à l’âge féodal (Espagne, Italie et sud de la France X<sup>e</sup>-XIII<sup>e</sup> s.)*, Hommage à Pierre Bonassie, Toulouse 1999 (CNRS-Université de Toulouse-Le Mirail), p. 112, and PH. BERNARDI, *Esclaves et artisanat: une main d’œuvre étrangère dans la Provence des XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, in *L’étranger au Moyen Âge. Actes du XXX<sup>e</sup> congrès de la SHMESP (Göttingen, 1999)*, Paris 2000 (Publications de la Sorbonne), pp. 90-91, note 54).

<sup>14</sup> Precisely in 1350, in a clear precedent of what, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the much more institutionalized and previously mentioned *Guarda d’Esclaus*, was to be, owners in Barcelona are obliged to declare the purchase and possession of slaves, and are entitled to receive, in the event of escape, financial compensation equivalent to the purchase price (J. MUTGÉ I VIVES, *Les ordinacions*, cit., pp. 252-253).

<sup>15</sup> In my opinion, the undated *ordinacions* would be from the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (or, at most, from the very early 15<sup>th</sup>), designed to punish the many “vices” (drunkenness, lust, pimping, theft, poisoning and other major crimes) that the slaves, “dirty and voluptuous persons” who in their own lands had lived “voluptuously” and led “beastly lives”, had sowed in a city that thought of itself as previously free of such depravation (ed. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-264; see also, on this point, R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Entre el reclam de les terres islàmiques i l’escapada septentrional: la institucionalització de la por a les fugues d’esclaus a la Catalunya tardomedieval*, in *De l’esclavitud*, pp. 112-113; EADEM, *L’esclau*, cit.; and T. VINYOLES I VIDAL, *Integració de les llibertes a la societat barcelonina baixmedieval*, in *De l’esclavitud*, cit., pp. 594-595). More or less at the same time, in much more detail, the danger of escape, both in Barcelona and in Perpignan, was also regulated (R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Entre el reclam*, cit., *passim*, and pp. 122-134 for the publication of the texts).

population in the face of the spread of a hitherto marginal situation, and they extend throughout the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>16</sup> and the second half of that same century<sup>17</sup>.

From the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and throughout the 15<sup>th</sup>, then, the municipal ordinances reflect, more or less generically and indirectly, that slaves have become an intrinsic part, yet differentiated according to sex, of the social and labour fabric of Barcelona, and they attempt to address the concerns generated by them: on a social and family level, above all due to the alleged destabilization of public morality that female slaves brought about; on a labour level, because the penetration of male slaves in certain trades generated, on one hand, suspicion about possible fraud and deception and encouraged, on the other, the supposed discrimination of workers from Christian backgrounds.

Although the author had already pointed out that the use of slave labour varied a great deal according to the trade and that, although the number of slaves could occasionally be limited, such limitation could not have been very common, the research done by Pierre Bonnassie on the organization of work in Barcelona at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>18</sup> had left us the image of corporations supposedly concerned about protecting themselves from the unfair competition of slave labour and, therefore, about protecting themselves from its possible specialization<sup>19</sup>.

Bonnassie was referring to the fact that, in 1453 and on the initiative of the workers, the master coral craftsmen were prevented from using more than two slaves in their workshops; that, in 1481, they were authorized to use three, but that, in 1490, the initial limitation was brought back<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, both silversmiths, in 1449<sup>21</sup>, and gold

<sup>16</sup> The Guarda d'Esclaus de la Generalitat came into being in 1413, although it did not begin operating until 1422 (R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit.). The "dishonesty and carnal sin" or prostitution of female slaves was regulated in 1414, and again in 1433 (ARXIU HISTÒRIC DE LA CIUTAT DE BARCELONA [AHCB], *Consell de Cent [CC]*, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 4, ff. 5v-6r and 7v-8r, and AHCB, *CC*, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, ff. 2v-3r; for 1414, see J. MUTGÉ I VIVES, *Les ordinacions*, cit., pp. 259-280). And fraudulent buying and selling due to the possible illness of the slaves was regulated in 1433 (*ibid.*, pp. 255-258). To these already familiar ordinances can be added others, until recently unpublished, of a similar chronology, like those that attempt to avoid fraud in sales in order to prevent any free person being held in captivity, and they oblige the crew of any ship to declare the slaves they are taking to Barcelona (AHCB, *CC*, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, ff. 5r-7r. 1433, July 24, commented and transcribed in I. ARMENTEROS MARTÍNEZ, *Aproximación socioeconómica a la esclavitud en Barcelona entre los años 1472 y 1480*, Barcelona 2007 (University of Barcelona, doctorate research-DEA) or those that punish fornication with female slaves (AHCB, *CC*, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, ff. 17r-18v. 1434, March 13).

<sup>17</sup> The dress of female slaves is regulated in 1459 (J. MUTGÉ I VIVES, *Les ordinacions*, cit., pp. 258-259) and in 1461 we encounter further measures concerning adultery with them (*ibid.*, pp. 260-261).

<sup>18</sup> P. BONNASSIE, *La organización del trabajo en Barcelona a fines del siglo XV*, Barcelona 1975 (CSIC-Universidad) (a study that, however, as the author points out on p. 9, was written in 1954-1955). In actual fact, Bonnassie concentrates his research on the period 1472-1510 (*ibid.*, p. 24); he therefore consults only volumes 10 (1471-1481), 11 (1481-1489) and 12 (1499-1510) of the *ordinacions* of Barcelona and refers to just a few trades, although, thanks to the use of guild documentation, he may occasionally make the odd chronological foray into the middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In my case, and for the writing of this paper, I have proceeded to empty all the previous registers, namely, from AHCB, *CC*, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 1 (1359-1397) to AHCB, *CC*, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 9 (1463-1471), referring exclusively, for later years, to Bonnassie's study.

<sup>19</sup> Something that, in actual fact, I have only seen explicitly and truly formulated at a much later date, 1519, and in a place quite near, Valencia, in the case of the weavers of strips or patches: "Que nengun mestre del dit offici no gose ni sia gosat de mostrar lo dit offici a nengun seu esclau o esclava ni de fill algú, ni a juheu ni a moro, per tant com mostrar los mestres a les dites persones seria gran dany a la cosa pública e als obrers del dit offici, als quals poria fallir fahena" (that is, if slaves, Jews or Moors were taught the trade, the workers might be out of a job); cf. G. NAVARRO ESPINACH, *Los orígenes de la sedería valenciana. Siglos XV-XVI*, Valencia 1999 (Ayuntamiento), p. 121 (quoted by M<sup>a</sup> del C. García Herrero in her contribution to this *Settimana*). On the other hand, according to the former author, "no limitation clause in the number of slaves is known for Valencia in the textile trades" like those we find in Barcelona (NAVARRO, *Los orígenes*, cit., p. 128).

<sup>20</sup> P. BONNASSIE, *La organización*, pp. 97-98.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

beaters and imitation gold leaf beaters, in 1474<sup>22</sup>, totally prohibited the use of slaves, specifically pointing out, in the case of the latter, that it was to avoid thefts of gold and silver and the minting of false coinage. As was the case with gold beaters and imitation gold leaf beaters in 1474, the prohibition of teaching the art of silver working ordered in 1402 refers to the need to avoid possible fraud. However, in this case, the prohibition does not affect just slaves, but all infidels: it is aimed equally at Jews, free and enslaved Moors, and anybody else “from a nation subject to captivity” – namely, the Eastern Mediterranean slaves. Essentially, then, rather than cautiousness over the present or former legal condition of slaves, it is a purely religious exclusion, as it is specified that the prohibition is not extended to Sardinians and Greeks, as they are “natural-born Christians”, or to the “sons of a Catalan” (the children of a slave woman and a free man) if they are redeemed. Accordingly, all captives or former captives are also prohibited from having a silversmith’s workshop or bench<sup>23</sup>.

Beyond the ruling in itself, it is highly significant that, at least in 1424, the virtual absence of owners of male slaves among these trades is evident. Not only were they the most restrictive with slaves purely for reasons of trust, but they also required a minimum degree of specialization<sup>24</sup>.

On the other hand, in other trades like sword makers and decorators, on one hand, and builders on the other, what was limited was not actually slave labour, but auxiliary labour in general, indirectly putting the work of young wage earners and apprentices on the same level as that of slaves.

Among the sword makers and decorators it was established, in 1444, that each master could have three assistants: a young man earning a wage, an apprentice and a slave; however, if someone did not have a slave, he could have two apprentices and a young man, or two young men and an apprentice<sup>25</sup>. In the case of the builders, and claiming that the aim was for the work to be shared out fairly among all the master builders, in 1455 masters were banned from having more than two young men or officials; and, in the event of them having slaves, these were to count the same as the latter<sup>26</sup>. Nevertheless, it is in the building sector where the use of slave labour is most clearly seen<sup>27</sup> and, indeed, in Barcelona in 1424 builders constituted one of the principal groups of owners<sup>28</sup>.

The fact that some textile trades prohibited former slaves or freedmen from having a workshop (*paraires* [wool workers] or dyers<sup>29</sup> and weavers<sup>30</sup> in 1402; fustian makers<sup>31</sup> and

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 100, 101, and AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 10, f. 66r-v.

<sup>23</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 3, f. 43r-v. 1402, May 11. We should not be surprised by the reference to Sardinians and Greeks, seeing as if, on one hand, during the reign of Martin the Humane (1396-1410), the debate about the lawfulness of the slavery of Christians, fundamentally Greeks, was in full swing (see, on this point, M.T. FERRER I MALLOL, *Esclaus i lliberts orientals a Barcelona. Segles XIV i XV*, in *De l'esclavitud*, cit., pp. 167-212), on the other hand Sardinian slaves were a fact by the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (a synthesis of the phenomenon, which includes the basic scattered bibliography, can be seen in C. LIVI, *Sardi in schiavitù*, Florence 2002 (Franco Cesati Editore)).

<sup>24</sup> Given that the *ordinacions* refer fundamentally, as I have already said, to the professional activity of male slaves, the profile of the owners of male slaves insured against escape in 1424 is particularly relevant and enlightening (cf. R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, pp. 121-135).

<sup>25</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, ff. 178r-180v. 1444, June 4.

<sup>26</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 7, ff. 139v-140v. 1455, September 22.

<sup>27</sup> See note 77.

<sup>28</sup> In what we might consider as the building sector, 30 owners are registered, insuring a total of 40 male slaves; of them, 11 are builders or *mestres de cases*, and another 5 tile makers or *rajolers*, who insure 11 slaves (cf. R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, pp. 121-135).

<sup>29</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 5, ff. 34r-35v. 1402, February 18.

<sup>30</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 3, f. 36v. 1402, April 5.

<sup>31</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 102v. 1442, June 13.

master dyers<sup>32</sup> in 1442; linen and fustian weavers in 1461<sup>33</sup>) does not necessarily represent, on the other hand, a limitation, as it is considered, in any case, that if the guild consuls acknowledged that they mastered it well enough, they could be authorised to work, something that clearly shows that some of the slaves were employed and trained in these kinds of activities. Thus, in 1402, slaves able to work as weavers had been prohibited from doing so on behalf of third parties who were not weavers<sup>34</sup>; in 1434 it was considered, for example, that, six months after having begun to learn how to beat cotton, a slave, just like a cotton dealer's employee or apprentice, could be counted as a beater<sup>35</sup>; and, in 1456, gambeson makers were forbidden from teaching the job to anybody who had been a slave, unless he was owned by them<sup>36</sup>, so that they were indirectly given the right to train their own slaves and former slaves.

In the textile sector, then, rather than prohibiting owners from employing and transmitting knowledge to slaves, what was done was to prohibit slaves and ex-slaves from working freely. And, although there were many trades with slave owners registered in this sector, no particularly important trade stands out with regard to the ownership of slave labour, despite a certain superiority among them of the *paraires* or wool workers<sup>37</sup>.

In any case, the trades that ended up being most restrictive with slave labour were those that, in principle, had traditionally been most open to it, as they were activities that did not require any kind of specialization but merely the use of brute force. I am referring to *bastaixos*, *macips de ribera* or porters on one hand, and to boatmen on the other, and it should be pointed out that in both cases, the initiative for the limitation stemmed from the municipal authorities, not from those who worked as such.

As proof of the role that slaves had always played in the carrying of goods, it is enough to point out that on several occasions during the second quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, *bastaixos* and captives are clearly lumped together when it is stipulated that porters can carry only a blunt knife<sup>38</sup>; that, in 1357, the slaves working as porters or who were working or doing a job for their master or mistress, or for third parties, were exempted from the prohibition of walking around the city or the seashore at night<sup>39</sup>; or that, in 1396, "seashore slaves" were even mentioned specifically, due to a prohibition of loading and unloading goods on Sundays and days when it was compulsory to hear Mass<sup>40</sup>.

Although the existence of a precedent in 1414 cannot be ruled out<sup>41</sup>, in August 1432 it was established that, as from October of that year, no Moorish, Turkish, Tartar, infidel or Christian captive could work as a porter, not even if his master ordered him to do so, reasoning that the job, which in the past had been done by Christians, had for some time been controlled by slaves and non-Christians, who could not be trusted. It was advisable, then, for it to be returned to the control of Christians. In what seems to be an authentic offensive against the freedom of movement and employment of slaves, this prohibition was

<sup>32</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 104r-v. 1442, December 11.

<sup>33</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, ff. 168r-169r. 1461, December 8.

<sup>34</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 3, f. 37r. 1402, April 5.

<sup>35</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 5, ff. 29r-30v. 1434, November 24.

<sup>36</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, ff. 9v-11r. 1456, November 29.

<sup>37</sup> In 1424, 15 wool carders possess 17.5 male slaves (cf. R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, pp. 121-135).

<sup>38</sup> *Historial del Gremi de Bastaixos de Capçana i Macips de Ribera de la duana de Barcelona. Segle XIII-XX*, [s.l.] 1933, pp. 13-14, regulations of 1328, 1334 and 1339.

<sup>39</sup> J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, p. 145, note 39.

<sup>40</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 2, f. 59r. 1396, April 13.

<sup>41</sup> *Historial*, p. 14, mentions an *ordinació* of 1414 that already stated that "algun catiu no gos usar de offici de bestaxar" (no slave should dare to work as a porter) about which I have no further information and which, for the moment, I have been unable to find. The regulation of 11 August 1432 makes no reference to any precedent.

complemented, furthermore, with orders for all the inhabitants of Barcelona to fetter their non-Christian slaves as from September, so that, in the future, no Barcelonan might make any infidel slaves available for the *talla* (a system whereby slaves purchased their freedom in instalments over a specific period of time), not even if they converted; so that, as from the following week, no slave, either infidel or Christian, not even freed, could rent or own a house in the city, unless, in the event of being a freedman, he had a wife; and so that, as from the following week also, no ex-slave, infidel or Christian, could live alone, unless he had a wife<sup>42</sup>.

Contrary to what happened with the boatmen, as we shall see, it does not seem that, with regard to the prohibition of slaves and ex-slaves working as porters, there was an about turn, quite the opposite. And moreover, later, other similar or related trades advocated similar prohibitions: in 1445 any slave, Christian or infidel, was prohibited from working as a seashore mule driver, carrying any kind of goods or moving or transporting anything in exchange for a wage, inside the city of Barcelona<sup>43</sup>, and in 1461 cattle dealing also closed its doors to the admission of slaves and ex-slaves<sup>44</sup>.

Alongside the porters, there can be no doubt that it was mostly the boatmen who used slave labour, completely integrated, in this case without interruption, in their working system, despite a rather fluctuating policy with regard to it due to the attempts to limit it by the Crown and the municipality.

In ordinances of 1340, Peter III the Ceremonious had already prohibited any boatman from being able to use more than two slaves. But, in 1350, after the Black Death and due to the complaints of the *consellers* of Barcelona over the problems caused by the measure, he was obliged to repeal the order<sup>45</sup>. Supposedly, then, the boatmen continued using slaves without hindrance, so much so that in 1380, when the guild was established, it was even planned for each boatman to pay the mandatory alms for his slaves so that they were admitted to it<sup>46</sup>. Indeed, it is noteworthy that in 1424 we find 62 male slaves owned by 28 boatmen<sup>47</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 4, f. 33r, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 95r-v. 1432, August 11. At first sight, the radical nature of these last measures in a city where, in theory, slaves could move freely, is quite surprising. However, all these preventions, which moreover seem aimed exclusively at the men and not the women slaves, may quite possibly be related to the situation of the abolition, in 1431-1432, of the compulsory insurance against male slaves escaping, which meant the coming into effect, from 1432, of a long series of regulations aimed at preventing escape (see in MIRET, *La esclavitud*, pp. 104-109, and R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, pp. 60-64). Due to the doubts arising when the prohibition came into effect, as to whether infidel former slaves converted to Christianity but who had a wife and house in the city could or could not work as *bastaixos* and, in the same way, as to whether Christian, but not Catholic, former slaves could do so, in November 1432 the councillors of Barcelona were obliged to explain that, seeing as the measure was aimed at giving work back to "natural-born Christians", it was only these, namely, Catholics and from "nations" who were not sold as slaves, who could do this work. As a result, the exceptional nature of the Sardinians was once again recognised, as it had been for the silversmiths (see note 23), because, even if they were captives, they were true Christians (AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 94r-94v. 1432, November 20, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 93r-v. 1432, November 22). In any case, the Christians "de centura" (i.e., Near Eastern Christians, from Egypt and Syria, of which various examples can be seen in M.T. FERRER I MALLOL, *Esclaus*, pp. 169-171), who were members of the brotherhood of Saint Catherine, could also *bastaixar* and work as *macips de ribera* or porters (AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 84r. 1439, February 21, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 146r. 1444, April 22, although it would seem to have been this way already in 1433, as we may infer from *Historial del Gremi*, cit., pp. 14-15).

<sup>43</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, f. 165r-v. 1445, April 7.

<sup>44</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, ff. 156r-159v. 1461, October 27.

<sup>45</sup> A. DE CAPMANY Y DE MONPALAU, *Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona. Reedición anotada*, Barcelona 1962 (Cámara Oficial de Comercio y Navegación), II-1, p. 239; the date 1340 is pointed out by M. TINTÓ, *Ordinacions dels barquers de la ciutat de Barcelona durant el segle XV*, in "Medievalia", 10, 1992 [Estudios dedicados al profesor Frederic Udina i Martorell / y IV], p. 415, while the provision of Peter the Ceremonious of 1350 merely indicates "ante tempus mortalitatis que ... anno proxime preterito ... viguit".

<sup>46</sup> *Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón* [CODOIN], XI, doc. XLVII, p. 198 (1380, June 23).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit. pp. 121-135.

Despite this, in 1454, claiming that as the boatmen had so many slaves the transport of goods was being affected, the *consellers* of Barcelona forbade boatmen to use more than three. They also decreed that the slaves had to be owned by them and not by others, and that, reviving that suspicion with respect to natural-born non-Christians that we have already seen among the sumptuary trades, to safeguard the goods the master of the boat or a natural-born Christian who mastered the job had to travel on board the ships on each voyage, unless what was being unloaded was timber<sup>48</sup>. In the hard bargaining begun at that time with the municipal authorities, shortly afterwards, in 1455, the latter even prohibited the boatmen from using any slaves, on pain of losing them, and that from then on no ex-slave, even if he were Christian or free, could do the job, unless he had a wife and house of his own<sup>49</sup>.

It is obvious that the step was taken against the wishes of the boatmen, as is the fact that they resisted it. In 1457, after trying unsuccessfully to have the order abolished, perpetual silence was imposed on them. However, eventually, in the middle of 1458 they achieved a partial repeal, which entailed the right to use two slaves instead of three<sup>50</sup>. Anyway, the truth is that, in 1459, when the so-called 'new boatmen's guild' was established, and unlike what had happened with the charters of the guild of the old boatmen, no direct mention was made of slaves, although it was considered necessary to point out that neither of the two guild officers nor any of its four administrators could be a former slave, and that if anyone descended from slaves was elected his election would be declared null and void<sup>51</sup>.

The limitation to two slaves may have been the situation maintained until 1474 when, as Bonnassie had said, there was a return to the complete liberalization of the use of slave labour by the boatmen, recalling that experience had shown that the ordinances in effect had to be changed for the benefit of trade. From then on, therefore, the boatmen could freely use as many slaves as they wished, their own or those of other owners, with no other restrictions than having to watch over them and being answerable for the thefts that they might commit, after swearing to the guild officers of the trade<sup>52</sup>. We therefore understand why, in 1480, the regulations of the old boatmen's guild referred to the guild members and to the captive guild members having the same right to care, in the event of illness, as any other member<sup>53</sup>.

Oven keepers and bakers must also have used slaves as freely they liked, although, according to an *ordinació* of 1474, captives were allowed to possess neither ovens nor bakeries and, in any case, they had to work for a wage, in the charge of a master oven keeper or head baker<sup>54</sup>. Significantly, in 1424, not counting possible female slaves, thirty-six oven keepers, bakers and wheat sellers possessed fifty male slaves<sup>55</sup>.

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<sup>48</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 7, ff. 108r-114r. 1454, September 20. A note in the margin says that the observance of these ordinances was decreed again in June 1458. This time it was possible to have only two – not three – slaves, and a note at the foot of the document informs that on 1 October 1460 the widow of a boatman from Barcelona who, contrary to the opinions of some boatmen, had defended her right to use slaves, was vindicated.

<sup>49</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 7, f. 118v. 1455, April 10.

<sup>50</sup> Cf., for this, ARMENTEROS, *Aproximación*, p. 173. As I said in note 48, a note in the margin of the *ordinacions* of 1454 said that, in 1458, these were reintroduced, though reducing the number of slaves to be used from three to two.

<sup>51</sup> CODOIN, vol. XLI, doc. CXII, p. 319 (1459, January 10).

<sup>52</sup> P. BONNASSIE, *La organización*, cit., p. 98, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 10, ff. 73v-74r. 1474, December 8.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 100, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 10, ff. 183v-184r. 1480, July 4.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98 and 101-102, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 10, f. 63r.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit., pp. 121-135. Important in Valencia also is the role of slaves working in baker's ovens, often put to work with the shovel (cf. F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud*, cit., pp. 726-728).



Bearing in mind that free women played important roles in ovens and bakeries (this being one of the few examples in which the ordinances refer explicitly to women at work<sup>56</sup>), it comes as no surprise that precisely in this field there is more information about former female slaves, showing that they were following in the footsteps of their free counterparts. Unlike male slaves, and according to an ordinance of 1463, both women living with a man and those who had once been slaves could work as oven keepers or bakers, although they had to prove their suitability before the consuls and guild officers of the trade and have the approval of the *mostassaf* (the officer with the job of ensuring against fraud and guaranteeing the good quality of the produce sold in the market)<sup>57</sup>.

Lastly, I should point out that, midway through the 15<sup>th</sup> century, trumpet players and other musicians with captive backgrounds, or even slaves, were sufficiently representative in Barcelona for the municipal regulations to also take an interest in them. Thus, presumably with the aim of avoiding possible altercations and calming things down, at the end of July 1455 slave trumpet players were banned from playing at Corpus Christi and on other solemn occasions and from making royal and municipal public announcements, and of merchant ships. On the other hand, they were allowed to play the trumpet for the enrolment of ships and at private parties<sup>58</sup>. And it is equally significant that in 1459 permission was given to trumpet players, horn players and other musicians and minstrels, even if they had been slaves, to meet as many times as they liked under the protection of the brotherhood of Saint Bernard<sup>59</sup>.

The presence of slaves, then, especially males, in the working life of Barcelona really began to filter into the municipal ordinances of trades from the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Generally speaking, they were excluded or restricted in some trades that required considerable technical specialization and which dealt with fine materials, or of great value, which led to suspicion about possible theft or fraud. On the other hand, in other cases their use was limited, but not because they were slaves or due to precautions against unfair competition by them, but due to a generic limitation of the number of workers or apprentices to be employed by each master, putting slave labour on the same level as the free wage earner and merely allowing them a small degree of specialization, seeing as they were activities more associated with the use of strength than the mastery of certain techniques. Thirdly, and above all in the textile sector, but also among oven keepers and bakers, rather relative limitations were established because, although the slaves and ex-slaves could not run a workshop, they were given the right to do so if the consuls of the guild considered that they mastered it well enough. Lastly, more or less successfully, the restrictions affected those activities that were traditionally based above all on the use of the strength of slave labour, as they were activities that simply required the use of strength and no specialization.

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<sup>56</sup> See T.-M. VINYOLES, *Les barcelonines a les darrerries de l'Edat Mitjana (1370-1410)*, Barcelona 1976 (Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana), pp. 33-66, and EADEM, *La mujer bajomedieval a través de las ordenanzas municipales de Barcelona*, in *Las mujeres medievales y su ámbito jurídico. Actas de las II Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria*, Madrid 1983 (Seminario de Estudios de la Mujer – Universidad Autónoma), pp. 137-154.

<sup>57</sup> The ordinance envisages that neither the representatives of the trade nor the *mostassaf* may receive payment or bribes to admit them, which means that chicanery with regard to this must have been considerable (AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 5, f. 155v, and AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 9, f. 32r-v. 1463, November 5).

<sup>58</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 7, ff. 120v-121r. 1455, July 28.

<sup>59</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, ff. 93r-95v. 1459, May 22.

*The Differential Social and Family Role, Exploitation and Integration of Slave Labour*

1. Male Slaves

If we do not compare them with what we know of the reality of male slave labour, these guild regulations, despite reflecting only the use of slaves in a minimum number of trades, might lead us to believe that the slave owners, and especially those in the more varied crafts sector that are recorded as owners, used their slaves in the sphere of the family-craft domestic unit. The slaves, then, would presumably live, coexist and work in the family environment, to which they would contribute their working strength, helping in both the household and the craftsman's workshop. The owners would train them in the work they did with the aim of improving their own productivity, a job whose mastery would allow them one day, supposedly, upon obtaining their freedom, to integrate more easily in society under new parameters.

However, and in the light of what we actually know about male slave labour, these premises have to be called into question.

It is true that some of the ordinances refer to this apprenticeship or, at least, to the professional training of the slaves by the owners, which would imply everyday coexistence with them and the need for collaboration and mutual trust in the workshop and the family household: worthy of mention is the restriction imposed on gambeson makers to train only slaves owned by them, whereby the transmission of knowledge, despite going beyond blood ties, would be kept to the ambit of the craftsman's home and would have an effect on his own profits. In any case, at least in the textile sector, the ultimate guarantor of the quality of the slaves' work and the person who had to answer for them was their owner, so he too, if he decided to train them, was the most responsible for them doing the jobs they had been assigned correctly: if cotton that had been doubly beaten was presented for spinning and it had been beaten by apprentices or slaves, the person who had to be interrogated and was obliged to confess was their master (1402)<sup>60</sup>; in the same way, if any cloth was damaged due to a slave beating it, or if a male slave carder or comber, or a female slave comber or worsted or wool spinner, did their work badly and consumed the worsted or wool improperly, it was also the slave's owner who had to pay the compensation (1416, 1417)<sup>61</sup>.

Basically, the decision whether or not to train a slave was down to the master's wishes and, possibly, not just to the characteristics and training of the slave, but also to the degree of understanding, on all levels, that they reached. Cases like that of the slave Pere Bogatell, who not only helped his owner, the apothecary Francesc ses Canes, in his workshop, but who also sold in his shop and wrote down the sales on account in the apothecary's accounts book, without doubt required a high degree of mutual trust difficult to achieve that could only entail successful co-existence and integration in the bosom of the family. Even in this case, however, after the death of the owner, who freed him in the terms of his will, the slave had to serve the apothecary's widow for a year before obtaining his freedom and, as far as we know, once the slave had been freed he did not work as an apothecary<sup>62</sup>. As is quite clear, especially with regard to female slaves, this apparent contradiction between the supposed great esteem of the slave and the conditions of manumission is by no means an exceptional case: the existence of emotional ties, the professional integration and the

<sup>60</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 3, f. 36v. 1402, April 5.

<sup>61</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 4, ff. 48r-50v. 1416, November 27, published again in AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 4, ff. 67r-69v. 1417, July 22.

<sup>62</sup> C. VELA I AULESA, *L'obrador d'un apotecari medieval segons el llibre de comptes de Francesc ses Canes: Barcelona, 1378-1381*, Barcelona 2003 (IMF-CSIC), pp. 26-31 and 56-57, and IDEM, *Especiers i candelers a Barcelona a la Baixa Edat Mitjana. Testaments, família i sociabilitat*, Barcelona 2007 (Fundació Noguera), I, pp. 430-432.

successful coexistence in the family neither softened the “conditional freedom” imposed by the testamentary servitudes nor placated the economic demands of access to the *talla*.

Beyond the references to fugitive slaves, the *ordinacions* also include the repercussions, perhaps biased but no less real for that, of the coexistence, in positive or in negative, of the slaves with their owners and their respective families. They may rob them, they may injure them with their hands or with sticks, they may poison them, but also, clear evidence of their penetration in the heart of the family circle, they may act as go-betweens for their wives and daughters, they may marry them without the master’s consent, or they may procure the kidnapping of young women<sup>63</sup>. And, unless it is demonstrated to the contrary, the trust placed in them by owners is confirmed by their undeniable freedom of movement<sup>64</sup>.

In truth, there are very few slaves – or freedmen, who can often be taken as mirrors of a servile reality that is much more difficult to grasp – to whom we can assign specific and minimally qualified activities, and far fewer still those that can claim they carry out the same professional activity as their last owners<sup>65</sup>. We have very few examples, in all other respects quite well known and apparently exceptional, of slaves or freedmen who were able to acquire a true mastery of specialized trades and techniques and who, after their liberation, managed to make a name for themselves professionally. This would be the case of Lluç Borrassà, a Tartar slave of the painter Lluís Borrassà, who, once freed, succeeded in his own right as a painter of altarpieces<sup>66</sup>; of Jordi de Déu or Jordi Joan, a Greek slave of the sculptor Jaume Cascalls, who also worked as a sculptor<sup>67</sup>; of Jordi Safont, who became master builder of Lleida Cathedral<sup>68</sup>; of Jordi, of Russian stock, who served the crossbow maker Pere Ermengol for twenty-eight years and who in 1395 was authorized to have a crossbow workshop as if he were a master

<sup>63</sup> J. MUTGE I VIVES, *Les ordinacions*, p. 261.

<sup>64</sup> In 1399, for example, the regulations with regard to the commercialization of *roldor* or sumac had already made it compulsory for sellers to hand it over, in the market place, to male and female slaves running errands, who were therefore freely and independently doing business without their owners. Slaves also had the right to transport the product to wherever necessary, as long as they did not commit fraud (AHCB, CC, *Registre d’Ordinacions* 5, f. 224r-v. 1399, December 22; these ordinances appear incorporated in the *Llibre del mostassaf* or weights and measures officer of Barcelona, although with a later date of publication, 30 December 1407; cf. M. BAJET ROYO, *El mostassaf de Barcelona i les seves funcions en el segle XVI: edició del “Llibre de les Ordinacions”*, Barcelona 1994 (Fundació Noguera), pp. 502-503). The slaves’ freedom of movement can be linked directly, on the other hand, with the possibilities and ease of escape that slaves had in Catalonia. A regulation like the one that complements the exclusive assignment of the job of porter to “natural-born Christians” and which entails the fettering of non-Christian slaves (see the text corresponding to note 42) is completely exceptional. In general, and excepting certain restrictions with regard to the hours of night, slaves could move freely and autonomously about the city and, in any case, preventive, not punitive, measures were enacted. However, we may also mention a ruling concerning mule drivers carrying wheat, who swore by God or the Virgin in the flour-weighing house, which substitutes the fine of 1 *sueldo* or a day in jail imposed on the free men with a day wearing a halter in the case of slaves (AHCB, CC, *Registre d’Ordinacions* 8, ff. 52v-53v. 1458, November 23).

<sup>65</sup> Throughout the 14<sup>th</sup> century, J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, cit., p. 143, only records fifteen slaves who declare that they do the same job as their last owner. However, this is fifteen out of just fifty male and female Moorish slaves, most of them in the process of being freed, whose trade the author has been able to document, an irrelevant number when compared with the sample of almost one thousand two hundred male and female slaves he comes across between 1295 and 1400.

<sup>66</sup> J.M. MADURELL MARIMON, *El pintor Lluís Borrassà. Su vida, su tiempo, sus seguidores y sus obras*, vol. I, *Texto. Apéndice documental. Índices*, in “Anales y boletín de los museos de arte de Barcelona”, VII, 1949, pp. 37-41.

<sup>67</sup> P. BESERAN I RAMON, *Jordi de Déu i l’italianisme en l’escultura catalana del segle XIV*, Tarragona 2003 (Diputació), pp. 78-81.

<sup>68</sup> M.C. ARGILÉS I ALUJA, *Preus i salaris a la Lleida dels segles XIV i XV segons els llibres de l’obra de la seu*, Lérida 1993 (Universitat), pp. 91, 100, 124 and 289, and G. Alonso GARCIA, *Los maestros de “La Seu Vella de Lleida” y sus colaboradores. Con notas documentales para la Historia de Lérida*, Lérida 1976 (Gráficas Larrosa), pp. 120-122.

crossbow maker and had not been a slave<sup>69</sup>; or of Antoni and Jordi, who, after the death of their master, a saddle maker, took over his workshop<sup>70</sup>.

In actual fact, this lack of apprenticeship is no surprise. Slaves often changed hands<sup>71</sup> and the socio-professional profiles of the new owners only coincided very exceptionally with those of the previous ones<sup>72</sup>. In this way, and regardless of the master's wishes, slaves hardly had any real chance of being trained professionally<sup>73</sup> and, if they had been, very seldom would they have been able to make use of their skills upon changing owners.

Of course, in their lifetimes or via their wills, some owners may have taken an interest in their slaves learning the trade. And therefore it could be that, if there had been any, in many cases the slaves acquired this possible training or specialization precisely through the obligations of service inherent in the conditional testamentary liberations or the obligations acquired during the period of the *talla*, obligations that *were* a guarantee of permanence in the bosom of a particular family or productive unit for a certain period<sup>74</sup>.

In any case, and with regard to what we have been able to find out with regard to the exploitation of their work and, as a result, concerning the role, possibly more financial than professional, of male slaves in the homes of artisans and craftsmen, the most likely is that in general, save for exceptions like those mentioned, owners were more interested in the exploitation and the financial returns of the brute force of the work of their slaves through hiring them out to others and being paid a wage, rather than the direct exploitation of them in their own workshops, except in some of the most unpleasant and unrewarding jobs in which the possession of slaves was really noticeable<sup>75</sup>. Despite everything, this would not be to the detriment of the versatile use of slaves in the context of the family household and in

<sup>69</sup> M.T. FERRER I MALLOL, *Esclaus*, p. 208.

<sup>70</sup> F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Trayectorias sociales de los libertos musulmanes y negroafricanos en la Barcelona tardomedieval*, in *De l'esclavitud*, cit., pp. 618-619.

<sup>71</sup> The possibility of carrying out a prosopographic monitoring of the slaves or, at least, of the possible paths in life of some of them with regard to changes of owner is, for the time being, fanciful. On the other hand, we can observe the many slaves that, throughout his life, the same owner was able to purchase successively: in eighteen years, the apothecary Guillem des Pujol, for example, possessed at least four different female and two male slaves (C. VELA I AULESA, *Especiers*, cit., I, pp. 426-427).

<sup>72</sup> This lack of professional correspondence between buyers and sellers of slaves can be seen in both J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, cit., pp. 153-159 and 160-165, and in R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit., appendix II, pp. 117-119 (in which, in 1424 and 1425, in just six months, fifty of the insured slaves change hands).

<sup>73</sup> Except in activities in which, due to the scant specialization they really needed, the training could be acquired in a short period of time. Thus, as we have seen, according to the ordinances of Barcelona a slave or worker could be considered a beater six months after beginning to beat cotton (*cf.* the text corresponding to note 35).

<sup>74</sup> Gabriel Gombau, parish priest of Mataró, or Guillem Carbonell, lawyer in decrees, explicitly stipulate that their slaves will have to be trained in a trade to be decided by the executors (F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Trayectorias*, cit., p. 619), something detected also by C. VELA I AULESA, *Especiers*, cit., p. 432, in another case. The apothecary Miquel Tosell, on the other hand, assigns, in his lifetime, a slave as apprentice to a painter for two years, perhaps so that he may later be able to help him decorate his works in wax (*ibidem* and J. HERNANDO, *Esclaus*, cit., p. 141, note 18); *ibid.*, pp. 139-142, refers to various contracts of apprenticeship, in some cases of slaves but fundamentally of freedmen; sometimes the trade to be learnt coincides with that of the owner or former owner, but in many other cases it does not.

<sup>75</sup> Apart from the case, really extraordinary, of the boatmen (see the text corresponding to notes 45-53), I have also referred to the trades in the building sector, to which we should add those associated with hide tanning (in Barcelona in 1424, for example, 14 tanners possess 23 slaves) or carpentry (24 carpenters possess 35 slaves, 13 blacksmiths possess 15 slaves; *cf.* R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit., pp. 121-135). The example of Valencia is particularly illustrative of the vast activity of slaves, in the city market, sawing wood for carpenters, an activity about which it is said, alluding to how hard it is, that there was *no tant greu servitut com és serar justa en lo mercat*, that is, no duty worse than sawing wood in the market (*cf.* F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud*, cit., pp. 722-726 for the work of slaves as sawyers and p. 724 for the quote). In Valencia, slaves also figure as boatmen or porters, transporting goods in the city Grao or beach-port (*ibid.*, pp. 736-738).

the context of the owner's professional circles, but it would hinder even more the possibilities of training the slaves<sup>76</sup>.

The *ordinacions*, which, despite having the power to prohibit or limit the use of slaves in certain professional activities, never prohibited the acquisition, possession and exploitation of slaves in the strictly private realm of the family household, have already repeatedly provided us with the difference, quite revealing, between the ownership and the use and exploitation of slaves, and even, in the case of the boatmen, specifically, between the use of their own slaves and the use or hire of other people's.

The owners of male slaves very often hired them out in return for a wage, as hands suitable for any kind of unqualified work, as a tool for hire from which they could obtain an immediate direct net financial return, through a wage that, in all other respects, was always the same as that of free workers doing the same work<sup>77</sup>.

In this way, male slaves not only shared the family household with free people, but they also worked intermingled with free workers, apprentices, seasonal labourers and day-labourers whose working strength would have the same market value as theirs. And, what's more, their minimal and relative integration in the social life of the town would entail putting them on an equal footing, not only on a professional and wage-earning level, with these groups: proof of this is that, from 1440, for example, the punishment was unceasingly repeated of boys, servants and slaves who launched stones, oranges, bran, sawdust or other objects with catapults or in any other way in the streets, squares and extra-mural quarters of the city<sup>78</sup>, and that, similarly, on other occasions, making explicit mention of slaves, the letting off of rockets and fireworks was also prohibited<sup>79</sup>.

If the frenetic dynamics of the slave market made it difficult, or at least did not make it easy, to train and transmit technical and professional knowledge, it logically also hindered the establishment of stable emotional ties with the family and the home of the temporary owner.

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<sup>76</sup> The professional profile of the freedmen – or, to be more exact, the lack of professional profile of many of the freedmen – would back up this statement: F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Trayectorias*, p. 620, from a group of five hundred Moorish and black freedmen, estimates that half of them worked in different activities with no particular qualification, whilst almost 14% worked as farmers or market gardeners (and, as they were day-labourers or hands earning a wage, could they not be added to the above-mentioned first half?), and round about 37% were employed in the “secondary sector”, though also, most of them, as poorly qualified wage earners (freedmen who “hire themselves for weaving” or “beating wool”, for example, *ibid.*, p. 623).

<sup>77</sup> If, to date, the building sector has been possibly the most explicit in this sense, thanks to the ease of perception of the phenomenon offered by the wage accounts included in the log books of various civil and ecclesiastical buildings and to the studies on the subject that have been carried out from the field of art history (I refer, here, to the abundant testimonies on this point that I presented in R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *L'esclau*, cit., pp. 70-78), we are now also in a position, thanks to the analysis of the daily accounts related with naval construction, to more than corroborate that slaves were hired much more often than we might have thought and that, in some cases, certain operations may even have depended, almost exclusively, on the employment of authentic brigades of wage-earning slaves hired out to different owners. We find the clearest examples of this in the last decade of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and halfway through the 15<sup>th</sup> in some accounts of repairs to galleys in the Barcelona dockyards. We thus see, for example, that, in 1393-1394, and in just a single week, there could be as many as seventy-six, or thirty-nine on another occasion, slaves of various owners working on the launching of a galley (ARXIU DE LA CORONA D'ARAGÓ [ACA], *Reial Patrimoni* [RP], *Mestre Racional* [MR] 2326, ff. 764v-765r, 768r-770v and 772v, and ACA, RP, MR 2328, ff. 10r-11v, 12r and 12v). In the same context, and on other occasions, slaves can also work for a wage as mule drivers, sawyers or woodcutters, or be enlisted as sailors, oarsmen, deckhands or cooks on board ship, with or without their owners being present (in A. UNALL, *Il “libre de acordament”: arruolamento di equipaggi catalani per la guerra di corsa nel 1400*, Cagliari 1982 (CNR), pp. 117-118, it can be seen, for example, that one John of Lisbon enlisted four slaves as simple oarsmen).

<sup>78</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, ff. 91r and 159r. 1440, February 3, and 1445, February 1; AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 7, ff. 34v, 49r, 63r, 116v and 130r-v. 1447, February 15; 1449, February 3; 1451, April 20; 1455, February 13; and 1456, February 5; AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, 14r and 60v. 1457, February 22; 1458, February 9; 1459, January 25; and 1458, January 31.

<sup>79</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 7, ff. 65r-v and 85r. 1451, June 26, and 1452, June 6.

Indeed, when slaves were converted, a process (designed to produce integration or actually the result of it?) that was habitual and up to a certain point widespread, which, in some cases, we may even quantify<sup>80</sup>, but whose intimate mechanisms can hardly be explained, they were able to and did adopt the owner's name. At times, there is no doubt that the treatment or acceptance of slaves in the professional guilds conveyed ties that might be more or less forced, but *were* real: when the slave of a maker of esparto objects or a glazier died, the guild members of Saint Bernardine were obliged to honour his corpse, just as they did with those of their wives, children or assistants<sup>81</sup>; and, like the boatmen<sup>82</sup>, the dyers also had to help their sick fellow slave members with the guild's money<sup>83</sup>. We also see that some freedmen maintained ties with their last owner's family<sup>84</sup>. But the most usual thing was for them to mix with other freedmen and women, generally of the same or similar origins and that, in the event of getting married, they did so with former female slaves, generally of the same origin too<sup>85</sup>.

Despite the fact that exceptions can always be found, and if the socio-professional integration of male slaves and freedmen was already complex, to claim supposed integration in the family would be little more than fallacious. A better or worse family coexistence or a better or worse working relationship and integration would only exceptionally involve ties that might contribute to reposition ex-slaves in society in better conditions. Neither the possible professional qualification obtained with the owners, nor good service, nor, as we shall see more clearly with the female slaves, the establishment of clear emotional ties were sufficient guarantee, given that the ex-owners did not set themselves up as guarantors of their former slaves in any way<sup>86</sup>.

When all was said and done, an owner's principal interest, and above all an owner of limited means like an artisan or a craftsman, in purchasing and possessing a slave was

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<sup>80</sup> Once again the accounts of the insurance against male slaves escaping in 1424, enable us to see that, of 332 slaves that we know for sure were non-black Muslim Berbers (identifiable because they paid a higher insurance quota as the risk of them escaping was also considered higher), approximately a third had Christian names (R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *Esclaus*, cit., table 9). The figure is, in any case, merely indicative, as we do not know how long these slaves had been in captivity and, of course, conversion was directly related to the immediacy or not of them becoming slaves (see, with respect to conversion as a way of integration of captives in Islamic and Christian lands, EADEM, *En busca de una liberación alternativa: fugas y apostasía en la Corona de Aragón bajomedieval*, in *La liberazione dei 'captivi' tra Cristianità e Islam. Oltre la crociata e il gihad, tolleranza e servizio umanitario*, ed. G. CIPOLLONE, Rome 2000 (Vatican City, Gangemi Editore), pp. 703-713; and, on the conversion of Islamic slaves in Barcelona during the 14<sup>th</sup> century, J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, cit., pp. 171-176).

<sup>81</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, 4r-7v. 1456, November 29.

<sup>82</sup> See text corresponding to notes 46 and 53.

<sup>83</sup> P. BONNASSIE, *La organización*, p. 100.

<sup>84</sup> In the exceptional case of the saddle-maker Antoni, a freedman, mentioned in the text corresponding to note 70, he actually marries his former mistress, the widow of the dead owner (F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Trayectorias*, cit., pp. 618-619).

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 634-635, Plazolles refers, on this point, to "ethno-geographical (or group) solidarities". See also, on this, EADEM, *Barcelona a finales de la Edad Media: ¿entre mestizaje y conservación biológica?*, in *Negros, mulatos, zambaigos. Derrotados africanos en los mundos ibéricos*, Seville 2000 (Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos – CSIC), pp. 37-40, J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, cit., pp. 217-223, and M.T. FERRER I MALLOL, *Esclaus*, cit., pp. 204-210. Despite some confused information with respect to Valencia (F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud*, cit., pp. 1070-1071), we take it as read that slaves had no right to marry, and that they could only aspire to it after obtaining their freedom and acquiring the condition of freedmen/women.

<sup>86</sup> As we have seen through certain Barcelona ordinances, what really counted was ex-slaves managing, through their own efforts, to have a wife and house in the city once they were free (see the text corresponding to notes 42 and 49).

financial. And, at least in the bosom of the craftsman's family, the slave could end up being more of an investment to make a profit from than a tool to be used<sup>87</sup>.

## 2. Female Slaves

Despite the fact that the customary use of the language may conceal the reality of women's lives<sup>88</sup>, the distinct view of male and female slaves in the municipal ordinances of Barcelona denotes, in itself, their different social function and their different integration in the professional and family life of their owners.

Whether as oven keepers and bakers, or as wool carders and spinners of worsted or wool<sup>89</sup>, female slaves are seen working in places similar to those of their free counterparts<sup>90</sup>. Female slaves only really appear to us, beyond the mention of their employment by master coral craftsmen in their workshops<sup>91</sup>, explicitly and specifically, as possible prostitutes and instigators of adultery and fornication<sup>92</sup> or as wet-nurses, an activity highly lucrative for owners and which would be the equivalent of male slaves working for a wage, although much more profitable<sup>93</sup>.

Due to the non-existence of a true division between the workshop and the family home, it is obvious that female slaves, like the women in the family-craft productive unit, had to be used, more or less occasionally, as labour in the workshops. However, everything seems to indicate that, in contrast to the male slaves, female slaves were assigned basically all kinds of household and family chores. It is something for which, as it was perceptible all over the Mediterranean arc due to the widespread nature of female slavery, we have many well-known testimonies, from that of Macinghi Strozzi, considering the need to have a nanny when his baby son was weaned<sup>94</sup>, to that of Francesco di Marco Datini, asking for a girl slave between eight and ten years old *per farle lavare le scodelle e portare su legne e'l pane al forno*<sup>95</sup>. The examples of female slaves who have to cook, knead and bake bread, cut

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<sup>87</sup> We should point out that, apart from or besides the possibility of the additional recovery of the purchase price offered by slaves earning a wage (it is estimated, generally, that the purchase price of a slave might be equal, approximately, to about five or six years' wages of a salaried worker or servant), what owners found most profitable was granting their slaves freedom by means of the *talla*, seeing as this could eventually double, treble and even quadruple the purchase price and ensured the owner a sort of rent or pension in the short or medium term that did not necessarily deprive him of the direct use of the slave's work (see, in greater detail, in R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *L'esclau*, cit., pp. 70-84).

<sup>88</sup> I refer once again, on this point, to the contribution of M<sup>a</sup> del C. García Herrero to this *Settimana*.

<sup>89</sup> See the text corresponding to notes 57 and 61.

<sup>90</sup> See T.-M. VINYOLES, *Les barcelonines*, cit.; EADEM, *La mujer*, cit.; EQUIP BROIDA, *Actividad de la mujer en la industria del vestir en la Barcelona de finales de la Edad Media*, in *El trabajo de las mujeres en la Edad Media Hispana*, [Madrid] 1988 (Asociación Cultural Al-Mudayna – Instituto de la Mujer), pp. 255-273; P. IRADIEL, *Familia y función económica de la mujer en actividades no agrarias*, in *La condición de la mujer en la edad media. Actas del Coloquio celebrado en la Casa de Velázquez, del 5 al 7 de noviembre de 1984*, Madrid 1986 (Casa de Velázquez – Universidad Complutense), pp. 223-259; and, likewise, the contribution of M<sup>a</sup> del C. García Herrero to this *Settimana*.

<sup>91</sup> See the text corresponding to note 20.

<sup>92</sup> See notes 16 and 17.

<sup>93</sup> AHCB, *CC, Registre d'Ordinacions* 6, ff. 17r-18r. 1434, March 13. See also J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus*, cit., pp. 149-152, and IDEM, *L'alimentació lácida dels nadons durant el segle XIV*, in "Estudis històrics i documents dels arxius de protocols", 14, 1996, pp. 39-157.

<sup>94</sup> A. MACINGHI STROZZI, *Lettere di una gentildonna fiorentina del secolo XVI ai figliuoli esuli*, Florence 1877 (Sansoni), p. 599.

<sup>95</sup> I. ORIGO, *Il mercante di Prato*, Milan 1988 (Rizzoli), p. 252.

firewood, clean the house, go shopping in the market, do the washing, sew, weave, spin... are therefore abundant and repeated<sup>96</sup>.

In the home, the knowledge we have of the jobs done by female slaves in the owners' family circle is much more precise than that of the male slaves.

We can often see or sense the female slaves as true friends and confidants of their mistresses, so much so that the odd freedwoman, upon making her will, may wish to be buried next to her former owner<sup>97</sup>. It is not surprising, then, that when the municipal ordinances of Barcelona regulated the female slaves' clothing, they allowed them to improve their dress if they went out for a walk with their mistresses<sup>98</sup>.

On the other hand, we may also find cases of explicit hostility, even rivalry, with the mistresses, due to the excessive fondness of husbands and owners for the female slaves, which could even generate authentic family quarrels<sup>99</sup>. Because, at the same time, female slaves were also exploited sexually by their owners.

The mentions of slaves pregnant, wet-nursing or with children are a constant feature and although, of course, on certain occasions they may consent or end up consenting to sex with their masters or with others, the existence of subjugation is obvious<sup>100</sup>. That some owners could exploit their female slaves sexually, for their own benefit or even, as some *ordinacions* of Barcelona state, employing them as prostitutes with the aim of obtaining income<sup>101</sup>, does not necessarily mean, however, that the fundamental reason for the presence of female slaves in Western Europe was that of satisfying the sexual urges of their owners, who in this way would have been able to conceal their double morality from society<sup>102</sup>.

Cohabitation with female slaves<sup>103</sup> is at times as clear as the occasional legitimization of the children of a free man and a slave<sup>104</sup>, although the recognition of a child did not at all mean, far from it, the liberation of the mother or the improvement of her living

<sup>96</sup> To those of the letters of Macinghi Strozzi or those taken from the Datini correspondence can be added, for Italy, those presented by P. GUARDUCCI, V. OTTANELLI, *I servitori domestici della casa borghese toscana nel Basso Medioevo*, Florencia 1982 (Libreria Editrice Salimbeni), pp. 85-89, and there is no shortage of others, logically, from the Crown of Aragon (see in R. SALICRÚ I LLUCH, *L'esclau*, cit., pp. 63-64, to which can now be also added those listed by F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud*, cit., pp. 705-712, of high quality).

<sup>97</sup> T. VINYOLES I VIDAL, *Integració*, pp. 603-604.

<sup>98</sup> AHCB, CC, *Registre d'Ordinacions* 8, ff. 92v-93r. 1459, May 21; see J. MUTGÉ I VIVES, *Les ordinacions*, pp. 258-259.

<sup>99</sup> Highly illustrative are the examples contributed, in this respect, by F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud*, pp. 1057-1058.

<sup>100</sup> See again, for example, *ibid.*, pp. 1056-1066, where, on page 1063 (referring to J.M. CRUSELLES GÓMEZ, *Els notaris de la ciutat de València. Activitat professional i comportament social a la primera meitat del segle XV*, Barcelona 1998 (Fundació Noguera), p. 161), the case of a Tartar woman is mentioned who gave birth to four children by four different fathers.

<sup>101</sup> See note 16.

<sup>102</sup> I therefore do not share the radical view upheld by A. STELLA, *Des esclaves pour la liberté sexuelle de leurs maîtres (Europe occidentale, XIV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, in "Clio", 5, 1997 [<http://clio.revues.org/document419.html>].

<sup>103</sup> And, even, once the female slaves had been freed, the marriage of free men to freedwomen with whom they had had a relationship. Concerning the case of Genoa, where marriage between free men and slave women was well regulated and examples are particularly abundant, see G. PISTARINO, *Tra liberi e schiave a Genova nel Quattrocento*, in "Anuario de Estudios Medievales", 1, 1964, pp. 353-374: for a free man to be able to marry a slave the owner's authorization was needed, the slave had to be freed and the former owner had to be financially compensated for the loss.

<sup>104</sup> Various examples in M.T. FERRER I MALLOL, *Els esclaus*, cit., pp. 202-203; T. VINYOLES I VIDAL, *Integració*, cit., p. 596; or F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Barcelona*, cit., pp. 31-33. Very well known and also mentioned repeatedly, among others, is the case of a daughter that Francesco di Marco Datini had with a slave woman and who was adopted by Mona Margherita (see, for example, in P. GUARDUCCI, V. OTTANELLI, *I servitori*, cit., pp. 90-91, or in S.M. STUART, *Ancillary Evidence for the Decline of Medieval Slavery*, in "Past and Present", 149, 1995, p. 21).



conditions<sup>105</sup>. Likewise, the freeing of a female slave did not necessarily imply freeing her children, from which she could easily be separated for the purpose of selling them or to be able to exploit her as a wet-nurse. The offspring of a slave were still slaves even when the father was a free man<sup>106</sup>, and in some cases it was the mothers themselves, once freed, who tried to achieve the liberation of their children and, even, when they were married to a freedman, something that might be compared to family regroupment<sup>107</sup>. There was no reason at all for the owners to respect or be sensitive towards the ties between a female slave and her children.

In any case, what is clear is that, through these emotional ties with mistresses and owners and, at times, through the family ties with illegitimate children of the owner, female slaves were far more integrated than male ones, or they at least felt more closely tied to the domestic family unit that took them in. These ties, together with their lesser physical strength and the fact of having fewer resources and less ease of movement<sup>108</sup>, virtually neutralized the risk of them escaping, one of the greatest concerns of owners with regard to their male counterparts. What might be worrying about them was, if anything, their bad temper, their inefficiency or their lack of readiness to work<sup>109</sup>.

The object of desire, required or not, of the men with whom they interacted, upon gaining their freedom female slaves had more chance of avoiding marriage with other ex-slaves, some of them being able to marry craftsmen, merchants and other citizens and even, unlike the majority of freedmen, to become well off. It is no coincidence that, whereas in the case of male slaves the owners might take the trouble, when they freed them, to provide them with a trade<sup>110</sup>, in the case of female slaves their main worry might be trying to ensure a future marriage for them after freeing them<sup>111</sup>. Despite everything, even when they were supposedly well married, society could continue to discriminate against them, as it was hard for them to get over and forget the moral prejudices inherent in their servile origin<sup>112</sup>.

In any case what is clear is that the far more personal, constant contact with the owners and their greater insertion in the everyday life of their family and home may have made a certain degree of integration easier for them, as it offered them the possibility of substituting the lack of roots inherent in their condition and their life with ties that, although imposed and artificial, could after all take the place of those of blood.

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<sup>105</sup> T. VINYOLÉS I VIDAL, *Integració*, pp. 598-601.

<sup>106</sup> Even if he did not legitimize his children by a slave woman, a free man could recognize his paternity and have them as bastards (various examples in F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Barcelona*, cit., pp. 33-34). And although the children of a free man and a slave woman were slaves and enjoyed no privileges, the ordinance should be remembered that in 1402 made it possible for the art of silver-working to be taught to slaves "sons of a Catalan", thus acknowledging their condition of "natural-born Christians" that, at least in this situation, put them on the same level as the Sardinian and Greek slaves (see the text corresponding to note 23).

<sup>107</sup> Various examples of freedmen and women who try to free their children in F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Barcelona*, cit., p. 37.

<sup>108</sup> Concerning the limitations and restrictions on mobility that mediaeval women faced, I refer particularly to the introduction by Dinora Corsi and to the contributions of Maria Serena Mazzi, Régine Le Jan, Elena Giannarelli, Raffaella Sarti and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber in *Altrove: viaggi di donne dall'antichità al Novecento*, Rome 1999 (Viella).

<sup>109</sup> Some examples in C. VELA I AULESA, *Especiers*, cit., I, p. 422, note 403, P. GUARDUCCI, V. OTTANELLI, *I servitori*, cit., pp. 88-89, and J. HERNANDO, *Els esclaus islàmics*, cit., p. 129, note 80.

<sup>110</sup> See note 74.

<sup>111</sup> Various examples in F. PLAZOLLES GUILLÉN, *Barcelona*, cit., pp. 34-35, and in F.J. MARZAL PALACIOS, *La esclavitud*, cit., pp. 1071-1073.

<sup>112</sup> Particularly illustrative, on this point, is the contempt shown to a freedwoman married to a teacher at the Escola Major (the school where the liberal arts were taught) in Barcelona (T. VINYOLÉS I VIDAL, *Integració*, cit., pp. 605-606).

*Conclusion*

Although the domestic family environment cannot clearly be separated from the environment of the craftsman's workshop, in both of them the exploitation of male and female slaves reproduces an obvious social division of the work according to sex, which is directly linked to their integration in these two areas.

Some trades limited the use of slaves, trying to restrict their exploitation to the domestic realm. However, they apparently did so more for reasons of prejudice and social and religious suspicion than trying to limit supposedly unfair competition with free workers.

In any case, the slaves who were integrated in professional life through specialization and learning their owner's trade were few in number, and male. Unlike them, female slaves were integrated far more significantly in the domestic family domain, something more exceptional in the case of men, despite the fact that some male slaves also became authentic right-hand men of their owners.

Although they were not strictly blood members of craftsmen's families, female slaves, whose work was far more closely tied to the home, integrated in them from the points of view of everyday coexistence and work to a greater extent than male ones. The emotional ties with the mistresses, as friends and confidants, and with the owners, as possible sexual exploiters or consented lovers, and the sentimental ties with possible illegitimate children closely linked many slave women to a domestic family unit that did indeed exploit them, but which, by taking them in, also offered them the possibility of overcoming their lack of roots.

Due to the differential exploitation they were subjected to, male slaves, versatile and, therefore, suitable for both domestic and professional chores, were above all put to work on hard unspecialized jobs. Being hired out to others in return for a wage kept them distanced from emotional family ties and made them a source and resource for additional family income rather than a tool to be used for the improvement and increase of productivity in the bosom of the family unit, despite also helping the craftsman in his work.

The comparative study of the different roles of male and female slaves in professional life and in the domestic sphere of craftsmen's families leads therefore to an analysis of the different economic roles of men and women in the context of the family.