

PART TWO

*The Political Role Played by Fortified
Islands in the Mediterranean:
The Malta Example*

Black African Slaves in Malta

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The Problem: Black African Slaves in Malta

My study of *Slavery in Malta* originally entitled *Some Aspects of Slavery in Malta during the Rule of the Order* was first conceived to deal principally with the slaves or prisoners that resulted from the never ending Crusade fought by the Order of St John with the Turks and Moors in the Mediterranean Sea and on its shores. One's first impression was that it would deal almost entirely with white or off-white captives who were former inhabitants of the shores and towns of Tunisia, Tripolitania, Algeria and the Levant including the rest of the Ottoman Empire. Although people in Malta still speak of *iswed Turk*, "as black as a Turk", the latter meaning a Muslim and without precise ethnic significance, and a number of old town houses have the statue of a black African slave at the head of the staircase, it still seemed as if the typical slave in Malta during early modern times was a Moor or Turk, of whom it is known Malta had a constant number that varied between 500 early in the sixteenth century, went up to about a couple of thousands in the seventeenth century and perhaps exceeded three thousands in the opening decades of the eighteenth century, to be gradually reduced during the course of that century until it was finally ended by the operations both of the Emperor of Morocco and finally of General Bonaparte and later Maltese authorities. Black African slaves seemed an insignificant issue.

However, in writing Chapter One of the book, the chapter concerned with the pre-1530 period, I realized much better than I had ever done previously that a large proportion of the privately owned slaves in Malta before the arrival of the Order were described as *Etiopico* or *di Etiopia*, meant for a black African slave not a Moor from the Maghreb (Morocco to Tripolitania). In fact no less than 23 slaves in private ownership recorded in various transactions before 1530 were positively identified

ABBREVIATIONS NLM National Library of Malta; AOM Archives of the Order in Malta; NAV Notarial Archives Valletta; NAR National Archives, Rabat (Malta); CAM Cathedral Archives, Mdina.

as Etiopico, four as black, two as Moors or Arabs, and nine had no ethnic description. It is clear that slaves in private ownership were then predominantly black African in racial origin. It is quite possible that the close kinship which was probably then still felt with Moors or Arabs explains the rarity of slaves of that origin¹. In later records there are repeated references to Bornu as the country of origin of the African slaves. This was situated in that part of Africa just west of Lake Chad, and was described in the fourteenth and sixteenth century by Ibn Battuta and Leo Africanus, though not necessarily reliably. It is first mentioned so far as is known in the Maltese records in 1614 and last in 1784.

Availability of Black African Slaves

The notarial archives of Syracuse contain several deeds concerning the provision of black slaves from the African coast for eventual delivery to purchasers in Sicily. Maltese purchasers were not indicated in the deeds noticed in a hurried survey three decades ago, but it is curious that the chief agent on board of ships visiting North Africa which were concerned with such purchases was frequently of Maltese origin and was described as the *turgimanus* or interpreter, no doubt exploiting his knowledge of the Maltese language and its close kinship with the spoken Arabic of North Africa, perhaps then more obvious than now. It has already been indicated that there was no reason for such slaves not being brought over to Malta from the African shores in the same way in order to satisfy the demand for black African slaves by Maltese clients².

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1. However, perhaps not much should be placed on such sentiments. On 5 June 1555 Carolo de Avola was promised as part of his future wife's dowry "a black Ethiopian female slave or white as he best wished": Archives of the Dominican Priory at Rabat, *Giuliana Antica*, parte I, fols. 464-466. After all, black slaves were presumably less likely to escape because they had no home country near enough to escape to.
 2. Thus on 16 September 1493 Johannes Billia, *turgimannus* on the ship of Johannes de Bonayuto, received an amount of 'birettis et sclavine' on behalf of a person from Syracuse and undertook to provide two head of slaves on the return of the vessel from the *Montes Barcarum*. Archivio Storico di Siracusa, *Notai Defunti*, Not. Nicolo Vallone, Reg. 10230, see under date. The ship was captained by Johannes de Bonayuto, who had close commercial connections with the Maltese authorities some thirty years before: G. Wettinger, ed., *Acta Juratorum . . .*, Palermo, 1993, docs. 195, 197, 25-26 July 1463.

The next appreciable amount of information comes from one of the registers of deeds of notary Nicolo de Agatiis of the years 1543–44³. It concerns changes in private ownership of some 64 slaves, 35 males, 29 females; of these, 24 of the males and 14 of the females were described as Ethiopians or blacks. Apparently, there was still a clear preference for black African slaves in private ownership. Incidentally, this was a time when the Order was ruling over Tripoli as well as the Maltese Islands⁴. It must have been easier than ever to obtain black African slaves by purchase in the slave markets of North Africa. However, a document of 1543 reveals the Order's authorities directing a knight to conduct a party of fifteen black slaves (11 males, 4 females) to Sicily for sale there. Apparently, there was a better demand for them there than in Malta⁵. A document of 1539 concerned twenty free black labourers who were normally employed on public works at the castle of Tripoli⁶.

But the supply of white North African captives of the corsairs based on Malta was itself also reaching previously unknown heights. The corsairs based on Malta, previously largely of local or closely connected origin, now included individual knights belonging to prominent families of the Christian littoral of the Mediterranean while the galleys and other war vessels of the Order were themselves already extremely active. The confrontation between Christian and Muslim in the Central Mediterranean was itself reaching a critical point. In Gozo this was to lead eventually to the mass enslavement and exile of apparently almost the whole population in 1551 and a few years later in Malta it led to the great Siege of 1565.

The loss of Tripoli to the Muslims in 1551 did not lead to the disappearance from Malta of black African slaves, the situation at worst

3. Notarial Archives, Valletta, deeds of Notary Nicolo de Agatiis, R 202/8; see my *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*, pp. 377–382.

4. In fact, of course, Tripoli fell into Spanish hands in 1510 as is evidenced by some transactions in the deeds of the Maltese notaries Pietro de Laimo and Consalvo Canchur. References to the purchase of black slaves from Tripoli or in exchange for wheat can be found in the regular instructions which were issued to the Order's naval commanders visiting Tripoli: e.g. 13 March 1544, AOM 419, fol. 263; 17 October 1544, AOM 419, fol. 230; 4 June 1545, AOM 419, fol. 49. No big numbers were involved.

5. NLM, AOM 418, fol. 194v (olim cclxxxvii).

6. NLM, AOM 417, fol. 269v, dated 10 November 1539.

simply reverted to what it had been before 1510. In fact, black slaves were so common throughout North Africa that captures of them frequently occurred. Thus on 4 August 1549 the germa of Caidan Rais travelling from Djerba to Lepanto was captured with 32 Turks and Moors on board and an extra 109 *schiaivi negri*⁷. A similar capture occurred in 1562 of a vessel captained by Rais Cassan di Lepanto travelling between Tripoli and Greece on which were captured twenty Turks and a hundred negri and much cargo⁸. The previous year a caramusale was captured by the famous knight Romegas, who found aboard her 32 slaves, most of whom were blacks and a few Turks and Moors⁹. And in 1563 another large Turkish caramusale belonging to Mohedin Rais travelling from the neighbourhood of Navarino to the Levant with a cargo of blacks and some other cargo, returning as a prize to Malta with 150 slaves (how many of them were blacks?)¹⁰. On another occasion in the same year, the source of information is again infuriatingly unclear: out of 400 slaves taken from three captured vessels, 250 were Turks, the rest were Moors and blacks¹¹. The Knights and other corsairs based on Malta were merely tapping the slave trade across the Mediterranean, whereby the European and Levantine parts of the Ottoman Empire were being provided with fresh African slaves from the normal ports of Libya and the Maghreb.

Unfortunately, Dal Pozzo the next official historiographer of the Order, who continued the work of Bosio from 1572 onwards, is singularly reticent on the capture or arrival at Malta of slaves of African origin. The contemporary minutes of the Council of the Order reveal that on 9 May 1634 the six galleys of the Order brought into the island 645 slaves captured on four vessels intercepted while travelling from Tripoli to Scopoli (?). Of the total only 97 were whites¹². This time Dal Pozzo gives full details¹³. The four Muslim ships had left Tripoli seven days previously en route for Constantinople laden with “robbe di valuta e danari” for presentation to the Sultan himself, and a “great quantity of black slaves for sale”. The black

7. Bosio, III, 264.

8. *Ibid.*, 456.

9. *Ibid.*, 446.

10. *Ibid.*, 468.

11. *Ibid.*, 461.

12. AOM 111, fol. 59v.

13. *Dal Pozzo*, 814–817.

slaves simply changed owners, their former masters themselves became slaves, and all were brought into Malta, where the suitable white male slaves were sent to the galleys, while the black slaves were spared that fate because they were not considered suitable for employment on the galleys¹⁴. They were therefore sold into private ownership. But they were too numerous for the local slave market and special arrangements had to be made to enable their captors to find buyers for them. Purchasers could delay their final payment or have it subtracted from their pay if they were employees of the Order. These arrangements were refused when the next large capture of black slaves was made in 1663¹⁵.

The export of black African slaves from Tripoli and other North African ports to the Ottoman lands in the Balkans and the Levant is relatively well known and continued right down to the nineteenth century as is sparsely documented also from Maltese records¹⁶. In 1701 the editor of the archives of the French consulate at Tunis recorded the chartering for the first time since the sixteenth century of ships to carry black slaves across the Mediterranean¹⁷. In fact, however, the Maltese quarantine records reveal the capturing in 1680 of two ships in the seas around Sapienza carrying nineteen female black slaves and a child all belonging to Turkish merchants of Tripoli¹⁸. In 1722 many of the 93 captives on board of a Tripolitan galeotta brought into port are recorded to have been blacks¹⁹. In 1729 the French warship named *Astrea* entered Malta accompanied by an Austrian *pincotta* which she had captured with 180 black slaves on board males and females as well as 35 other slaves²⁰. This is recorded in the quarantine records of Malta. The whole contents of one of the quarantine registers covering the years 1723 to 1739 have been examined but only two other cases have been found for that period. On 22 November 1724 the captain of a French polacre stated that his vessel

14. AOM, decree of the Council, 15 May 1634.

15. *The Slaves of Malta*, 43.

16. See APPENDIX, Table I.

17. P. Grandchamp, *La France en Tunisie. Inventaire des archives du Consulat de France à Tunis*, X (1701-05), Introduction, p. xii, referring to entries on pp. 22, 27, 41.

18. AOM 6526, fol. 338, 27 September 1680.

19. AOM 267, fol. 132rv, 24 July 1722.

20. National Library of Malta, Libr. MS 820, entry dated 18 February 1729.

had been chartered in Tripoli by a number of Turkish merchants for the transport of 234 black African slaves, male and female together with some 200 hundredweights of salted butter. Unfortunately, the ship foundered in the tiny Gozitan port of Mġarr. The whole cargo of men and effects was saved and eventually the slaves were able to continue on their journey to Scio and Smyrna in the Aegean Sea²¹. On 6 June 1726 another French vessel travelling between Tunis and the Levant with a cargo of black Africans landed eight other passengers in Malta and continued on her journey²². On 3 May 1680 Thomas Baker, the English Consul in Tripoli (1677–1685), recorded the departure from that port for Lepanto of a vessel with 250 blacks on board but she returned to Tripoli after escaping pursuit within sight of Malta by three vessels²³.

On the establishment of British rule over Malta in 1800 documentation has been found in later quarantine records of the importation into Malta of *negretti* and *negrette* who had begun to arrive in Malta directly from Egypt until it was stopped in 1812²⁴. When reports reached London, the British Civil Commissioner in Malta pointed out that ships flying the Ottoman flag frequently entered the Grand Harbour with cargoes of black African slaves and in the current political situation of amity between Great Britain and the Ottoman Empire they could not be interfered with and were therefore allowed to sail to their destination. (Table II) This table does not include the slaves brought from Egypt for disposal in Malta and their use as domestic slave servants until the practice was stopped in 1812²⁵.

Dispersal and Integration into the community

Even back in the sixteenth century it is possible to find ‘Ethiopian’ slaves being manumitted. Thus in 1578 Magnificus Laurier Castiglion of Birgu manumitted his female Ethiopian slave named Harire de Maser (of Egypt?), aged forty-four, for her past services, the remission of his sins,

21. NLM, Libr. MS. 820, p. 48.

22. Ibid., Libr. MS. 820, p. 105.

23. C. R. Pennell, *Piracy and Diplomacy in Seventeenth Century North Africa*, London, etc., 1989, 129-30.

24. *Slavery*, last pages.

25. For this see my *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*, 591-594.

and other reasons not given²⁶. And on 30 May 1582 Stavriano Cagnano, one of the most active dealers in slaves of his time, agreed to free Imbaraca 'Ethiops natione maura' on payment of the sum of ninety scudi, three females standing sureties, namely Soltana, manumitted by Petrus Ros, Fatuma manumitted by Ghiumara Maldonato, and Selime, manumitted by Magdalene Bonaventura²⁷.

Much may be learnt on the nature and extent of the private ownership in Malta of black African slaves, from the documentation which has survived concerning the disposal on favourable terms of some eighty of the black African slaves captured in 1634. Of these, individual knights bought 14 males and six females, the vice-admiral himself bought another five males and three females, chaplains or priests bought another male and four females, a lawyer and two doctors bought two females and one male black slaves, widows bought two males and two females, two prostitutes each bought a female slave, a male and a female slave found other individual purchasers in Gozo, four such purchasers lived at Senglea, two at Vittoriosa or Birgu, eight at Valletta, who did not include the knights, six at Mdina, while one black slave was taken to Messina and another to Spain. Other Maltese villages are not mentioned. This information is based on sale records in the archives of the Order²⁸.

The price for the males ranged between 80 and 131 scudi, and between 80 and 140 for the females, the average for the former being 109 scudi and 124 scudi for the latter. There is no doubt that hundreds of other sales of black slaves which did not involve credit arrangements with the Order are recorded in the normal way in the notarial documents. But their very massiveness has discouraged detailed research.

One fairly easily exploitable source of information is provided by the baptismal registers surviving in the parochial archives, starting in 1539 at the Cathedral, Mdina, and in the early 1550s in the other older parishes. (Table III) On 23 June 1619 the archpriest of Mdina and Rabat baptized the baby son of Maria, the black slave of the doctor Nicolao

26. National Archives, Valletta, Notary Julianus Briffa, R89/8, fols. 1193-94, last day of February 1577 ab Incarnatione.

27. *Ibid.*, Notary Giuseppe Mamo, R 336 (1581-82), fols. 911 et seq.

28. AOM 737, fols. 58-64v.

Saura²⁹. Other entries in the same register, however, omit any reference to their colour. One common characteristic is that the entries never refer to the father of the child but always to the mother's owner making it probable that he was himself the progenitor, and that we have here a record of slave concubinage in different sections of society. Some examples can be found in Table III.

One particularly useful potential source of information is the baptismal register kept at the parochial church of St Anthony or Our Lady of Victories, because it contains the records of baptisms of slaves that came under the jurisdiction of the Prior of the Order, in other words those of the slaves of the Order itself and those belonging to all members of the Order, knights as well as soldiers and sailors, and one can work out the relative proportions of normal white slaves and negro slaves in these categories. (Table IV) Again, the priests did not always maintain the same criteria in entering the data, frequently omitting to specify whether a particular slave was black or not, which is unfortunate since this study is particularly concerned with the incidence of black slaves. On the other hand the records cover the whole span of almost two centuries between 1617 and 1798. It must be said straight away that those not recorded as 'black' (negro, negra, etc.) far outnumbered the latter.

Although the Order forbade the purchase by knights or their use for home service of female slaves who were less than fifty five years of age, it is quite possible to find knights infringing these regulations. For example, on 30 March 1681 the knight De Tincourt of the Langue of France bought the black *schiaivotta* born at Mandanu in Africa twelve years previously³⁰, and on 11 February 1686 the knight Fr D. Emanuele Zamora bought the Ethiopian slave Mebruca for eighty scudi though she was only twenty years of age³¹. On 1 June 1738 Aiscia daughter of Ebraim and Rubia, aged twenty-six of Candia, was baptized; she belonged to the Knight commander Don Consalvo Paternò³². And towards the end of the Order's stay on Malta one finds Bailiff Tignè buying at an auction

29. Cathedral Archives, Mdina, Liber Baptizatorum, Mdina, vol. 1, p. 496.

30. Liber Baptizatorum of the Church of Our Lady of Victories, NLM, Libr. MS. V18, fol. 154v.

31. AOM 746, fol. 139rv.

32. NLM, MS V 19, p. 95.

sale Aiscia the daughter of Selem from Minscia (?) twenty years old for whom he paid the respectable sum of 300 scudi³³. The knights were never allowed to admit paternity because of their vow of strict chastity. The Maltese vice-Chancellor of the Order Abela had a black slave aged seventeen baptized on 2 June 1629 and another non-black one aged twelve on 2 June 1629³⁴. Two black slaves came to Malta on purpose to be baptized which they did on 23 January 1732 being given the names and surnames Antonio Attard and Michel Angelo Farrugia³⁵. They were then being kept in the Grand Master's service in his own Palace. Ideas about the location of Bornu were vague even in the seventeenth century. On 27 June 1679 it was identified with the ancient kingdom of the Garamantes, "in regno Garamantum vulgo di Bornu in Affrica"³⁶. In 1687 it was simply described as "Bornu the country of the blacks"³⁷. On 20 July 1696 it was described more precisely, "Etheopo da Ghafnu lontano da Tunes Quattro mesi"³⁸.

Comparison can be made with similar baptismal records of the parochial church of Birgu largely chronologically overlapping with those being discussed. (Table V) They have been carefully examined in a demographic investigation by an undergraduate student of the University of Malta³⁹. Birgu was itself the main seat of the administration of the newly-arrived Order of St John until the building of Valletta itself. Such parochial registers were concerned solely with the population of the district subject to the jurisdiction of the normal church authorities, omitting all those who were under the authority of the Prior of the Order.

33. National Archives, Rabat, Tribunal Armamentorum, Libro Vendita Schiavi, 2 June 1780.

34. Liber Baptizatorum of the Church of Our Lady of Victories, NLM, Libr. MS. V18, fols. 81v, 87.

35. *Ibid.*, Libr. MS. V19, p. 62. In fact, they had escaped "in order to become Christian" on 14 October 1731 from a French ship travelling from Tunis to Smyrna with a declared cargo of "barracani, berrette e diversi altri effetti". Other possible black Africans on board are not mentioned: NLM, Libr. MS 820, p. 245.

36. *Ibid.*, fol. 152, entry dated 27 June 1679.

37. *Ibid.*, fol. 179, entry dated 18 August 1687.

38. *Ibid.*, fol. 197, entry dated 20 July 1696.

39. Vanessa Borg, *Birgu: a Demographic Overview*, University of Malta B.A. (Hons.) thesis, May 1999, especially Appendix IV, *The Offspring of Slaves, 1558-1658*, and Appendix VI, *The Baptised Slaves, 1558-1658*.

They thus did not normally record baptisms of any slaves belonging to the Order itself, to its knights or the chaplains of the Order⁴⁰.

Even here, however, the records show that the baptized slaves described clearly as “black” (*negro, negra, or negri, negre, or ethiopico*) were far fewer than those not so described who were also similarly in private ownership. Of course, it is probable that others who were of similar ethnic origin were simply not so described. But one must stick to the records. Between 1598 and 1639 a total of eighty black Africans were baptized in the parochial church of Birgu, an average of two a year. At the same time some 235 “non-black” slaves in private ownership were similarly baptized at Birgu, just about three times as many.

Turning now (Table VI) to the baptism of the offspring of privately owned slaves at Birgu one finds that down to 1634 almost invariably such baptisms are recorded only for “non-black” slaves until 1634 when a whole series of black slave offspring baptisms started, lasting down to 1647, during which time thirty six such baptisms occurred, an average of three per year. During the same years only twenty “non-black” slave baptisms of the offspring of slaves at Birgu happened. On the other hand baptisms of the non-black offspring of slaves were recorded in small numbers for all the years during which records have survived. Further research is required to discover how far what happened at Birgu also occurred in the numerous other parishes of Malta and Gozo. In addition, it is important to find out how many of these infants survived to adult life and whether they had a greater tendency to emigrate in later life.

In conclusion, one can only state so far that though privately owned slaves were predominantly black before 1530, it was apparently much less so after that year, though much further research is required, mostly in the way indicated in the present paper, to settle the matter definitely one way or the other. Of course, it will be immediately realized that the black female slaves in private ownership with offspring born after nine months of their capture or arrival on the island must have led to the appearance of a mixed blood component in the Maltese population. This has been

40. However, until the building of Valletta the parochial church of Birgu also served as the church of the Order of St John and that explains why one finds occasional slaves belonging even to someone like Grand Master La Vallette being baptized there.

consistently ignored even by persons in Malta who are normally xenophobic because the inhabitants of mixed blood have been completely integrated in the whole community right down through Maltese history. At present slightly dark-skinned individuals can be found in all sections of the population in most of the professions and occupations, though never in a high proportion, and they have normally affirmed themselves in their professions and can easily be considered as high achievers.

One other matter remains to be considered. Malta's topography has always had a number of place-names which any Arabic dictionary would reveal refer to slaves, in fact to negro slaves: Tal-Wasif is one of them, Gebel l-Usif is another. Then there are Wied is-Sewda, tas-Sewda, etc. Finally, may I suggest to our professional linguists that Nigret is itself a clear derivative from the Late Latin *negrito*, with its Arabic broken plural Ngieret (usually written Mgieret). Such localities, presumably, would best be identified with first generation black slaves, not with families of mixed blood.

TABLES

Table I. 'Black' slaves passing through Malta under the Order

Reference	Date	Ship's flag	Slaves on board	Port of origin	Destination	Remarks
AOM 6526, f. 436v	1663.05.15	Tripolitan	159 novi schiavi negri + un Turco	Tripoli		captured near Paxo
AOM 6526, f. 10	1680.09.27	Tripolitan	19 femine negre, un figliolino	Tripoli		captured near Sapienza
Libr. 820, p. 48	1724.11.22	French	234 neri, maschi e femin	Tripoli	Scio and	shipwrecked in Gozo
Libr. 820, 105	1726.06.06	French	carica di negri	Tunis	the Levant	visited Malta to land passengers
Libr. 820, p. 170	1729.02.18	Imperiale	180 negri +35 Tripolini			captured by by French warship
AOM 6527, p. 234	1743.12.11	French	c. 60 Mori	Tripoli	Salonica	
AOM 6527, p. 244	1743.12.25	French	c. 80 Turchi, Mori e negri	Tunisi		

AOM 6527, p. 338	1744.06.12	French	12 pass. (an Ambassador of Tripoli to Sweden, nine followers) + 100 black slaves	Tripoli	the Levant	
AOM, 6527	1745.04.27	French	50 pass tra Mori e negri	Tripoli	Navarino	
AOM 6527, p. 754	1745.11.23	Napoletano	200 pass. tra Mori e negri	Tripoli	Smyrna	
AOM 6527, p. 994	1746.10.11	Tuscan	32 pass. tra Mori e Greci	Algiers	Smyrna	
AOM 6528, p. 3	1747.02.11	French	30 pass. tra Turchi, Mori, Neri ed 1 Greco	Tunis	Candia	
AOM 6528, p. 229	1752.05.07	Minorca (British)	6 pass. con 56 schiavi neri	Tripoli	Candia	
AOM 6528, p. 369	1754.07.05	French	41 pass. tra Mori e neri	Tunis	Modone and Smyrna	
AOM 6528, p. 464	1756.02.15	Swedish	c. 50 pass. tra Turchi e negri	Algiers	Smyrna	
AOM 6528, p. 527	1757.05.21	British prize ship (originally, French)	6 pass Mori, and 100 negri	Tripoli	Morea	Origin and destination of French ship
AOM 5629	1765.07.22	pollacca Francese	31 pass. tra quali 6 Mori, 7 donne negre	Tripoli	Levante	
AOM 6530,	1779.01.11	vassello	13 pers. d'equip. +61 pass. Turchi, Ebrei, negri e negresse			ran aground Ricasoli
AOM 6532, 126v	1793.08.17	cutter Veneziano	7 pers. d'equip. +12 pass., 150 negresse	Tripoli	Smyrna	

N.B. Minor numbers omitted from table.

Table II. 'Black' slaves passing through Malta during British rule

Date	Ship's nationality	Black slaves on board	Port of origin	Destination
1803.06.20	Ottoman	8 donne nere	Tripoli	
1804.03.29	Tunisian	10 negresse	Djerba	Constantinople
1804.06.06	Spanish	16 negresse		
1804.06.13	Maltese	22 negresse	Djerba/ Lampedusa	Constantople
1808.03.26	Tunisian	20 negre	Tunis	The Levant
1808.07.22	Tripolitan	200 negri maschi e femine	Tripoli	Smyrna
1809.06.02	Tripolitan	16 negressi	Tripoli	The Morea
1810.02.08	Tunisian	34 negri e negresse	Tunis	Scio
1810.04.10	Tripolitan	Il console Americano sua moglie e famiglia e 21 donna negra	Tripoli	
1810.05.15	Tripolitan	Portuguese and Swedish consuls, a Turkish merchant and 9 negressi	Tripoli	
1811.04.02	Maltese	A Turkish merchant and 18 negresse; 2 Passagieri Greci u suoi 2 ragazze negressi	Tripoli	Preveza
1811.06.17	Maltese	26 negressi	Tripoli	
1811.07.21	Maltese	35 negressi	Tripoli	
1812.04.25	Maltese	46 donne negressi	Tripoli	Prevesa
1812.06.18	Maltese	43 negressi	Tripoli	

Source: NLM, Libr. MS 818, references by date.

Table III. Baptisms of slaves and their offspring at the Cathedral of Mdina

Folio No.	Owner's name	Slave's name	Date
41	Leonardus Mangione	Clemente	1541.06.07
41	Antoni Cassar	Franciscus Sarafinus	1541.06.12
42	Nicolaus Vella	Ursula	1541.09.04
43	Nicolaus de lo Re	Ursula	1541.11.02
47	Magnificus Petrus Cassar	Caterina	1543.05.26
48	Magister Matheus Portelli	Martinus	1543.08.26
49	Nobilis Petrus Barthalo	Leonardus	1543.11.11
58	Nobilis Gregori Xerri	Georgius	1545.04.23
61	Michael Vassallo	Augustinus	1545.08.26
61	Magnificus Petrus Cassar	Bartholomeus filius Julie serve	1545.09.02
63	Magnificus Laurentius [Briffa]	Georgius	1545.10.23
65	De Guivara	Vincentia filia Mathie serve	1546.01.03
65	Petrus Casiha	Ceterina	1546.01.07
68	V.D. Andrea Axac	Vincentia filia serve	1546.04.28
69	Nobilis Nicola di lo Re	Margarita	1546.05.16
69	Perius Michola	Ventura	1546.05.23
69	Episcopus Dnus Cubelles	Petrus, Georgius, Franciscus	1546.06.15
69	Nobilis Franciscus Serrano	Nicolaus filius Benedicte serve	1546.06.17
70	Magnificus Alvarus de Nava	Helena, Victoria, Juliana	1546.06.17
70	Nobilis Gabriel Marti	Lucia Marcella (sic)	1546.07.13
78	Nobilis Perius Michola	Angelus	1548.06.11
79	Nobilis Simon Barthalo	Nicolaus filius Caterine serve	1548.12.09
80	Magnificus Augustinus Cumbo	Vincentius filius serve	1549.01.29
84	Franciscus Vassallo	Joanna filia Benedicte serve	1550.06.03
86	Nobilis Gregorii Xerri	Laurentius filius Bernarde serve	1551.01.12
87	Nobilis Michael Alligritto	Dominica filia serve	1551.06.25

Source: Cathedral Archives, Mdina, Liber Baptizatorium, Mdina, vol. 1.

Table IV. Baptisms of ‘black’ and ‘non-black’ slaves at the Church of Our Lady of Victories

Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black
1617		1	1662		16	1711	3	40	1756		3
1618	2	1	1663	1	22	1712	1	28	1757		6
1619	1	3	1664	1	23	1713	2	20	1758		19
1620	1	1	1665			1714	1	15	1759		14
1621	3	1	1666			1715		6	1760		19
1622	5	4	1667			1716	1	18	1761		4
1623		4	1668		34	1717	2	15	1762		4
1624		1	1669	3	21	1718		17	1763	1	17
1625		4	1670		5	1719		4	1764		11
1626	1	6	1671		16	1720		5	1765		8
1627	2	9	1672		13	1721		21	1766	1	17
1628	3	5	1673	2	17	1722		15	1767	1	18
1629		4	1674		9	1723		23	1768		12
1630		5	1679	3	14	1724		35	1769		9
1631		3	1680		6	1725		25	1770		3
1632		1	1681	2	26	1726		9	1771		5
1633		4	1682		27	1727	1	18	1772		4
1634	1	7	1683	1	32	1728		19	1773		2
1635	8	4	1684		19	1729		21	1774		1
1636	4	1	1685		39	1730		17	1775		3
1637		6	1686	2	60	1731	1	9	1776		5
1638		2	1687	1	44	1732	2	10	1777		6
1639		1	1688		37	1733		6	1778		6
1640	2	6	1689		38	1734	1	8	1779		5
1641	2	2	1690		33	1735		14	1780		6
1642	2	6	1691		32	1736		7	1781		
1643	1	4	1692		22	1737		9	1782		
1644		1	1693		27	1738		23	1783		
1645	1	6	1694		12	1739		11	1784		
1646		12	1695	1	14	1740		11	1785		
1647	2	6	1696	2	22	1741		12	1786		3
1648		8	1697	1	28	1742		18	1787		3
1649			1698		25	1743		23	1788		2
1650			1699		11	1744		10	1789		2
1651	2	4	1700		11	1745	1	9	1790		
1652		7	1701	1	27	1746		12	1791		1
1653	3	4	1702	2	24	1747		9	1792		
1654		8	1703		28	1748	1	12	1793		1
1655			1704		17	1749		28	1794		1
1656			1705		29	1750	1	21	1795		
1657			1706	2	20	1751		30	1796		2
1658		21	1707		24	1752		6			
1659	2	12	1708	3	19	1753	1	12			
1660		18	1709		56	1754		6			
1661	3	19	1710	1	43	1755	1	7			

Source: NLM, MS Libr. V 18, 19, Baptismal registers at the Church of Our Lady of Victories, Valletta.

Table V. Baptisms of privately owned 'black' and 'non-black' slaves at Birgu

Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black
1558		2	1583		6	1608	2	7	1633	1	1
1559		2	1584	1		1609	4	6	1634	6	7
1560		3	1585		19	1610	1	7	1635	3	4
1561		1	1586		15	1611		6	1636	4	1
1562		3	1587		6	1612	1	4	1637	2	7
1563			1588		4	1613	1	8	1638	3	
1564		3	1589		20	1614	1	7	1639	1	1
1565			1590	2	13	1615		6	1640		
1566			1591		4	1616	2	6	1641		1
1567			1592		4	1617			1642		2
1568			1593		4	1618	1	9	1643		1
1569			1594	1	5	1619	2	8	1644		3
1570			1595		4	1620	3	5	1645	2	3
1571			1596		4	1621	4	5	1646		1
1572			1597		9	1622	3	2	1647		4
1573			1598	2	7	1623	1	7	1648		8
1574			1599	1	3	1624		8	1649		2
1575			1600	1	3	1625	2	6	1650		1
1576		1	1601	2	6	1626	2	5	1651	1	3
1577			1602	5	8	1627		3	1652	3	7
1578			1603	1	11	1628	1	4	1653		4
1579			1604	5	12	1629		3	1654		2
1580	1	6	1605	1	14	1630	2	3	1655	1	
1581	2	3	1606	2	9	1631	6	2	1656		3
1582	2	3	1607	1	11	1632		3	1657/8	2	4

Source: Data is based on an annual count of the record entries given in Appendix VI, Baptised Slaves, 1558–1658, to the thesis *Birgu: A Demographic Overview, 1558–1658*, by Vanessa Borg, B.A. Hons, University of Malta, May 1999.

Table VI. Baptisms of the *Offspring* of 'black' and 'non-black' slaves at Birgu

Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black	Years	Black	Non-Black
1558	1	5	1583		2	1608			1633		1
1559		5	1584	1		1609			1634	3	3
1560		1	1585		2	1610	1		1635	2	4
1561			1586			1611			1636	7	1
1562			1587			1612		1	1637	3	1
1563			1588	1	5	1613	1	2	1638	2	2
1564			1589			1614		1	1639	6	1
1565			1590			1615			1640	3	
1566			1591			1616			1641	1	
1567		2	1592		1	1617		2	1642	1	
1568			1593		3	1618		5	1643	3	2
1569		4	1594		1	1619	1		1644		2
1570			1595			1620			1645	2	1
1571			1596		1	1621		1	1646	1	3
1572			1597		3	1622	1	1	1647	2	
1573			1598		1	1623	2		1648		
1574			1599			1624		1	1649		1
1575		1	1600		1	1625		3	1650		2
1576			1601			1626		1	1651		
1577		1	1602		1	1627		2	1652	1	1
1578			1603	1	2	1628		2	1653		
1579		3	1604			1629		5	1654		1
1580		2	1605			1630		2	1655		
1581			1606		2	1631	3	1	1656		1
1582		4	1607			1632		2			

Source: A simple count of records on an annual basis given in Appendix IV, The Offspring of Slaves, 1558-1658, in Vanessa Borg, *Birgu: A Demographic Overview, 1558-1658*.

