MASTER'S THESIS

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Motivations to become a corsair.

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Preface

This master's thesis is written as a final part of the Lektorutdanning i samfunnsfag med fordypning i historie at Nord University. The process of writing the master's thesis has been challenging, at times. I would therefore like to thank my supervisor, Edda Barbara Isabella Frankot. Thank you for given me good guidance and for pointing me in the right direction when I have stumbled or been stuck. You have been patient and understanding with me and my progress, for that I am thankful.

Contents

1.0 Introduction to the Master's thesis

Piracy is a phenomenon that has existed since the beginning of naval travel. The romanticized image of pirates in popular imagination is, however, linked to the early modern period when piracy could be found in a range of areas from the English Channel to the Malay archipelago.

My personal motivation for choosing this topic is that piracy and naval warfare, which has been popularized in both literature, movies and TV-series, has from a young age fascinated me. Growing up I got introduced to the movie franchise *Pirates of the Caribbean*, and after that pirates became a source of entertainment. The comedy and romanticization of the pirate in that franchise would over the years become less interesting, and the fascination for the more "raw" display of naval activity began to fascinate me in a greater sense. I would later find great pleasure in the movie *Master and Commander*, and many years later the television show *Black Sails* from HBO would come to my attention. Gaining interest in the topic again I decided that I wanted to write a Master's thesis that revolves around naval warfare or piracy in some sense. Initially I wanted to focus on the early modern period in the Caribbean, but eventually the decision fell on the Barbary Corsairs of the North African coast, as I felt that the Caribbean was a subject that was well researched and not as mysterious. With this thesis I would like to find out more about what made people go to the Barbary coast and become corsairs, and not only that, but also what kind of people that chose this career, and then who it was that were considered Barbary corsairs.

The thesis' introduction will first introduce the research question, followed by a historiography that discusses earlier research done in regards of the motivations to go to sea. The introduction continues into a theoretical part where it begins with explaining how competing juridical systems would affect a shipowner at sea, before going into how shifting identity was a means to an end for the shipowners. A bit of terminology will then be discussed, as we clarify what a corsair is, and how I chose to use it in this thesis. The final part of the introduction will introduce the theories I have chosen to use in my analysis of the groups and individuals that turned to corsairing. After the introduction comes a context chapter, where the reader will get a good understanding of the political climate of the Mediterranean during the sixteenth century. Here the reader will learn about the Barbary coast and the different dynasties that ruled the North African coast. It will then talk about the situation in Spain, as well as the Ottoman empire and its impact on the Barbary coast. In the third chapter the thesis discusses the motivation of the groups and individuals that became

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corsairs. There the different groups will be introduced, and by applying the theories from chapter 1.7 it is possible to conclude on what motivated them to become corsairs. Finally the thesis will give a conclusion to the entire analysis.

1.1 Research question

During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries piracy in the Mediterranean was a part of both state and private incentives, and North African states gave pirates commissions to raid on their behalf. These pirates were called corsairs. This thesis seeks to shed light on the question of why someone chose to go to the Barbary coast to become a corsair during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The research question for the thesis is:

What motivated groups and individuals to become Barbary corsairs in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries?

An answer to this question can contribute to the understanding of what the corsair life could offer, but also what options groups and individuals during the early modern period had, as well as how they chose to act upon them. While writing the thesis, my aim was to give the reader a clear understanding of both the theoretical challenges to the subject, and the contextual background that was relevant for my research question. In order to do this I aim to explain these five factors:

1) The complexity of plural jurisdictions at sea.
2) How identities could shift depending on the needs of the individual.
3) The difference between a pirate, privateer, and a corsair.
4) What kind of theory I am using in order to analyze the factors related to my research question.
5) The political context of the Mediterranean.

Discussing plural jurisdiction I aim to show that the sea is a place where competing jurisdictions fought for control, and that the perception of aspects of a sailor's identity could shift depending on whether he was in the jurisdiction of his employer or a competitor's. Arriving in a competing jurisdiction, a ship may have been considered an enemy, and therefore he could be regarded as

a pirate, or even prey. Merchants in their turn might make use of multiple and borrowed identities in order to fit into the competing systems. The difference between who was considered a pirate, privateer, orcorsair was also connected to this, and even though a pirate was seen as someone acting purely in their own interest, corsairs and privateers of competing jurisdictions could also be regarded as pirates by their enemies. A discussion of the political context of the Mediterranean is needed as a fundamental brick that will give the reader sufficient introduction to the historical subject in order to engage in the analysis. The theory that is used for the analysis is one that comes from social science and philosophy, and seeks to explain an actor's motivations and reasons to act. Looking further into these reasons through the model "chain of action", it is possible to explain the pattern of the actors and observe new social forms that would come into existence based on their decisions.

The main focus of the thesis is to look at the possible motivations of different groups that ended up as corsairs in the Maghreb. The groups that this thesis will consider are the Turks from the Levant, the Moors and Moriscos from Spain, and different groups of renegades. The latter consisted of the renegades who had been enslaved as children, the group who apostatized while living in Muslim controlled lands, and finally, the group that consisted of adventure seekers who could come from different nations in Europe who intended to 'turn Turk'.

The reason I have chosen to look at the time period between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries is because there were important developments to the structure of corsairing during this period. The corsairs went from being employed by the sultans of the different dynasties in the Maghreb (also known as the Barbary Coast) to being a part of semi-autonomous city states that revolved around corsairing. At the same time the holy war between the Christian powers of Europe and the Islamic main actor, the Ottoman empire, was about to fully blossom from a land-based war, to also becoming a sea-based war.

A lot of literature has been written about piracy in the Mediterranean. Unforunately, I have been restricted in my research due to my lack of linguistic competence in languages such as Italian, French, Spanish, Arabic and Turkish, in which much of the literature and primary sources are written. Because of this research economical limitation, instead of looking at primary sources, I have tried to conduct a literature review of publications in English, as well as applying social science theories on a historical topic. Doing this research, I found that very little was written about the personal motivation of individuals and groups in becoming corsairs. In addition, it is clear that that the Barbary corsairs are not as well-known as the

Caribbean pirates. One of the goals of this research is to close this gap in the knowledge of this topic.

1.2 Historiography

When it comes to the motivations of people to go to sea, it is in the context of the corsairs of the Mediterranean hard to find sources that specifically present these. However, historians have attempted to explain the motivations of the pirates and other seamen from a range of different regions, such as the golden age of piracy in the Caribbean, in northwestern Europe, and piracy in the south Asian archipelago.

One of the factors that is found is the correlation between pirates and markets. David J. Starkey in, in his chapter "Pirate and Markets" in the edited volume *Bandits at Sea* aims to identify what makes it possible for someone to become a pirate, by studying the individuals who became pirates, while also aiming to identify the main forms of piracy in the Atlantic. Were these individuals the stereotypical lawless men who had gained letters of marque from the authorities? Starkey categorizes piracy as a service profession that revolves around demand and supply, where trade is the basis for pirate activity. Starkey further argues that piracy in the Atlantic came in five waves, where he differentiates between short and long waves. In the long waves we can find the corsairs of the Mediterranean as well as the Buccaneers in America. The reason they belonged in the long waves was because they had an "institution" backing their activity. The corsairs had the "spiritual blessing of the prophet Muhammad", while the Buccaneers were backed by letters of marque from the colonies in order to wage war against the Spanish in the Caribbean. The short waves came as a result of warfare where the fluctuation between war and peace made a lot of seamen unemployed during times of peace, which made many turn to piracy. Finally Starkey argues that the people who chose to join pirate ships were people of strong egalitarian and democratic values which were in opposition to contemporary "normal" society. Still, he argues that piracy mainly occurred because someone wanted to gain wealth.[1]

In "The Seaman as a pirate: Plunder and Social Banditry at Sea" in *Bandits at Sea*, Marcus Rediker looks at the how piracy functioned on "the inside", I will not go into great detail

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[1] Starkey, "Pirates and Markets", 107-124.

about that, but rather look at his arguments on who became pirates in relation to the short waves, described by Starkey. Rediker says that the navy had problems fighting the pirates, especially during times of peace. Because of low wages, hard discipline aboard the ship, food scarcity and high mortality, crewmembers would desert. Rediker continues to argue that most of the men who became pirates came from merchant ships which had been captured by other pirates. Those who joined were rarely land-based men, but were rather experienced sailors who came from "single sex communities", meaning that they came from masculine communities such as the navy or a merchant fleet.[2]

Christine May Hernandez has looked at women's motivations to become pirates in the article "Forging an Iron Woman: on the effects of piracy on gender in the 18th century Caribbean". Her argument is that pirates represented a culture that can be considered "better" than what could be found on land, in the sense that it did not discriminate on skin color or gender, but rather on a person's character. Arguing that pirates often were poor and multicultural people who spat in the face of a government's tyrannical and suppressing rule, labels relating to one's class did not matter. A black man could be a slave on land, while being a captain aboard a ship. Another observation made by Hernandez, which Starkey to some extent agrees with, is that one of the main motivations was to fight for freedom, and not necessarily only money. Hernandez is clear on the fact that it is hard to find a strong correlation between gender and piracy, but she still argues that since the communities did not care about class, nationality, or race, they likely also did not care about gender. Looking at two cases of the female pirates Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Hernandez, presents two women who had turbulent lives leading up to their career as pirates. Both Anne Bonny and Mary Read, did however end up dressing in men's clothes as a result of their upbringings. Mary Read managed to get into the military as a result of this, and later ended up on a ship that was assaulted by pirates. She then decided to join the pirate captain, while Anne Bonny joined the corsair captain Rackham, becoming his lover while hiding her gender for the rest of the crew. This makes the arguments that gender did not matter a little problematic, as they had to pose as men in order to fit in. Still, it shows that if their gender was held secret to the crew, they could show characteristics that was worthy to that of a pirate. It can then be argued that these women changed their gender identity as it suited their situation. However, other research has shown that women held several roles on the ship, such as chef, waiter, seamstress, nurse, wife, lovers, and as pirates. Hernandez argues that the old adage that women aboard the ship gave bad luck was

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[2] Rediker, "The Seaman as Pirate", 139-168.

incorrect, and that they rather transformed the structure of the ship, where the women symbolized the code of honor among pirates.[3]

In the article "Turbulent waters: sea raiding in the early modern south east Asia", Robert Antony looks at the different cultural aspects tied to piracy in Asia. Interestingly, he discovers that there are no local words that corresponds to the word 'pirate' in the Malay or Javanese languages, or any other of the indigenous languages of south-east Asia. This tells us something about how piracy was considered, as well as motivations to take part in piracy. Antony argues that contrary to the situation in Europe, warfare at sea was an important aspect of the culture in the Malay Archipelago. Instead of being seen as rebelling against the norms of society, piracy was seen as a respectable occupation, where even nobles would engage in piracy to earn their fortunes, contrary to the culture in Europe where this would be frowned upon. Antony argues that the concept of 'piracy' was only introduced when the western colonial powers got hold of the region, and that 'piracy' was an European construction that was forced on the locals of the Malay archipelago.[4]

Virginia Lunsford takes a look at privateering in the book *Piracy and Privateering in the Golden Age Netherlands*. Here she argues that one of the motivations to become a privateer was the prospects of economic gain. In fact it was so lucrative that they had to ban it in order to have men left to serve in the navy. The ships were mainly merchant ships that had gotten letters of marque, and were armed in order to take action if needed. The crew that was aboard these ships could come from anywhere, across nations, and including slaves, and even criminals from prisons.[5]

This research have provided me with a good understanding of piracy and privateering. It has also given me an understanding of what kind of motivations that could be relevant to individuals who chose to become pirates. Because of this it has helped me figure out which factors I could research further in order to come to an explanation to my research question.

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[3] Hernandez, "Forging and Iron Woman", 1-7.
[4] Antony, "Turbulent waters", 23-38.
[5] Lunsford, *Piracy and Privateering*.

1.3 Legal pluralism in the fifteenth and sixteenth century

Delving into the topic requires some definitions of pirates and piracy which will be presented. The classical Roman definition of piracy says that all crimes done at sea is regarded as piracy[6], and the United Nations Conventions on the High Seas regard piracy in a similar fashion:

> "Any illegal acts of violence or detention, or any act of depredation, committed for private ends by the crew or the passengers of a private ship (…): on the high seas, against another ship or aircraft, or against persons or property on board such ship or aircraft (…)"[7]

Piracy was a complex matter in the medieval and early modern period. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the European polities began defining piracy as the capital maritime crime. This definition helped them define their sovereignty over both land and persons. The polities began to differentiate between *sanctioned* and *unsanctioned* maritime interruptions. Unsanctioned interruptions would be defined as piracy, while sanctioned interruptions would be considered a legitimate form of maritime interruption that was mean to further the state's political objectives.[8]

Conducting the sanctioned maritime assaults were seafarers who was empowered as admirals, corsairs and privateers, and were set to intercept and appropriate cargo on enemy state's ships. The admirals and corsairs would also substitute the standing naval armies, and in this way the 'sanctioned maritime interruptions' restructured navies, suppressed piracy, and protected the trade in the region. In order to get a better understanding of this phenomenon, it should be seen through a lens that is called 'legal pluralism'. Legal pluralism is the term that addresses the problem with competing systems of law in a common region, such as could be found in the Mediterranean sea. We can see this problem in the "legality" of sanctioned maritime interruptions which would lead to conflicts surrounding the identification of who that would be called a pirate, as seen in the subjective terms 'pirate', 'corsair' and 'zeerauber'. This

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[6] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 838.
[7] United Nations Convention on the High Seas (UNCLOS), "Article 101: Definition of piracy." 06.12.2021. https://www.un.org/depts/los/convention_agreements/texts/unclos/part7.htm
[8] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 838-839.

"legality" would also affect the resolution of disputes related to i.e. merchant vessel being assaulted by someone who would later be accused of being a pirate.[9]

The distinction between the "sanctioned admiral" and the "criminal pirate" was that an admiral was someone who undertook a sea-voyage with authorization from polity who had sovereignty over the port the commander sailed out from. While if the captain was lacking the authorization from such a polity, they would be deem a pirate. With this authorization came a certain amount of judicial authority, such as the power to execute those who were deemed pirates.[10]

This distinction based on whether or not the commander had received authority from the polity was not always maintained. For example the *Jutgamen de la Mar*, a group who guided the practice along the French Atlantic coast, deemed commanders as admirals or pirates based on religious and political characteristics. A ship would be regarded as a "pirate ship" if it had been involved in pillaging, or were enemies of the Catholic faith. The Hanseatic League was for example said to anticipate aggression from 'enemy' corsairs, who they named *zeerovere,* implying that even if a corsair ship had authorization, a corsair would still be considered a pirate if they were attacked by them. Further it can also be seen in England during the seventeenth century that Oliver Cromwell was appointed as "(…) admiral of our coast (…)" but his counterparts were regarded as "admirals and pirates". This narrative distinction further tells the tale of a system that was subject to a subjective view of piracy.[11]

When becoming an admiral, it would often entail that a commander was appointed into a feudal office which can be reminiscent of a knighthood. The commander would go through a ritual where he could get both a ring and a sword that functioned as a receipt to his admiralty. Even though there were allusions to knighthood, the captains with ambitions to act as admirals were also likely to act as mercenary free agents. An example of this is the corsair Roger de Flor, who during the thirteenth century equipped his merchant vessel with funds from the Genoese Doria family before getting employed as an independent captain for Frederic III of Sicily.[12] This case was not an uncommon practice, as both the Byzantine emperors and kings of France, Naples and Sicily would engage members of the Genoese Doria and Grimaldi clans to use as mercenary corsairs in the thirteenth and fourteenth

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[9] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 838-839.
[10] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 838-839.
[11] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 838-839.
[12] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 840.

centuries.[13] The amalgamation between the feudal instance and mercenaries showed that there was patron-client bond between the sovereign rulers and the corsairs.[14]

The admirals functioning as mercenaries would also complicate their legal status when they migrated between varying jurisdictions. The corsair could possibly shift their loyalties and affiliation. This also meant that the treatment of other captains would shift with their loyalties. Someone who was once regarded as friendly could suddenly be regarded as an enemy. This would naturally go the other way as well, where he could suddenly be seen as a pirate by the law of their competitors. Corsairs who could act upon the authority given to him would attack those who were regarded pirates, and therefore being regarded as a pirate could have serious consequences for shipowners. If this commander had been appointed by an opposing sovereignty, he could be deemed as a pirate, and thus face capital penalty. In 1469 this happened to a corsair named Jean de Bourguignon, who was hired by a rebel nobility in order to challenge the royal authority on Sardinia. Bourguignon was for this tortured and executed.[15]

Historian Katheryn Reyerson can also attest to the concept of legal pluralism and the complexity of the competing jurisdictions. Reyerson shows us three examples of people of high status who engaged in conflicts which more or less gave them plural identities. The first example is the thirteenth century Genoese shipowner Bendetto Zaccaria. Zaccaria had made his fortune in trade and industry, and had been able to build up a large wealth in ships. Zaccaria was a man of multiple identities, who served as an admiral of the King of Castilla as well as being a possessor of Greek lordship. Zaccaria and other great families of the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed the dual identity of entrepreneur and corsair around the Genoese colonies.[16] The second example is the noble lord Guglielmo Raimondo II di Moncada. After inheriting the county of Augusta, he brought ships to the eastern Mediterranean in order to operate as a corsair outside of the Levant and Tunisia, attacking Tunisian vessels.[17] Thirdly, she gives the example of Enrico Pescatore. At the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth centuries he held Malta as a fief from the king of Sicily. In the early thirteenth century he took Crete from the Venetians, being dubbed a pirate. But by the rival of the

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[13] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 840.
[14] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 840.
[15] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 841.
[16] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 132.
[17] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 133.

Venetians, the Genoese, he was dubbed a hero.[18] These examples show us some of the issues that legal pluralism could create, but it also show us that they enjoyed playing several "roles". Such as Bendetto Zaccaria, who was a Greek lord, wealthy merchant, and an admiral, possibly also being a pirate to some.

Another reason for privateering was also commercial competition. Katheryn Reyerson shows that during the period of 1350-1415 over three hundred boat-captures had been noted in Aigues-Mortes. An example of this is Giovanni Grimaldi who caught a Castilian ship coming from Pisa. The boat had been leased to Sienese merchants who carried grain from Sicily. Giovanni Grimaldi who was under the service of the lord of Milan was a privateer in the eyes of his lord, but a pirate to the Sienese merchants.[19]

Legal pluralism is also seen in the agreements that was forged across jurisdictions that showed to the privilege of corsairs who could search and seize cargo on ships that were seen as enemies. However, they could also to this on what was considered friendly, and even allied ships. This privilege, to engage with "neutral" ships, was guaranteed through the peace agreements of *treaties* and *truces.* Such treaties was the closest to what could be called international law that were designed to handle the competing jurisdiction of medieval Europe.[20] During the medieval period, the treaties elaborates new distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate maritime theft. For example could a corsair who inappropriately interrupted friendly shipping and seized the cargo by individuals who were within the same polity's sovereignty would make the corsair a subject to legitimate critic.[21]

Another aspect was that merchants who had been victim of maritime theft had the right to restitution. This could be resolved though agreements and treaties, but in cases where the merchants were uncompensated, they could seek out *letters of marque* from their own polities, awarding them the rights to retaliate as pirates in order to make back their lost fortunes. If a merchant was robbed by a pirate who acted on his own interest, that is not a corsair, the merchant could appeal to several systems of justice at once, in what is dubbed "forum shopping". By doing this they increased their chances of receiving acceptable redress.[22] However, there are examples that some of the plaintiffs who were seized by corsairs

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[18] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 133.
[19] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 133.
[20] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 841.
[21] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 841.
[22] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 841-842.

had been conducting trade in violation of the restrictions on commerce with enemies or allies. These merchants lost the right to restitution. The corsairs would then also function as a form of surveillance, enforcing the written agreements between jurisdictions, and in that way enforcing the political sovereignty of their polity at sea.[23]

1.4 Merchants with multiple and borrowed identities

Not only pirates, privateers, and corsairs made use of the plurality that the sea could offer. Merchants of the Mediterranean were people who made use of different identities as they went back and forth between the Christian and Muslim world. In the following part the concept of 'multiple identities' and 'borrowed identities' will be looked at through the perspective of Katheryn Reyerson. Reyerson looks at the port of Aigues-Mortes on the southern coast of France, and in her analysis she argues that the merchants in the port benefited from using both multiple identities and borrowed identities depending on the circumstances in order to maximize their profit. By looking at testimonies regarding judicial inquiries such as tax control, Reyerson gives us information about the composition of the maritime port.

First of all, Reyerson provides an interesting definition of identity:

> "Identity is constructed, not innate, resulting from social practice and anchored in a certain historical context. People change their identities and forge new ones. While a person's identity can be imposed from the outside to some extent, by someone attempting to categorize him or her as a stranger or an "other," self-definition and self-presentation are also at play."[24]

With this definition, Reyerson argues that different things play into a person's identity, which is confirmed when she presents the port of Aigues-Mortes. The port consisted of people of various skills related to seafaring, trade, and agriculture. The inhabitants could claim to have multiple identities, and under different circumstances, this identity could be that of a pirate or privateer.[25] Reyerson points to the same problem with the letters of marque and system of reprisals as Tai, in that the customs regarding privateering were conducted through letters of

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[23] Tai, "The Legal Status of Piracy in Medieval Europe", 842.
[24] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 138.
[25] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 132.

marque, and a system of reprisal evolved out of this. Shipowners who were attacked or had their goods unjustly seized by pirates could apply for a letter of marque, and were thus allowed to seek retribution by attacking the compatriots of those who wronged them. When these compatriots, who could be innocent, had to pay, they in their turn could be issued letters of marque. In such a way there would be an unending chain of privateers countering each other.[26]

The other aspect of changing identity, which Reyerson calls 'borrowed identity' can be found when looking at the merchants from smaller towns in the western Mediterranean. These merchants often changed their identity, for example to Pisan or Genoese when they traveled in North-Africa or in the Levant. The way they changed their identity was to fly the flags of major towns on their ships, thus assuming the identity of that major town. The reason for doing this was that they could capitalize on the privileges that these major trading towns had built up in the foreign land. For example, merchants from Florence took on the identity of Pisans when they travelled to Egypt. By doing so they could use the *Fondaco,* which was a Pisan colonial community where merchants from Pisan could use facilities such as warehouses, housing, notaries, brokers, etc. As well as using the *Fondaco,* the merchants who took on Pisan identity would also benefit from the reputation that Pisan commerce held in Egypt.[27]

Borrowing an identity could also lead to mistaken identity. This could lead to unwanted consequences as pseudo-Genoese or pseudo-Venetians could experience attacks from Mamluk privateers who had sought reprisal after a Venetian or Genoese transgression. The consequences for these merchants could be punishment in form of having their goods seized, as well as being accused of being pirates which entails that they would receive appropriate punishment in regards of being accused of being a pirate.[28]

1.5 Pirate, privateer or corsair?

The difference between a pirate, privateer and corsair is one that might not too easy to understand. And as we have seen, due to the competing jurisdictions at sea, one could be

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[26] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 132.
[27] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 138-139.
[28] Reyerson, "Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean", 140-142.

regarded as a pirate by one, and a privateer by the other. For the purpose of this thesis it is then necessary to define the terms and how I have chosen to use them.

Nicholas A. M. Rodgers separates war at sea in the late- medieval period into two categories: public and military war, and private or commercial war.[29] What Rodgers means by 'private or commercial war' is that business brought private shipowners to sea, however, these shipowners would also have to be prepared to fight from time to time in order to make money. The medieval merchant had a dualistic aspect to him where he on one side was a peaceful trader, and on the other side an aggressive pirate. Much of this thesis is revolves around private and commercial naval war and the terminology used is subject to a variety of different meanings regarding the participants of this activity. The terms 'pirate', 'privateer', and 'corsair' are often muddled, and it can be especially difficult to indicate the difference between a privateer and a corsair.

To define what a 'pirate' is, we must draw the line between a pirate on one side, who is connected to a certain illegality, and then the 'corsair' and 'privateer' on the other side, who are not associated to the same illegality. Further defining the pirate, it must be said that being accused of being a pirate was to some degree the result of the overlapping jurisdictions, which were discussed in the context of *legal pluralism.* Rodgers agrees with this, and states that in order to understand what a pirate is, there must be a clear idea of law and what kind of law (whose law) that is applied. He further states that it is impossible to arrive at a definition of piracy without considering what laws could be applied. [30] In this sense, Rodgers is in agreement with Tai and her arguments concerning *legal pluralism.*

We must be careful considering the pirate in the sense of a lawless criminal who is acting in his own interest. The reason for this is that the pirate is engaged in a form of economic war at sea. As Rodgers states, "a pirate who was really the enemy of all mankind would not last a week".[31] This is because the pirate, as most other individuals, is in need of interaction with other people of a society in order to function. The pirate needs provisions, a base, a market to sell what is plundered, and in that case is in need of friends. Another aspect is that the seas were also regarded a "march", which was a lawless space beyond the "king's peace". The municipal laws that now were applied here would still not change the view on piracy, which

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[29] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 6.
[30] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 5.
[31] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 7.

was still regarded as a justiciable crime, and there was no general agreement on how to prosecute it.[32]

'Privateer' is probably the term which is most muddled. In order to explain why, some backstory is needed. The structure of private naval warfare, which later would be called 'privateering' was in the sixteenth century a growing practice in which the princes would commission private ship-owners with a document that would confirm their status of service to a prince. Merchants who were attacked in the "march", and had not gained redress for their losses, could also apply for *letters of marque*. This document was issued under international law called "marcher law", which was the law of the marches – the lawless lands.[33] The Dutch used sailors called *commissievaarders* or *kaapvaarders* who had commissions with various names, such as *commissiebrief, kaperbrief, represaillebrief, commissie van retorsie* or *brief van marque*, and were described as *op bestellinge* (on order), *commissie ter vrije neringe* (commission at leisure), *vrijbuiter* (freebooter), etc. [34]

However, the term 'privateer' itself did not exist until the mid-seventeenth century when the term was used in the context of the English civil war. Some of the muddling of the term has then come from historians who have used the term 'privateer' about ship-owners being involved in a similar structure in the years prior to 1642 in lacking a term for these ship-owners.[35]

The term 'privateer' was coined during the English civil war, and as mentioned earlier, the structure of hiring ship-owners with *letters of marque* and *letters of reprisal* was similar to what had existed earlier. However, these new commissions had a new form that had nothing to do with the previous letters of marque, the law in the marches, and private loss. A part of this new development was that the issued commissions were sent to people who were ideologically and practically committed to war for profit. These new commissions were then called 'privateers'.[36]

Historians have then used the term 'privateer' for both the Dutch commissioned ship-owners, as well as the historically accurate privateers of the mid sixteenth century and onwards, thus muddling the term due to anachronism. The commissions must also not be seen as "legalized

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[32] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 7.
[33] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 8.
[34] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 10.
[35] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 12.
[36] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 11-12.

piracy", which in the words of Rodgers would be to "(…) not just employing an exhausted cliché, but betraying a weak understanding of both law and history, which makes it difficult to think clearly about piracy."[37]

The third term, 'corsair' stems from the Mediterranean, and is also a result of private economic warfare, even though it took some different legal forms to those in the northern waters. The *Corso*, meaning the "chase" was a phenomenon of both private and state/quasi-state naval warfare in the religious war between Christians polities in the Mediterranean, and the Ottoman naval power who expanded into it.[38]

Those dubbed 'corsairs' on the Christian side, were the Knights Hospitaller, usually called Knights of Malta, because Malta is where they came to be based in the sixteenth century. The knights conducted private naval warfare against the Muslim states and regencies of Tunis, Tripoli and Algiers – who were semi-independent city-states in which the Ottoman empire had sovereignty. On the Muslim side, the corsairs were sent out of the regencies by the command of the local court. On both sides the *Corso* was an economic war in which the profit came from capturing slaves rather than cargo.[39]

Another aspect to corsairs was that both state-owned and privately owned ships only attacked vessels from nations they were at war with. For example, the knights of Malta declared themselves as enemies to all Muslims, and thus attacked everyone including the ships from the Ottoman empire which were mostly owned by Greek Christians.[40] Because of the need for a declaration of war in order to engage in naval warfare, the corsairs can be called pirates in a legal sense. And even though it has similarities with the commissions of the northern waters at the same time, a big difference was that the practice of commissions was "permanent" in the Mediterranean and lasted up to the nineteenth century and was unique in the relation of commissions and slavery.[41]

In the thesis I have chosen to use the term 'corsair' about the crew that would man the private and state owned ships coming from the North African coast, and who had gained authorization to raid on behalf of the regencies/city states. This also goes for those who took service under the Ottoman empire. I have chosen to use the term 'privateer' about northern

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[37] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 13.
[38] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 10-11.
[39] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 11.
[40] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 11.
[41] Rodgers, «The Law and Language of Private Naval Warfare», 11.

European ships and crew who had received letters of marque. I have also chosen to use the word 'privateer', like other historians, regardless of Rodgers statement about the creation of the term, as I too need a word for describing these people. I have chosen to use the word 'pirate' in two ways. Firstly in the representation of an enemy vessel, being dubbed a pirate by the current narrative that is being used. Secondly it is also being used as a term for raiders who act purely in their own interest, without allegiance to a state or regency.

1.6 Reasons to act and chains of action

In this thesis, I have chosen to use two theories, which are complementary. The first theory was developed by Håvard Ese Eliassen in his master thesis *Grunnar til handling*, and is meant to help the search for motivational factors that affected people's decisions. In addition to this, I have chosen to use the theory developed by sociologist Willy Martinussen in his book *Sosiologisk analyse – en innføring* which I have translated as the *chain of action theory*. These theories will be the fundamental bricks in the analytic chapters of the thesis. Firstly, the theory regarding 'reasons to act' will be kept in the back of our minds as we identify the different motivations of individuals and groups. Secondly, these motivational factors will be organized and structured through the model that is related to the chain of action that seeks to explain the individual, or groups, reasons for acting in a certain way.

The first theory assumes that there are three variables which will affect the reason to act. The first of these is the *actor*. The actor is in this case a person or a community which wants to accomplish something. In this thesis, the 'actor' can be represented by many different individuals and groups, such as, for example, a peasant, sailor, military man, refugee, etc. who wants to get into piracy. The accomplishment necessitates a *goal*. This goal can be anything, for example wanting to earn more money, or to experience "the freedom of the sea". This goal will function as the motivation for the actor to *act*. In this case the act can be to buy a ship, or to quit his current profession in order to come closer to accomplishing his goal.[42]

It is also necessary to consider the so-called 'motivational reason' to reach a goal. A person could potentially act on different things in order to reach their goal, but the 'motivational reason' is not what a person would generally say is the reason they act. An example of this is

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[42] Eliassen, "Grunnar til handling", 8.

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that a person might say that they want to become healthy, and then he start working out. The 'motivational reason' is when the actor performs the act that he is motivated to do. In this example the actor who wants to be healthy have two potentially 'motivating factors': 1. To eat healthy, and 2. To exercise, but if the actor only does nr. 2, the exercise becomes the 'motivational reason', while nr. 1 will not be considered a 'motivational reason'. The point is that what the actor specifically acts on is the 'motivational factor' for the actor to act. If the 'motivational reason' is also a good reason to act, such as exercise in the sense of a healthy lifestyle, it will also be called a *normative reason*. In this case, exercising will be both a *motivational reason* and a *normative reason*. However, a *normative reason* does not necessary mean that the actor will act upon this reason.[43]

I have chosen to adapt this theory to some extent. Instead of calling what makes someone act a 'motivational reason', I have chosen to call it 'a means to an end', as exercising in order to become healthy is a way to reach your goal (a means to an end), and not directly a motivation or reason. In the following part I will talk about internal and external reasons to act, which I see as motivation.

There is a distinction between *internal* and *external* reasons to act. Those who argue for the internal reasons to act see the internal reason- as an already existing motivation for the actor where by acting on it, will earn them something. Those who argue for the external reasons to act, on the other hand, mean that there already are existing motives that the reason to act is serving, and there are not necessarily a reason to act for the actor themselves. In this sense an external reason is a reason to act regardless of the motivation of the actor, while an internal reason to act is an act motivated by the actor.[44]

After identifying the different kinds of motivations, we now take a look at the reasons why individuals act through the model related to the *chain of action* developed by Willy Martinussen. This model explains what affects individuals within a certain *institution,* and what gives them reasons to act.

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[43] Eliassen, "Grunnar til handling", 8-10.
[44] Eliassen, "Grunnar til handling*",* 10.

Figur 4.3. Hovedelementer i tankegangen om danning av sosiale byttemønstre.

Handlingsbetingelser:

Utvekslinger:

Resultat (det som skal forklares):

Søker å maksimere og integrere

AKTØRER I TRANSAKSJON

VERDIER

Fungerer som incentiv/ drivkraft

VALG

Generer med en viss sannsynlig- het

SOSIAL FORM
Observerbar regelmessig- het i atferd

Virker som føringer

BEGRENS- NINGER: Økologiske, tekniske, strukturelle

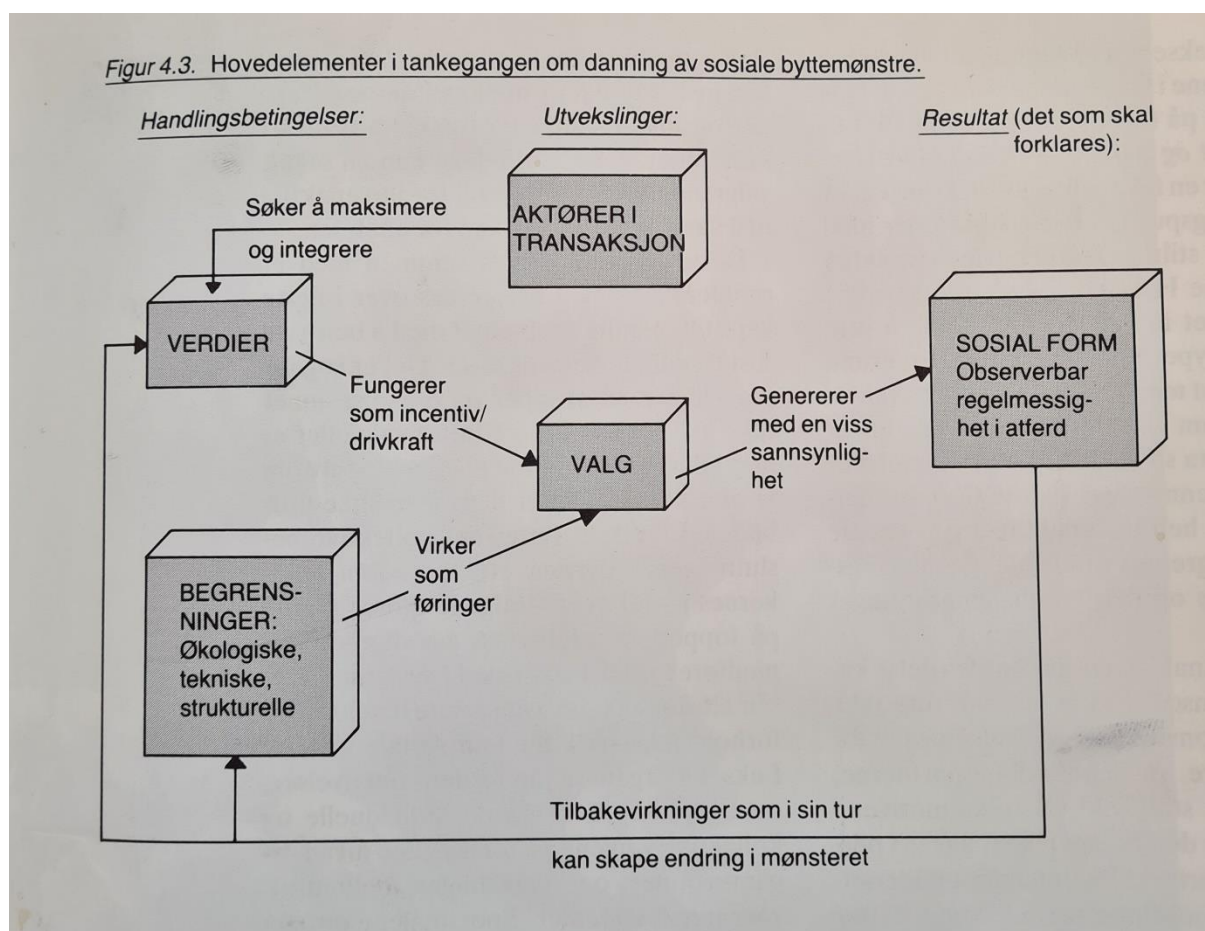Tilbakevirkninger som i sin tur

kan skape endring i mønsteret

Figure 1: "Chain of action", Martinussen, Sosiologisk analyse, 73.

To begin with explaining the model, it is divided between three different categories. On the left is the category of *conditions of action*, where the subordinate categories are related to what things affects how someone would act. The subordinate categories such as *values* and *limitations* are found there. In the middle is the category of *exchange*, where the subordinate categories are related to who and what is being done in order to generate a *result*. The subordinate categories such as the *actor* and *choices* are found there. Finally, to the right is the category of *results,* where the subordinate category is related to what can be expected, within a certain probability, to be the outcome of the chain of action. The subordinate category of *social form* is found here.[45]

The model explains that the actor, who is found in the category of exchange, seeks to maximize certain *values* that are important to a certain *institution*. These values, which are under the category of conditions of action, can be that a person wants to maximize the values that are most relevant to the functioning of a healthy relationship within the *family institution*

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[45] Martinussen, *Sosiologisk analyse,* 70-73.

– such as emotional safety, economic stability etc. This institution is created through a process where people create norms and rules of how important interactions are supposed to work. Through means and systems that seek to ensure that these norms are upheld it is possible to find values that go together within an institution.[46] These values will then function as a driving force for the actor, who will then make choices based on these values, which brings us back into the category of exchange. However, the choices are also affected by *limitations*, which are found in the category of conditions of action. These limitations functions as guidelines the actors choices. These choices will then generate, with a certain probability, the main features of a social pattern that "must" occur. These features are gathered under the term 'social form', which is in the category of result, and can be seen as the end result of the first circle of the chain of action. However, as this model is a continuous chain it will in turn affect what kind of new limitations the actor will have, which also affects the actor's choices. The social form, in its turn, will also affect the values the actor seeks to maximize. In such a way this chain of action spins endlessly, and previous choices will affect new choices and can create change in the pattern of this institution.[47]

In regard of corsairing these theories will be used to look at the motivational factors for someone to take the steps towards corsairing and eventually ending up as a corsair. When it comes to the chain of action, we will look at the institution that the actor comes from, and then attempt to explain what drives the person to make choices that makes him seek to maximize the values in a new institution and then end up in a new social form, which in the context of this thesis will be corsairing.

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[46] Martinussen, *Sosiologisk analyse,* 70-73.
[47] Martinussen, *Sosiologisk analyse,* 70-73.

2.0 The political climate of the Mediterranean up to the sixteenth century

Before tackling the main research question, the thesis will give a contextual introduction to the Barbary coast. In order to offer a broad understanding of the topic this introduction will give insight to the situation in the corsair states as well as other main actors of the 15th and 16th century Mediterranean, such as the Ottoman empire and the Spanish kingdoms.

The struggle between Christians and Muslims over the Iberian Peninsula had created a crusading spirit among the Spanish kingdoms, potentially because of the unification and zeal of a new king during the reign of Charles V. The Spanish wanted to continue the holy war into the Maghreb by seafaring and saw no reason to why the Spanish power should not extend beyond Gibraltar.[48] As the Ottoman empire began expanding their naval force by using corsairs form the ports of North Africa as their vanguard they threatened to spread their influence and power westwards in the Mediterranean. In opposition to the Ottoman empire was largely the Spanish kingdom and Charles V, who was motivated to meet the threat. Set up against each other with religious motivations, among other things, they were on a course that would end up in an inevitable clash which was represented in the eternal conflict between Christianity and Islam.[49] As the battles between the Christian forces of Charles V, his allies, and the Ottoman empire raged, the Cities of Tunis and Algiers became the main subjects in what turned into a Christian counter to the Ottoman expansion in the western Mediterranean.[50] With this in mind, we take a closer look at the Barbary coast.

2.1 The Barbary coast

When the Arabs conquered North Africa, they named the region *Maghreb*, which means "the land to the west". This name was given to the region covering the countries we know of today as Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. The Arabs who gained control of the region eventually formed dynasties that were driven by an interplay between them and the indigenous people of the Maghreb, who were called the *Berbers*.[51]

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[48] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 28-29.
[49] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 13-14 & 29.
[50] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 13-14 & 23.
[51] Simensen, *Afrikas historie,* 58-59.

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As a result of the Arab conquest of the Maghreb which began in 639, the region got separated from Byzantine rule and now became part of an empire that stretched all the way from Spain to India. The Arabs introduced the indigenous Berbers to the Arabic language, the Muslim religion, and their culture, and the Islamic and Arabic culture got well integrated into the Maghreb. However, the Arabs still made up only a small ruling class. This sometimes led to revolt among the local Berbers tribes, and during the eighth century a new ruling class rose up which became known as the *Abbasids*. This new class of leaders merged the ruling elite of Arabs together with the people called *mawāli* who were the non-Arabic people. And thus the indigenous Berbers in the Maghreb integrated into the ruling elite on a greater.[52]

As the Arabs ruled the Maghreb more or less as colonies, the relationship between them and the indigenous people was not always peaceful, even after the Abbasid revolution. The Maghreb experienced a series of revolts that had their roots in different religious understandings of Islam. The oppositions were often against the official understanding of *Sunni* Islam, rather seeking to have a *Shia* understanding of the Muslim religion, meaning a change from following the prophet Muhammad's example to following his lineage through a series of Imams.

A political climate defined by revolts and revolutions resulted in the Maghreb being subjected to rulers from a succession of dynasties up until the Almohad empire. This also began as a religious reform movement, but ended up uniting the Maghreb from southern Spain to Tripolitania (present day Libya) in one empire for over a century.[53] However, the Almohad empire was characterized by the same as other empires before it: there was no sense of unity which could stretch across the entire Maghreb. In the mid-thirteenth century, the empire was divided, and Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia came under three different Berber dynasties: The *Marinids* in Morocco, the *Zayyanids* in Algeria and the *Hafsids* in Tunisia.[54]

The political landscape of the Maghreb was now dominated by the main cities of Fez in Morocco, Tlemcen in Algeria and Tunis in Tunisia. Inside the cities Arabic culture and civilization flourished, while outside the cities lived the Berber tribes who, though self-sufficient, were intwined with the trade of the cities.[55]

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[52] Simensen, *Afrikas historie,* 62-64 & Arjomand, "Abbasid Revolution", 9.
[53] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 178.
[54] Simensen, *Afrikas historie,* 67 & Rogerson, *North Africa*, 189.
[55] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 193.

2.1.1 The Marinid dynasty

The rise of the Marinid dynasty in Morocco came with the Berber tribe named the *Beni Merin*. This was a tribe which lived on the east side of Morocco. Seizing power of the tribe was the warlord Abou Yahya who ruled from 1245 to 1258. In 1248 he overthrew the leaderless Almohad army, gaining control over central and northern Morocco within two months.[56] The remaining Almohads who were still in the city of Marrakech had made an alliance with the Zayyanids which made Abou Yahya face both the Almohads within Morocco as well as the Zayyanids of Algeria, resulting in a difficult two-front war which lasted until his successor, Abou Yusuf Yacqub gained power. Yacqub ruled from 1259 to 1286 and successfully secured the eastern fronts of Morocco against the Zayyanids while also hunting down the last of the Almohads by 1276. Yacqub also threw out the Castilian forces residing in Salé from the Marinid dynasty's lands, as well as supporting the Muslims in Granada by leading Marinid armies into Spain.[57]

2.1.2 The Zayyanid dynasty

The Zayyanids rose to power in Algeria in similar fashion to the Marinids. Their rise to power was also through tribal warlords, in this case the ruling clan of the Beni Abdul-Wad tribe which was one of the most important tribes in western Algeria. However, the Zayyanids practiced their rule differently compared to the Marinids. Instead of fighting the Almohads, the Zayyanids allied themselves with them and got their first governor (governor of Tlemcen) appointed through the Almohad caliph in Marrakech. The boundaries of the Zayyanid dynasty would vary, depending on whether the Berber tribes rebelled and allied themselves with the opposing dynasties of the Hafsids or the Marinids, or if they accepted that they were the subordinates of the Zayyanid dynasty. However, as long as the Zayyanid could control the trade routes between Oran, Tlemcen and Sigilmassa, these rebellions were of little consequence.

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[56] Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*, 104
[57] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 201.

Figure 2 Trade route between Oran, Tlemcen and Sigilmasa

Trade Tlemcen would creating a golden age for the Zayyanid dynasty during the fourteenth century. After the Almohad dynasty died out, the Zayyanids acknowledged that the Hafsid dynasty was the legitimate heir, and it was not until 1308 that the Zayyanid dynasty began using rituals and titles which characterized an independent dynasty. During the golden age of Tlemcen, the city of Algiers was established as the second city of the state, and would later become one of the most relevant ports for pirates in the Maghreb. Even though the fourteenth century was a period of bloom for the Zayyanid dynasty, they spent a lot of time fighting both the Marinids and the Hafsids. In the end the Zayyanid rulers ended up manipulating their neighbor dynasties by paying tribute in order to endure, which they did until the early sixteenth century.[58]

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[58] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 202-203.

2.1.3 The Hafsid dynasty

The Hafsid dynasty in Tunisia was one who evolved out of the Almohad dynasty. The Almohads appointed viceroys in Tunisia, which one, Abu Zakariya, would prove himself as "the founder" of the Hafsid dynasty. In 1229 he renounced his obedience from the Almohad caliph at Marrakech and posed as a champion of the Almohads, creating his own kingdom, and later identifying as an Almohad caliph. His son al-Mustansir succeeded him and looked to the merchants of the Atlantic and made Hafsid domains lucrative markets for European merchants. Thanks to the devastation left by the Mongol attacks in Eurasia, al-Mustansir was recognized as caliph by the sheriffs of Mecca and regarded as the leading monarch of the Muslim world. Al-Mustansir gained embassies from both the Marinids and the Zayyanids as well as signing trade treaties with the commercial powers of the Christian world. After al-Mustansir died, the Hafsid dynasty experienced political chaos when several Hafsid claimants were supported by different tribes. The political chaos calmed down when Abu Hafs came to power between 1284-1295. The Hafsid dynasty were for some time dependent on Christian mercenaries but ridded themselves with the Christians by the early fourteenth century. In 1347 and 1357 the Marinids invaded the Hafsid regions, which was devastating to the Hafsid armies, and Abu Abbas had to rebuild his army. The rebuilding process now focused on placing Hafsid governors in all major towns, and by doing so they formed a stronger and more loyal army.[59]

2.1.3.1 Piracy in the dynasties

During the fourteenth century the political climate around the Mediterranean had led to the Zayyanid and the Hafsid dynasties becoming embroiled with the Christian kingdom of Aragon. As a result of Aragon's friendly attitude towards these dynasties during the late thirteenth century they had opened up for trade with each other. Traders from Aragon were welcome in both Zayyanid and Hafsid ports, but already in the fourteenth century the relationship between them had changed. As Aragon had captured the islands of Sicily, Djerba and Kerkennah in the late thirteenth century they posed a threat to the Hafsid dynasty. With their geographical position the Aragonese could easily support the Hafsid's rivals in the west. The Hafsid sultan, al-Lihyani, then wanted to ensure that the Aragonese would be friendly towards them, so he pretended to be interested in Christendom. He took this so far that they

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[59] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 203-206.

prepared a ritual for his conversion from Islam to Christendom. Even though it was all a scheme by al-Lihyani, his actions resulted in internal conflict in the Hafsid dynasty where an uprising turned into a palace coup. This forced the Aragonese to evacuate from Tunisia as well as later being driven from the Djerba and Kerkennah islands. In what then would become a war between Christian and Muslim corsairs, the port of Oran would still see Christian merchants berthed in the same harbor as Muslim corsairs.[60]

Many of the ports in the Maghreb had thriving corsair activity, but because of political and religious conflicts, mainly between Spain and the Ottoman empire, the cities of Tunis, Algiers, Tripoli, and Rabat-Salé would become the leading ports in corsairing activity during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A large part of the structure of these cities would revolve around this activity that would encourage corsairs to capture slaves and take prizes at sea. And the structure emerging in these cities would draw people to corsairing from all over the Mediterranean.

2.1.4 The Mamluk dynasty in Egypt – a stepping stone for the Ottoman Empire.

In Egypt there was a different phenomenon than in the Maghreb. The Ayyubid sultanate, who were the Mamluk dynasty's predecessors, used slave soldiers in their army's ranks during the ninth to thirteenth centuries. Soon these slave soldiers would make up what would be a "warrior class" that would rule Egypt. The recruitment of Turkish slaves to Egypt was a practice which can be found all the way back to the ninth century.[61] The Fatimids used the Turkish slaves as a supplement to their armies, and their successosr, the Ayyubids, who ruled Egypt from 1171 to 1260 recruited even more Turkish slaves. This was in order to respond to the threat from the Christian Crusaders. These white slaves were in Arabic termed *mamluks*. They originated from the Kipchak close to the Caspian and Areal seas and were shipped to Egypt where they were sold to the households of military commanders. After they had received their training, they were manumitted, given an income based on their rank in relation to their *iqta*, which was a piece of land where they were granted usufruct. The Mamluks could marry, but their child could not become a Mamluk, and because of this there was a constant need for importing new Turkish slaves.[62]

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[60] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 208-210.
[61] Khaldun, The «Mamluk/Ghulam Phenomenon», 227
[62] Oliver & Atmore, *Medieval Africa,* 15-16.

After defeating the Crusaders in 1250, a group of Mamluk officers staged a coup against one of the last Ayyubid sultans and placed a Mamluk as sultan on the throne. For 267 years there would be a Mamluk as sultan. When a Mamluk sultan died, a son or nephew would carry out the role for a small amount of time while the leading amirs fought over power until a new sultan was elected from their ranks.[63] These mamluks were residing in a place called *bahr*, which made them known as Bahri mamluks.[64]

During this period the Mamluk Dynasty experienced great economic growth with Cairo as a major center in the Islamic world as well as a center for trade through the Mediterranean with their connection eastwards through the Indian Ocean, overland through Asia, as well as gold and slaves from the sub-Sharan Africa. The state grew and thus more Mamluks were imported.[65]

When sultan Barquq came to power in 1382, he began recruiting members of the Circassian ethnic group from the Caucasus region, and thus changing the ethnic composition of the Mamluk class. These new groups of Mamluks resided in the tower of the citadel in Cairo, which is called *burji*, and thus became known as the Burji Mamluks.[66]

The greatest threat of the time was formed by the Mongol armies who were expanding into Eurasia. The Mamluk armies met the Mongols at the Spring of Goliath, in the Jezreel Valley, and dealt the Mongols their first defeat. They also enforced Mamluk rule over Syria by killing the Ayyubid sultan residing there, who was trying to subdue the Mamluks and regaining power in Egypt. The Mamluks also expanded their kingdom into parts of Arabia. After the death of Qutuz, the Mamluk commander Baybars took the throne. Baybars and his successor, Qalawun, continued to war with the Mongols as well as the Crusaders, expelling the Crusaders from their mainland stronghold in Acre in 1293 and repelling the Mongolians.[67]

Once they defeated the Mongolians, the Mamluk empire experienced another period of growth. Refugees from Iraq and Persia fled to the lands of the Mamluks in order to find peace, bringing with them teachers, preachers and scholars from Baghdad. Egypt also had their caliph reinstated, increasing the prestige of the Mamluk sultanate. Cairo became a focal

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[63] Oliver & Atmore, *Medieval Africa,* 16.
[64] Oliver & Atmore, *Medieval Africa,* 16 & Perry, *The history of Egypt*, 49.
[65] Perry, *The history of Egypt*, 50.
[66] Perry, *The history of Egypt*, 51.
[67] Perry, *The history of Egypt*, 50.

point in the pilgrimage to the Holy cities and it also became the center of orthodox Sunni Islam and of Arabic scholarship.[68]

During the second half of the fourteenth century the Mamluk dynasty would be ravaged by the Black death and hit in several waves. The Mamluks who lived in the barracks were hit hard, and the military strength of the dynasty declined to such an extent that they could not mount any major offensive for several decades.[69]

During the fifteenth century the Mamluk dynasty recovered, but at the end of the century they would see the beginning of the end. The military expansion would eventually put a strain on the dynasty's economy. Campaigning against the Ottomans from 1485 to 1491 cost them heavily. On top of that was a conflict with the Portuguese, where the Mamluks constructed an expensive fleet to hold the Portuguese off the Red Sea, while the Portuguese established themselves in the Indian Ocean and diverted the trade from Asia to Europe around Cape of Good Hope. Eventually, their military became outdated. Their soldiers, the Janissaries, who were recruited in a similar fashion to the Mamluks, did use firearms and were able to destroy the Mamluk armies. In 1517 the Ottoman Sultan Selim and his army conquered Egypt and made it into an Ottoman province.[70]

Egypt as such became a steppingstone for the Ottoman Empire into the Mediterranean. The trade that then began between Egypt and Levant became important for the Ottoman Empire, and as a part of protecting this trade, they were drawn into the sea.

2.3 Sixteenth-century Spain

One of the most significant participants of the Mediterranean power struggle was Charles V. Charles was born in 1500 and was the son of Philip "the Handsome", duke of Burgundy and Johanna "the Mad", queen of Castile and Aragon. At the age of six Charles inherited the title as Duke of Burgundy after his father's death. At the age of 16 he inherited the dynastically unified kingdoms of Spain, Aragon and Castile, which also included the Castilian assets in the new world, from his mother's father – Ferdinand II of Aragon. When his father's father, Maximilian I, died in 1519, Charles became Archduke of Austria, as well as being elected as

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[68] Oliver & Atmore, *Medieval Africa,* 18-19.
[69] Oliver & Atmore, *Medieval Africa,* 20-21.
[70] Oliver & Atmore, *Medieval Africa,* 24-25.

Holy Roman emperor. During the 1500s he also laid claim to large parts of Italy. Being the ruler of half of Europe, as well as Holy Roman Emperor, and, as such, the secular leader of Christendom, Charles represented the Christian offense in the Mediterranean in the first half of the sixteenth century.[71]

Charles V's almost continuous warfare meant that great amounts of resources were needed to establish armies of thousands, like he did. A constant worry regarding provisions and payments was present and credit could only be supplied by the largest bankers, among them bankers from Genoa.[72] The North-Italian port town had grown into a powerful maritime republic during the middle ages, and with it had built up a strong and central in commercial trade in Europe. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the republic was in a dispute over the question whether to ally itself with France or Spain, as they had properties in and affiliations to both countries.

Genoa was a politically divided city, confirmed by letters from Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (later pope Pius II) from 1432 in which he defined the city like "no other in the world" and where the government could change twice or three times in a day.[73] This political instability continued to define the city into the sixteenth century and turned it into an unsustainable threat to the existence of the Genoese state. As the struggle between Spain and France for the hegemony over Italy continued, Genoa could end up under the dominion of "powerful princes" who would reduce the city state to a state of servitude under their monarchs.[74] Experimenting with alliances with both France and Spain, Genoa's discovered a structural difference between them. While allied with France, Genoa would lose its position as a commercial center, as the French sought to build a new economic strategic pole in Savona, which would threaten Genoa. While allied with the Spanish, Genoa would preserve its republican government, and they negotiated a treaty which was a valid base for resolving the commercial and jurisdictional questions that the economic relations between the parts posed.[75] Charles V would give his loyalty and protection to Genoa, and in return it would have to make its services of economy and ships available to him.[76]

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[71] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 23.
[72] Blockmans & Mout, "World of Emperor Charles V", 4.
[73] Pacini, «Genoa and Charles V", 168.
[74] Pacini, «Genoa and Charles V", 169.
[75] Pacini, «Genoa and Charles V", 170-172.
[76] Pacini, «Genoa and Charles V", 175.

Charles V was also allied with the Christian Knights Hospitaller. They were one of the many military-religious orders which appeared in the twelfth century. Even though the orders had a small educational or theological role, they were significant in providing prayer, hospitality and parochial services. Originating in a hospice which was founded in the eleventh century in Jerusalem, the order took to care of pilgrims and the sick but turned into a prominent military order which was active for over 600 years between 1187 and 1798. This is their most significant characteristic as they participated in the defense of the Holy Land against the Islamic powers in Anatolia and northern Africa.[77] After they lost the city of Acre in 1291, the Hospitallers successively moved to Cyprus and Rhodes, where they would sit for more than 213 years when they would play a significant part in Latin military expeditions against the Turkish in the Aegean sea.[78] In 1523 they were besieged by the Ottoman leader Selim. Due to political developments on the European mainland, the Hospitallers did not get sufficient support to repel the Turks, and during the next years their base went from Rhodes to Crete, Rome and several other places before finally settling on Malta in 1530.[79]

2.4 The Ottoman empire

With a foot in three different continents, The Ottoman Empire was a "world empire" which connected Europe, Asia, and Africa through the silk road. Tracing its roots back to the ninth century with the ethnic group called the Seljuks which established themselves in Anatolia, the Ottoman empire was a state that emerged out of the Seljuk empire around 1300.[80]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman Empire was ruled by Sultan Selim I until his death in 1520. During his reign, the Empire was engaged in several conflicts, of which the most noteworthy was the victory over Egypt in 1514 which ensured the empire's dominion over the Mamluks. The empire also gained control of the Holy Cities of Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem which helped reinforcing its image as the Islamic "main character". After Selim I's death, his only son, Süleyman I, became sultan. During Süleyman I's reign the empire reached its peak of power by controlling Egypt, large parts of south-eastern Europe,

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[77] O'Malley, Gregory. *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460-1565,* 1-2.
[78] O'Malley, Gregory. *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460-1565*, 3.
[79] O'Malley, Gregory. *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue 1460-1565*, 9-10.
[80] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650,* 8.

the Balkans, a great portion of Hungary as well as the semi-autonomous outposts in the Maghreb which helped the Empire expand into the Mediterranean.[81]

The Ottoman Empire had mainly been a land-based power, but after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453 they began to build a naval force. This navy was built primarily to be able to protect their new capital, and was at the time mainly operating in the Aegean Sea. At the end of the century, however, they broke out into the Mediterranean in order to expand and protect their assets, and thus the navy also became a potential means of conquest.[82]

The Ottoman conquest in the Mediterranean began with Selim I's military campaign in 1514. After securing the throne in 1513, Selim I wanted to kill his brothers and defeat the Safavids who had entered his empire. The Safavid empire that lay to the east of the Ottoman empire, in present-day Iran, had attacked the Ottoman city of Tokat in 1512. This action enraged Selim I and he moved to eliminate them from his region. Selim I systematically killed off the ringleaders and replaced disloyal fief-holders before waging war against their leader, Saha Ismail I. After a period of two to three years, Selim I had expelled most of the Safavids from the south-eastern regions of Anatolia. By force and diplomacy, Selim I secured the allegiance of all the Kurdish chieftains in south-eastern Anatolia and northern Iraq, who recognized Selim I's overlordship. In the summer of 1516 the last Safavid army had submitted and by the end of the year, all the Safavids in Anatolia were extinguished, giving the Ottoman empire an extended border towards the Mamluk empire in Syria.[83]

Now that the Ottoman empire bordered the Mamluk empire, Selim I was concerned about an allegiance between the Mamluk- and the Safavid empires, and thus continued his campaign. Selim I decided to march towards the Mamluk sultan's armies and the armies clashed just north of Aleppo in august of 1516. Having superior artillery that the Mamluks could not match, routed them and Selim I occupied Syria almost without resistance, and appointed Ottoman governors to Aleppo, Damascus, Tripoli (Syria), Jerusalem, as well as districts such as Lebanon and Palestine. Rumors of a counterattack being mustered in Gaza by the new Mamluk successor, who had also executed an Ottoman governor, made Selim I launch an

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[81] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 23-24 & Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 1.
[82] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650,* 287.
[83] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 44-46.

attack on Cairo in January of 1517, breaking the enemies forces and gaining control over Egypt.[84]

For the Ottoman empire, the conquest of Egypt functioned as a steppingstone into the Mediterranean. Now they needed to establish a trade route from Cairo to Istanbul, which also meant that they had to protect this route. In addition, having a base in Egypt opened up the possibility to expand into the western Mediterranean.

2.4.1 The corsair states and famous corsairs

The expansion of the Ottoman empire into the western Mediterranean was eventually conducted. With the help of private shipowners, the corsairs, who resided in the cities of Algiers, Tripoli and Tunis. These cities had governors appointed by the sultans of their respective dynasties. Because of the possibilities of piracy and corsairing in the Mediterranean, these port cities had become pirate hubs, structured around the profit that could be earned from piracy and corsairing, making them into the "corsair states".

The structure of the corsair states would generally be that there was a governor, called *Dey*. The Dey was during the early sixteenth century elected by a council, made up by corsairs and elite Janissaries, called the *Divan*. The Divan elected the Dey from the ranks of the corsairs, making corsairing an integrated part of the political and economic structure of the Barbary coast.[85] The corsair captains, called the *Reis*, would serve on ships that was either private- or state owned and was under the supervision of a ruling captain, called the *Taife Raisi*. The Taife Raisi would oversee the daily business of the Barbary ports, meaning the sale of plunder and slaves, as well as overseeing the corsair fleets. The Taife Raisi was also answerable to both the Dey and the Ottoman sultan, and a part of his job was to make sure that the Dey got his share from the Corso.[86]

The Reis had commission from the Dey, and had to abide to the terms in these commissions. Some common rules was to not attack Muslim shipping and only collect non-Muslim slaves. The Reis would also have to abide to the treaties between the Dey's and the leaders of the Christian states, as well as taking into account the treaties made between the Christian states

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[84] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 46-47.
[85] Konstam, *Pirates*, 76 & Earle, *Corsairs*, 23-24.
[86] Konstam, *Pirates*, 76 & 34.

and the Ottoman empire. As an example, the Reis could not attack Venetian ships while there was a peace treaty between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. Still, attacks on Venetian ships still occurred, where the Reis made sure that no survivors could live to tell the tale to the sultan in Istanbul.[87]

The Reis was often chosen by the owners of the ships, and in order to be deemed suitable for the job, the Reis in question had to be examined by the Divan. The origin of the Reis could vary, but in the seventeenth century a major source was renegades from Europe who had sons who also became renegades, having great success.[88]

The community of corsairs made out a powerful political block in the barbary states, and favored expansion of corsair activity. On the opposite side stood the Janissaries who favored military expeditions inland. The two blocks made a political struggle in the states, where the Reis and Janissaries lived in separate parts of the city, in the case of Algiers, and where the Reis had their crew and suppliers grouped outside of their house in case of a political attack from the Janissaries. Still, the Janissaries was a common sight on the corsair ship, and almost all corsair ships had a group of Janissaries who would represent the real fighting element of the ship. This made the ships have a dual command, where the Reis would command the crew, while the Janissaries would only listen to the *Agha* which commanded the boarding party.[89]

Central to the Ottoman expansion into the Mediterranean, were corsairs known as the 'Barbarossa-brothers'. Hayreddin Barbarossa and his brother Uruj had practiced piracy on the southern and western shores of Anatolia under the protection of the former Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II's son, Krokud. After Krokud was slain by Selim I in 1513, Hayreddin and Uruj fled to the Maghreb and managed to become governors of Tunis and Algiers. When Uruj died, Hayreddin inherited his brother's possessions and lands, but later faced political opposition and the threat of Spanish maritime power. Uruj sought out sultan Selim I in 1519 in order to get protection from the Ottoman empire, which he got, and Tunis and Algiers thus became semi-autonomous Ottoman provinces.[90] By continuing to conquer areas in the western Mediterranean, such as Tripoli in 1551, Djerba in 1560, and Tunis in 1574, Hayreddin's activities led to a rivalry between the Ottoman Empire and the Spanish over

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[87] Konstam, *Pirates*, 76-77.
[88] Earle, *Corsairs*, 35.
[89] Earle, *Corsairs*, 35-36 & 76.
[90] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 47-48.

creating a stronghold in the Maghreb.[91] Some of the famous pirates, such as Hayreddin will be introduced in the following part in order to give a further understanding of the actions of corsairs.

2.5.1 Aruj Barbarossa

Aruj Barbarossa was the oldest brother of the "Barbarossa brothers". Originating from the Island of Lesbos, the two brothers were sons of a Greek Christian woman and a Muslim Turkish father. Aruj was first captured by the Knights Hospitaller, probably while on a trip in relation to his father's pottery business.[92] After regaining freedom the brothers headed west, helping the Muslims of Spain transporting refugees Spain to northern Africa. By 1504 they had taken service under the Hafsid sultan and held the ports of La Goulette and Djerba, working as corsairs for the Hafsid dynasty. Aruj was ordered to assault the Spanish-held city of Bejaia, which he took on the second attempt, leaving his brother Hayreddin in charge as Aruj himself went on to capture the city of Algiers.[93] His authority made the sultan of the Zayyanid dynasty to consider him as a serious rival. The Zayyanid sultan then decided to aid the Spanish in an attack on Algiers in 1516, but Aruj successfully defended the city. In 1518, Aruj was residing in the city of Tlemcen when the Spanish attacked and trapped him. Aruj managed to flee the city, but was tracked down and killed. After his death, his brother Hayreddin inherited both the territorial possessions and the nickname Barbarossa, which means "red beard".[94]

2.5.2 Hayreddin Barbarossa

After becoming his brother's successor, Hayreddin understood that he could not withstand further attacks form the Spanish, nor the sultans of the Zayyanid and now the Hafsid dynasties without assistance. Hayreddin's solution was to send a letter of submission to the Ottoman empire asking for aid in the battle against the Christian forces. As the Ottomans had just conquered Egypt and gained an interest in the Mediterranean and the possibilities of expanding westwards, Hayreddins request was granted. He was appointed regent of Algiers

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[91] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650,* 287-288.
[92] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 34-35.
[93] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 214-215.
[94] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 215 and Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 37.

and he was granted Ottoman troops. With the aid of the Ottoman army, Hayreddin made Algiers into a corsair stronghold. In 1533 Hayreddin met with the new Ottoman Sultan, Süleyman I, who appointed Hayreddin as *kapudan pasha*, admiral of the Ottoman fleet. When Hayreddin retired in Istanbul in 1544 and later died there, his son succeeded him as the new regent of Algiers, while his captain Dragut succeeded him at sea.[95]

2.5.3 Dragut Reis, the Drawn Sword of Islam

Dragut was a Turkish-born corsair born outside Bodrum on the west coast of Anatolia in the 1480s. Dragut was the son of a peasant, and became a soldier who served in the conquest of Egypt in 1517. Around 1520 he managed to prove himself as a successful corsair sailing under the command of Hayreddin Barbarossa. Dragut was considered so valuable to Barbarossa, that after he was captured by the Genoese in 1540 and made a galley slave and oarsman, Hayreddin gave away the Island fortress of Tabarka to the Genoese in order to free him. During his captivity, Dragut had developed a hatred for the Genoese, which made their coastline one of his favorite targets for future corsair raids.

In 1550 Dragut seized the port of Mahdia from the Spanish, who sent a galley squadron of Spanish forces to take it back. This action ended in Mahdia being stormed and the inhabitants were killed or enslaved by the Spanish. In 1551 Dragut stood at the center of an attack on Tripoli that expelled the Knights Hospitaller and eventually became regent of Tripoli. Dragut also resided in Algiers, from where he launched raids to the Christian shores, such as the Italian city of Reggio where he enslaved the entire population in 1558. Christian counterattacks against Dragut two years later failed as he launched a surprise attack on the Spanish fleet which was anchored in the shallow waters outside of Djerba. Crushing the fleet, Dragut laid siege to the fortress and eventually stormed it. Dragut would meet his end in 1565 when he launched an attack against the Knights Hospitaller on Malta. In the siege, a cannonball struck the ground near him, and he was peppered with sharp chips of rock. [96]

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[95] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 215-216.
[96] Rogerson, *North Africa*, 217-218 & Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 59.

2.5.4 Ulaj Ali – Renegade Ali

The final corsair to be introduced is Uluj Ali. He was born in Italy in 1520 as Giovanni Dionigi Galeni. In 1536 he was captured by one of Barbarossa's captains and held as a slave for several years until he converted to Islam. He then received his name, Ulaj Ali, which means 'convert' Ali. One of his main contributions to the Ottoman expansion as a corsair was to the cause of the Moriscos in Spain, specifically the Moriscos in Granada. Uluj Ali contributed by sending supplies to their revolt. When the revolt was shut down in 1570, the center of conflict moved to the Adriatic coast, where Ulaj Ali's division of barbary corsairs from Algiers and Tripoli helped the Ottoman fleet in the battle of Lepanto. Even though the Ottoman fleet lost the battle against the Christian armies, Ulaj Ali was regarded as a hero, and was renamed Kilic Ali, which means 'Sword' Ali. He was also made *kapudan pasha* of the Ottoman navy.[97]

2.5 The Ottoman navy

As discussed above, Hayreddin Barbarossa sought out the Ottoman empire in his attempt to gain help to deal with his enemies. However, Hayreddin was only one of many corsairs who chose to join the Ottoman empire's forces and, as we shall see, these corsairs formed an important element in the structure of the Ottoman navy. This part will show the interplay between the corsairs of the Maghreb and the Ottoman navy.¨

2.5.1 The structure of the navy

The most important fleet outside of Istanbul was that of Algiers. The Algerian fleet carried out numerous attacks, raiding Christian shipping in and outside of the Mediterranean. The Algerian corsairs, who also fought under the command of their Dey, formed an effective force in the Ottoman navy. However, the participation of the corsairs in the Ottoman navy was more or less voluntary. This was the result of the fact that the Dey was instructed by the Ottoman sultan to "encourage" the corsair captains to join. However, the corsairs who joined

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[97] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 68-69.

"voluntarily" would still experience that the sultan exercised his control over them in the same fashion he would over the naval commanders who belonged to the empire.[98]

The admirals of the Ottoman navy were granted the title kapudan pasha. This was a post under the Ottoman sultan's service which emerged in the second part of the fifteenth century. The first kapudan pasha was the governor of the sanjak Gallipoli. Because the sanjak Gallipoli had an important naval base within its territory, the title of Kapudan pasha was given to the sanjak's governor. However, in the beginning, the title did not give the governor extra importance or status and it was also granted to other people besides the governor himself. It was not until the rule of sultan Süleyman I (1520-1566) that the title of kapudan pasha became clearly defined and that the person who acquired it would also gain a high status. Both the growing naval presence of the Ottoman empire in the Mediterranean and the excellent performance by their admirals gave the post importance. Süleyman even "created" a Sanjak in the archipelago that was given to the Corsair Hayreddin Barbarossa. This sanjak was eventually made permanent and the admiral would be its governor. Even though we think of admirals as experienced sailors like Barbarossa, they did in fact not have to be. What determined if a person was suitable was whether he could perform in the role of a provincial governor. Being a governor of a sanjak associated with a naval base or coastline would lead to the position of admiral. Therefore, Ottoman admirals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would often be graduates of the palace service, and not corsairs obtained externally.[99]

Even though the admirals might have been inexperienced at sea it did not mean that they were incompetent. However, as Katib Chelebi, a seventeenth century Ottoman author stated in the principles of effective management of the fleet: "If the Admiral himself is not a corsair, he should consult with corsairs concerning the sea and maritime war. He should listen, and not act on his own opinion".[100]

Katib Chelebi saw the importance of the corsairs and the pirate Muslims of the coast of North Africa. The most famous of them continued to be Hayreddin Barbarossa, but there were several others who came from the Maghreb to serve as captains and admirals. Some noteworthy captains were Uluj Ali as well as some of his followers who would also attain the

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[98] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 302.
[99] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 298-299.
[100] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 299.

position of admiral, such as Uluj Hasan Pasha and Ja'fer Pasha. However, these corsairs were an exception. Most of the men who held office as admirals were "landsmen".[101]

2.5.2 Technology of the navy

When it comes to the Ottoman expansion at sea it was sultan Mehmed II (1451-1481) who began building the navy in a scale that able to conquer. The Ottoman navy began building the same kind of ships that were already widely favored in the Mediterranean at the time: the galley. The galley was a long narrow vessel that had about twenty-four to twenty-six banks of oars on each sides and usually three oarsmen on each bench. The vessel had only one mast with a lateen-rig sail, which was a triangular sail that allowed the ship to make use of 'tacking', a sailing technique that allows the ships to go upwind. The galleys could differ from lighter to heavier galleys. The Corsairs favored the lighter galleys that had less than twenty-four banks, while the fleet commander generally prefered a heavier galley with twenty-six or more banks. The galley was also normally equipped with a ram on the prow that was used for ramming the hull of enemy ships, thus pinning it down. During the fifteenth century the galleys would also be equipped with artillery that was facing forwards with the purpose of firing at their enemies before boarding them. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the galleys would have a central bronze cannon, that was an upgrade from the iron canons, and was placed on the prow, while there were two smaller canons, called culverins that were placed at the flanks of the bronze canon. A continuous "arms race" between the actors of the Mediterranean brought advancements to the technology of the galley, and the galleys was eventually made into larger warships during the sixteenth century. For example, the Venetian galleys were now modified merchant ships who stood taller and larger, being able to carry more guns than the "traditional" galley. This proved useful to the Venetians who had superior warships compared to the Ottoman navy in the battle of Lepanto in 1571. The Ottoman navy was quick to imitate this technology and create this type of ship themselves, called 'Galleasses'.[102] These ships were propelled by rowers while allowing others to fire canons from both the stern, bow and sides. The technological advancements continued into the seventeenth century when the Ottoman galleasses carried over twenty-four guns.[103]

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[101] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 300.
[102] Imber, *Studies in Ottoman History and Law,* 87-88
[103] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650*, 288-290.

However, the technological advancements would also take a new turn in the seventeenth century when armed merchants from the Netherlands, France and England came with galleons that were superior to the existing galleys and galleons of the Ottoman empire and the Corsairs of the Mediterranean. The Venetians were quick to jump on this trend and began building galleons that soon gave them a stronger naval force than the Ottoman navy, something that was evident when they clashed at Crete in 1645. Once again the Ottomans would imitate this technology and make galleons of their own, replacing the galleys as their main vessel by 1682. The galleon ships had however been implemented earlier in the Corsair states. An explanation to this could be that the regencies of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Rabat-Salé attracted corsair renegades from Northern Europe who could transfer their technology and skills, as mentioned earlier with the square-rigged sail, to the Mediterranean, as well as the corsairs possibly wanting to use this technology to expand their activity into the Atlantic.[104]

2.6 The corsair state slaves

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century, slave taking was conducted on a massive scale by both the Christians and Muslims. This is evident, for example, in the struggles between the Habsburg empire and the Ottoman empire, in which slave prisoners were a traditional bounty. Clashes on both land and sea between the two factions regularly brought thousands of captives to the slave markets in both Muslim and Christian ports.[105] Because of the central importance of this slave taking to the economy of the Barbary states, I will discuss this activity in some detail here.

2.6.1 How many slaves?

When it comes to the slaves of the barbary, it is mainly European slaves that we are talking about. There are several estimates as to how many slaves that were caught during the early modern period. For example, there are estimates of corsairs capturing Christians ships during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From November 1593 to August 1594 it is estimated that the Tunisian corsairs captured 1722 captives. From 1628 to 1634 the Algerian corsairs captured 986 captives from the French alone. From 1677 to 1685 the Corsairs of Tripoli

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[104] Imber, *The Ottoman empire 1300-1650,* 290-291.
[105] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters,* 28.

captured 1085 captives.[106] These estimates are incomplete as there was probably no register in the Corsair states that documented the slaves or ships captured. Counting the slaves is difficult, and modern scholars have also raised doubts about the contemporary estimates. One of the reasons for this is that the priests of the redemptive orders, such as the Trinitarians and the Mercedarians who were active in trying to free slaves, were economically motivated. Overestimating the number of slaves could give a sense of urgency, and thus make the contributors back home more willing to open their purses.[107]

Nonetheless, the estimates confirm to us that there were a lot of European captives taken to Barbary. Slaves were taken to the cities of all of Barbary, From Salé to Tripoli, and as Pierre Dan concluded: between the years of 1530 to 1640 "it would not be stretching the truth to say that they have put a million (Christians) in chains".[108]

Those who were taken by corsairs were turned into slaves when they came to the corsair states, forced to do different kinds of slave labor. After arriving, they were sent to work on farm plots around the city, sold or rented out to work in other towns. By looking at the account books of the Pasha, Jean-Babtiste Gramaye concluded that the total number of farm plots called *masseries* was 14,698 in Algiers.[109] He multiplied this with the amount of slaves that would work on each *masserie*, which was about two to six Christian slaves according to Giovanni di S. Bonaventura. These estimates ass up to around 20-60 000 slaves working in this one type of labor in Algiers alone.[110]

Historian Michel Fontenay considers this number to be impressively large, but also hopelessly vague as, for example, slaves belonging to private individuals were hard to count. The issue related to counting slaves is confirmed by historian Robert Davis. He claims that we only have a vague idea of the magnitude of the white European slave trafficking, and that there is no broad consensus on the phenomenon.[111] A safer estimate can be found for those who were 'public slaves', owned by the *Dey,* the *Divan*, or the corsair captains. These slaves would either be working on the galleys or with construction work in the city. At night they would be locked down in the barracks-like slave pens known as *bagnos*. In the morning they would be

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[106] Davis, "Counting European slaves", 89.
[107] Davis, "Counting European slaves", 101-102.
[108] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters,* 6 & Davis, "Counting European slaves", 96.
[109] Gramaye, *Alger, XVI'-XVII' siècle,* ed. Mansour, 138 and n. 6 as sited in Davis "Counting European slaves", 102.
[110] Bonaventura, (no reference) in Davis, "Counting European slaves", 102 & 104.
[111] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters,* 4.

tallied and allocated their designated labor, be it on the galley or worksites around town. When estimating the number of these 'public slaves', the tallies from the *bagnos* can be used in order to get a figure that might be close to the actual number of slaves. This estimate is that in Tunis there were about 4000 slaves around the *bagnos* in 1664, while in Algiers there were about 1600 slaves in the *bagnos* in 1696.[112]

2.6.2 What did the slaves of the corsair states do?

In the sixteenth century, enslaving had become somewhat of a state-directed expedition for the Turks. Between the 1530s and 1570s, Hayreddin Barbarossa and Dragut Reis had been appointed as admirals of the Ottoman fleet, as well as functioning as Deys of their corsair state. Hayreddin and Dragut conducted enslaving expeditions in the name of their state and the Ottoman empire every year for four decades when they led enormous fleets against the European coasts of Spain, Italy and the Mediterranean islands, and against European shipping. The enslaving was not restricted to the military campaigns, as both Hayreddin and Dragut ravaged poorly defended coastal areas and merchant ships in between the campaigns in order to capture more slaves.[113]

Another incident of a "state-directed slaving expedition" was Hassan Pasha, from Venice. As pasha of Algiers, he commanded 22 galleys and galleots with over 1500 Janissaries and soldiers. In a summer campaign in 1582 he sailed to Sardinia, capturing 700 slaves before continuing to raid the north-western Mediterranean territories, beginning with the town of Monticello on Corsica, capturing 400 slaves, then on to Sori on the Genoese coast, capturing 130 slaves, before finally attacking the village of Pineda, capturing 50 slaves.[114]

These types of state-directed slaving expeditions seem to have decreased during the seventeenth century when it looks like the Pashas preferred to stay in their city and enjoy their percentage of the Reis' bounty. The primary enemy of the Reis and his corsairs were the Spanish. This was because they were basically only supposed to attack the enemies of their respective regencies. But since the regency was under the protection of the Ottoman empire, this also meant the enemies of the empire, which was primarily Spain and its allies. But in

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[112] Fontenay, "Le Maghreb barbaresque", 15 and nn. 25, 26. As sited in Davis "Counting European slaves", 103-104.
[113] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters,* 28.
[114] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters,* 28-29.

reality the Reis and his corsair crew would attack any ship as long as they were confident that they would be able to win the battle.[115]

Once the corsairs had captured a ship with a crew they were taken to the barbary states and sold as slaves. As no consuls in the states existed until the seventeenth century, the European states complained to the Ottoman sultan in order to get back their ship and crew, something that was futile. As there was no one to oversee the slaves being captured, even crew from supposedly friendly states would be sold off as slaves, as there was no form of control.[116]

Aiming to capture slaves on land was more beneficial for the corsairs rather than going after enemy ships that could be armed and able to retaliate. However, the crew from a ship could prove very valuable as they were usually very healthy, and could therefore work as slaves for many years to come. Considered valuable were the carpenters, sail masters or other skilled men from the captured crew. These slaves would be sent directly to the shipyard in order to work on the corsairs ships, and were considered so valuable that no amount of money would make their masters sell them. Other valuable crewmembers were the officers of the captured ship, who could be ransomed by the shipowners.[117]

When the slaves was put up for sale, the purpose of their master in choosing to buy them would be a significant factor in what the slave would end up doing or how his life in general would fare. The slaves would be separated into two classes: the slaves who could be expected to be ransomed and the slaves who would be sent to work. The slaves who could be expected to be ransomed were often bought by Moors and European renegades who bought these slaves as an investment.[118] While waiting for their "investments" to pay off, the master would find a job for the slave to do so they could generate money and "pay themselves off". They would try to find work for them that would not damage them too much physically before they were ransomed.[119]

The slaves who were bought for the purpose of serving their master were most often bought by Turks or Janissaries and sometimes by the Divan. These owners wanted to profit from the labor instead of the ransom and set their slaves a number of different tasks. Even though the

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[115] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 46.
[116] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 48.
[117] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 49-50 & Wolf, *The Barbary coast,* 154.
[118] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 70.
[119] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 70-71 & Venture de Paradis, «Alger au XVIIIe siécle», as sited in Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 71.

slaves of Barbary had diverse tasks, they would still be doing "the tasks that free men were no longer willing to do". The most comfortable spot was usually household service, which took up all the female slaves, while the worst place to be a slave was on the galleys. As the Portuguese slave João Mascarenhas said "According to the captives in Algiers, if one has not been a *galeotto*, he could not say that he has been a slave. And this is quite true".[120] The majority of slaves was set to row the galleys. These where the people who had no skill or sign of wealth that could save them, and many of them were peasants, soldiers and fishermen who had been captured during raids along the shores.[121]

The use of galley slaves was a widespread phenomenon in the Mediterranean on both the Muslim and Christian sides, probably reaching its peak in the battle of Lepanto in 1571 when about 80 000 slaves was used as oarsmen in galleys who fought each other. Going in to the seventeenth century, slavery became more of a Muslim phenomenon, as the Christian ships started to make use of technological advancements such as the square-rigged sail earlier than the corsairs. The amount of galley slaves of the barbary regencies reached its peak between 1580 and 1640, when the Reis' of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli had about 10 000 to 15 000 galley slaves at their disposal. But the Barbary regencies eventually adopted the technological advancement of the square-rigged sail, as mentioned earlier, which would drastically reduce the amount of slaves required.[122]

As said, for galley slavery was the worst way of being a slave. They were chained to the oars, having no room to move except from going to the bathroom on the edge of the bench. Their clothes only covered their privates, and thus their backs were open to the sunlight and the rain all the time. Their food rations were meager, as the captain of the corsair ship would want to travel light, and also make room for their crewmembers possessions. The slaves were also sleep deprived, as the benches they were bound to were only a foot wide, and they had to sleep while seated and chained. Also, during a chase or flight, the slaves had to row for days without rest while being lashed by the crew of the ship.[123]

Being an oarsman on a galley would prove fatal for many slaves. The slaves were worried about dying at sea, as they would then not receive holy rites, and those who made it back to the port before dying were considered lucky. Those who died at sea, or fell ill aboard the

[120] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 71-73.
[121] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 74.
[122] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 75.
[123] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 76-77.

corsair ship, were simply thrown off the ship. This worry amongst the slaves was used by the slave owners in the regencies, who would threaten disobedient slaves and those who took a long time being ransomed with being sent to sea. It was especially gruesome to be sent to the Sultan's imperial fleet in the Levant, where slaves would never be heard from again.[124]

Since slaves with wealth and connections back home could escape barbary in a couple of years, the economic solution to free slaves from their captivity was used as an argument by the priests of the redemptive orders in order to make Europeans open their wallets and donate to their charity. There was also a fear that the slaves would convert to Islam, and this argument was used to show the contributors the urgency of the situation. The idea that Muslims tried to convert Christian slaves collectively was probably not realistic, though some of the slaves who were considered good looking and cheerful were converted through the persuasion of their master.[125]

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[124] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 78.
[125] Davis, *Christian slaves, Muslim masters*, 156.

3.0 Turning to corsairing

The people who eventually turned to the life of corsairing certainly came from different backgrounds and upbringings, but they also had several things in common. The variables which can be considered relevant when someone turned to corsairing for the Barbary states will be discussed in this chapter. I will make use of both the theory regarding motivational factors, and the model of "chain of action" in order to find answers to my research question.

3.1 Who turned to corsairing?

In order to discuss the reason for someone to take on a career as a corsair, it will be a good start to look at *who* turned into corsairs. The Mediterranean scene was as shown earlier a pirate hub. Deemed pirates by their victims, the people who chose to commit crimes at sea grew increasingly common in both the Aegean and the Adriatic sea consisted of Italian pirates who came from Genoa and Venice during the thirteenth century.[126] Other pirates in the area were small-scale Turkish, Greek and Balkan fishermen who operated as pirates in the Grecian waters as a side business to being local fishermen.[127]

On the African shore, the structure around the Barbary corsairs began evolving after the Arab conquest of the Maghreb. Pirates had existed in this region since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire, but did not turn into a serious threat until the expansion of European maritime began in the late fifteenth century.[128] From the port towns of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, the pirates would get contracts from the local rulers, thus being hired as corsairs. From these ports they would harass shipping, beaches and ports in the Mediterranean under the authorization of the rulers in the Maghreb. The geographical placement of these ports at the edge of the Sahara Desert with a thinly populated hinterlands made the people turn to the sea in order to gain wealth.[129]

Many of the people who turned to the Barbary states to become corsairs were Turks from the Levant. To these people the Barbary states could provide social mobility, where one through social and political promotion, could go from the lowest ranks in society to becoming a

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[126] Konstam, *Pirates*, 74.
[127] Konstam, *Pirates*, 74.
[128] Konstam, *Pirates*, 75.
[129] Konstam, *Pirates*, 75.

member of the *Divan*, who effectively ruled the state.[130] Another group of people who came to the Barbary states were the Moors and Moriscos. After they were expelled from Spain the Moors and the Moriscos took refuge along ports in the Maghreb where they launched revenge-attacks against the Spanish coast, capturing slaves and terrorizing Spanish commerce.[131]

Another demographic who turned to the Barbary states were renegades with different backgrounds. There were essentially three groups of renegades. One group consisted of men who had been enslaved as children. This was probably the largest of the groups, consisted mainly of Greeks and Albanians who had been captured as children and brought up in the Muslim faith. The second group was the adult slaves, who apostatized while in captivity. The third group was those who came voluntarily intending to 'turn Turk' and ended up playing an important role in the society of the Barbary states. Many of these adventurous were seamen who probably sought redress from some kind of injustice. By changing their allegiance from an European state to one in the Maghreb, or changing their religion from Christendom to Islam, they could benefit from the opportunities tied with corsairing. Sometimes an entire crew would change allegiance or religion in order to reach their goal. Finally, the barbary states also attracted Christians who came for adventure and sought a successful life as a corsair.[132] The privileges and attractions that made the Levantine Turks come to Barbary were also open to renegade Christians. These contributed to the development of the states, both military and economic because Europeans brought with them western military technology which the corsairs depended on throughout their existence. As well as military technology, the renegades also brought with them new markets. After 'turning Turk', these corsairs would still retain the link to Christian merchants and other business links. However, most of the renegades would be assimilated well into the Barbary society, taking jobs as Janissaries, corsairs or artisans.[133] The crews of the corsair ships were a mix of Turks, renegades, Moors and Moriscos. There were also Christians on the ships, but, they were mostly slaves on the galleys, chained to the bench while rowing the boats.[134]

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[130] Earle, *Corsairs*, 27.
[131] Konstam, *Pirates*, 77.
[132] Earle, *Corsairs*, 30.
[133] Earle, *Corsairs*, 30-31.
[134] Earle, *Corsairs*, 35.

3.1.1 Moors and Berbers

The indigenous people of the Maghreb are indicated in the literature both as Moors and Berbers. The term 'Moor' may first have been used when the Maghreb was part of the Roman empire to refer to a 'North-African'. After the spread of Islam the Arabs conquered the Moorish people and gave them a new name: 'Berber'.[135] Even though the terms initially refers to the same people, the word 'Moor' is also used to indicate Muslims who resided in, and were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula. The term 'Berber' seems, on the other hand, to be more often referring to the indigenous people of the Maghreb, with the use such as 'Berber tribes' in the context of rural areas in the Maghreb.[136] Because of this, the thesis will keep a distinction between Moors as individuals coming from Spain and Berbers as indigenous people from Maghreb.

3.1.1.1 The Moriscos

During the Reconquista a lot of Moors were expelled from the Iberian peninsula. Naturally they sought refuge along the coast of North Africa. This expulsion made the Moors full of vengeance. After losing their homes, possessions and riches to the Spanish Christian, the Moors became vengeful against their expellers, launching raids along the Spanish coast, pillaging and capturing slaves.[137] However, the most important group of Moors, in the context of corsairing, consisted of the Moriscos. The Moriscos were former Muslims who lived in Spain (Moors), had been forced to convert to Christianity instead of being expelled during the Reconquista. Even though they had converted, they were still looked upon as "bad Christians", and were known to have been aiding Corsair raiders on the coast of Spain. They were thus considered to be a threat to the Spanish kingdoms. At the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, Spain had made peace with both France in 1598 and England in 1604. They had entered into a twelve-year truce with the Netherlands in 1609. This made it possible for Spain to focus on its own country, taking action against the Barbary corsairs who ravaged their coast, as well as the Moriscos living in Spain who helped the corsairs.[138]

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[135] Rouighi, "The Berbers of the Arabs", 49-50.
[136] Fisher, *Barbary Legend, 18-19.*
[137] Konstam, *Pirates*, 77.
[138] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 81-82.

On 4. April 1609 the decision to expel all Moriscos from Spain was taken, and the first region to undergo the expulsion was Valencia. Somewhere between 116 000 and 155 000 Moriscos was expelled from Valencia in great haste, and the whole region was emptied in about three months from September to December 1609.[139] As an example of what happened to the expelled, the Moriscos from Valencia were first sent to the Spanish outpost of Oran, and later driven from Oran into the regency of Algiers. The Morisco population of Spain would end up all over the North-African coast, in Morocco, Algiers and Tunis, while some were able to cross the Pyrenees, or go on ships that would set sail for France and Italy.[140]

Even though they were Muslims, they did not receive a warm welcome in North-Africa. There they were considered "bad Muslims", just as they were considered "bad Christians" in Spain as they did not know the religious practices, nor did they dress like Muslims. During the process of expulsion, the Moriscos who had landed in Oran were sometimes under attack from the local tribes, causing the Moriscos who had yet to depart from Spain to unsuccessfully revolt.[141]

Even before the expulsion the Morisco population had been subject to strong regulations and contained in their places of residence. This led some Moriscos to flee even during the sixteenth century, following their flight there had been a stable exchange of letters, news, plans and people between the Moriscos of Spain and the thousands of Moriscos who had settled along the North African coast.[142]

In 1614 the expulsion was completed and Spain had rid itself of about 300 000 Moriscos in just 5 years.[143] As an indicator to how fast the expulsion went, the French historian, Henri Lapeyre estimated that about 243 000 to 248 000 Moriscos were already expelled from Spain by 1611.[144] Once in North Africa, many of the Moriscos who originated in the regions of Andalusia and Extremadura were drawn towards the ports of Morocco. In Morocco they could find Moors who originated in al-Andalus, as well as Moriscos from Hornachos (a town

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[139] Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion", 20-23.
[140] Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion", 30 & Gil & Bernabé, "The Moriscos Outside Spain", 222-223.
[141] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 83.
[142] Gil & Bernabé, "The Moriscos Outside Spain", 221.
[143] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 83 & Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion", 22.
[144] Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion", 28.

in Extremadura) who lived in the port towns Rabat and Salé which had become famous for their corsairing.[145]

The Moors and Moriscos who already lived in Morocco were called Andalusians, a name derived from the Arabic term al-Andalus. The Andalusians had settled in Morocco in the late fifteenth century. During the Christian conquest of the kingdom of Granada another 8000 Moriscos left Spain and headed to Morocco between 1492 and 1493.[146] These Moriscos who came to Morocco under the expulsion between 1610 and 1614 and would also fall under this name.[147]

The Andalusians would create urban settlements along the coast that made it possible for them to engage in corsairing activity which included the trading of Christian hostages that were ransomed. The Moriscos arriving between 1609-1614, which was a second group of refugees from Spain would also take part in this activity against Christians which was partly commercial and partly religiously motivated, called *ǧihād* in contemporary Arab sources.[148] However, the corsair activity also functioned as a way of organizing the transportation of Moriscos to North Africa. The Andalusian corsairs were fueled by anger towards the Christians who they felt had mistreated the Muslim inhabitants of Spain, and they therefore committed violent attacks and generally had a warmongering mentality.[149]

The Andalusians who had settled in Morocco before the Expulsion from 1609-1614 had different circumstances to their departure than those of the early seventeenth century. With their Arabic language and Arabo-Islamic culture they had had no problem finding their place in Morocco. They also had a different mentality when it came to their absence from Spain. They had been in continuous contact with the Moriscos in Spain and a wish to create an independent kingdom in Morocco, alternatively returning to Spain which had led to dialogue and negotiations between them and the Spanish authorities. However, the Andalusians also tried to influence the Moroccan authorities as well as other Berber dynasties along the North African shore to help them invade southern Spain, and eventually the Kingdom of Granada, though no invasion ever materialized.[150]

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[145] Vincent, "The Geography of the Morisco Expulsion", 31.
[146] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 287.
[147] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 286.
[148] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 288.
[149] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 289.
[150] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 289.

The expelled Granadan Moriscos wanted to re-capture the kingdom of Granada, while the Valencian and Aragonese Moriscos sought out the Ottoman empire in order to raise a Morisco as their own king under the suzerainty of the Ottomans in similarity to the Corsair states of North Africa.[151]

Morocco, which would become the "go-to" place for the Moriscos had during the first half of the sixteenth century the Wattasid dynasty in charge of the political structure. The Wattasid sultan who was based in the city of Fez sought to uphold the grandeur of the Marinid dynasty, and thus wanted to protect himself from the Iberian Christians who raided the Moroccan coastal settlements. However, the structure around the Moroccan corsairs really became a significant force when Fez was conquered in 1540 by a man named Muley Muhammad Muḥammad al-Šayḫ al-Saʿdī who would create a dynasty called the Sa'di dynasty. Al-Saʿdī claimed to be a direct descendent of the Prophet Muhammad, and this gave him the right to political power. He made the *ǧihād* an important part of the political propaganda against the Christians, and this could be used as motivation for going to sea, participating in the *corso*.[152]

Interestingly, the Sa'di dynasty ended up alternating between alliances with the Spanish and the Ottoman empire. Allying itself with the Spanish kingdom against the Ottoman Empire prevented an annexation by the Ottoman Empire, something the Spanish also feared due to the potentially strategic position their enemy would then possess. At other times, when the Christians of Iberia attacked the coast of Morocco, the Sa'di dynasty would ally itself with the Ottoman Empire.[153]

However, the Andalusians was not only seamen who engaged in corsair action, they also engaged in the armies of the sultans as crossbowmen, harquebusiers and artillerymen, making them a people with diverse military skills.[154]

3.1.1.2 Rabat-Salé

The city of Rabat-Salé had two ports at the estuary of the river Bou Regreg. On the south side was the port of Rabat, while on the north side lay the port of Salé. The port of Rabat-Salé was

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[151] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 290.
[152] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 290.
[153] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 290-291.
[154] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 296.

a self-governing Morisco community which got increased significance after the expulsion of Moriscos from Spain.

There were mainly two groups of Moriscos in Rabat-Salé. The Hornacheros, who came from Extremadura in Spain, settled in Rabat and began building and fortifying that part of the city. The other group consisted of about 15 000 Moriscos from Andalusia who settled on the Salé side of the river after their expulsion from Spain. Conflict between the groups emerged, while they both saw themselves as superior to the original population of the city whom they stayed clear of. They were also separate groups that wanted to stay independent from the sultan.[155]

The port of Rabat-Salé provided the Moroccan corsairs with a strategically good spot in order to prey on Spanish and Portuguese ships that were headed back from the East and West Indies with goods such as metals, spices and sugar. Located along the Atlantic coast, the port allowed for the Moroccan corsairs to engage in corsairing activity as far north as Galicia, the English channel, and even Iceland.[156]

The port also became a center for other corsairs and pirates, and would shelter English and Dutch pirates, as well as the expelled Moriscos from Spain. After 1620 Salé had become an autonomous political structure that was called the Republic of Salé. The political structure of the port town was made up by a council of twelve members who governed the city, called the *Divan*, who again had a chairman who was entitled "Great Admiral". This structure was reminiscent of the Ottoman structure in the ports of Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli where the corsair captains controlled the city. However, a big difference between the ports of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli and Salé was that in Morocco there was no Turkish military elite like the Janissary, who could act as a force against the corsair captains for control of the city. [157]

3.1.1.3 The Morisco corsair

The Turkish ruling elite welcomed the Moriscos into the communities in the Maghreb, as they would help keeping the local Berbers and Arabs in their place. Most of the Moriscos did however not turn to corsairing, but rather to agricultural labor or continuing as artisans. Even though most of the Corsairs were Turks or Christian renegades, there were still some

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[155] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 324.
[156] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 325 & Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 87.
[157] García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 325 & Jamieson, *Lords of the sea,* 106-107.

Moriscos who engaged in corsairing activities. An example is "Blanquillo Morisco" who with his fellow Morisco crew raided the Spanish coast, and as they all spoke Spanish and wore Spanish clothes they managed to fool the Spanish naval patrols.[158] Morisco captains like Blanquillo are more of an exception, as most of the Moriscos who joined corsairing had lower positions in the corsair crew, and were rarely captains. Generally the Moriscos did not participate in corsairing against the Spanish, with the exception of the Moriscos of Hornachos who in a few decades made Salé into a corsair base that would rival Algiers.[159]

3.1.1.4 The Berbers

After the Roman empire shifted its focus away from the North African coast, this region is considered to have slipped back into a "pre-roman pattern", with the decline of central power and a fragmentation into tribal groupings with a decline in urban society.[160] During the next centuries Islam would come to take control over nearly every facet of the life of a Berber in such a way that the collective memory of a pre-Islamic epoch was lost among the Berber people. The Berber people's countless experiences with Arab conquerors were characterized by fierce resistance, followed by oppression by the Arabs who engulfed the Barbary coast and took the Berbers into their ranks as they created Berber Islamic states as they continued to sweep across North Africa and into the Iberian peninsula.[161] This six century long period is summed up by the historian Ira Lapidus as a formative period that he calls the "Caliphal Phase", where "Islam served as the basis of political solidarity among factious Berber tribes".[162]

If we look at the specific case of Morocco during the sixteenth century, the region was in turmoil, struggling between the dynastical powers of the current Wattasid dynasty and the growing Sa'di dynasty from the south. The war between the contenders ruined the country's economic resources and commercial activity by disrupting agricultural activity where farmland would lie uncultivated and ruined by marauders who plundered crops, cattle and peasants.[163] Along with man-made damage came a series of natural calamities, during which

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[158] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 84-85.
[159] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 85.
[160] Maddy-Witzman, *The Berber Identity*, 20-21.
[161] Maddy-Witzman, *The Berber Identity*, 21.
[162] Lapidus, *A history of Islamic* Societies as sited in Maddy-Witzman, *The Berber Identity*, 21
[163] Rodriguez-Manas, "Agriculture, Sufism and the state in tenth/sixteenth-century Morocco", 450.

Morocco was struck by drought, plagues and failed harvests. In certain districts the famine became endemic and decimated the population. The lands were abandoned and soil became unsuitable for cultivation. The trade of agricultural goods naturally took a hit, while prices skyrocketed.[164] The agricultural stagnation led to a demographic decline in some rural areas, and forced migrants to move to other rural areas which were less affected by scarcity, as well as a great influx in migrants to urban areas. This pauperism led to people abandoning their indigenous lands and roaming the countryside for food.[165]

Looking at what could possibly be the motivations for the Moors and Berbers who settled in North Africa, they have, to begin with, a common denominator. The Moors and later Moriscos, of Spain were expelled from the kingdoms. The sources tells us that this created anger and frustration among the Moors and Moriscos, and that they used this as motivation to fulfill their vengeance against their expellers. Rather than being a direct pull or push factor to becoming a corsair, this factor is related to the fact that attacking your former state or kingdom was no longer a barrier. When the possibility suddenly arises, a new option for the individual appear. Attacking one's former kingdom then becomes a 'means to an end' for these actors to fulfill their vengeance, which in this context would be the 'goal'. It is hard to argue whether or not this is a 'normative reason' for the actor, but it is certainly an 'internal reason' for the actor, as well as possibly being an 'external reason', since the motives to raid the Spanish coasts and shipping was already present.

Looking at the port town of Rabat-Salé, moving there would offer the Moriscos the opportunity of being a part of a community which sought to be independent from the Ottoman empire and the sultan of Morocco. A possibility would then be that the independent system built up by the local Moors, and the two groups of Moriscos who lived there, could be tailored to fit this community's specific needs. They could then build up a system around the needs and possibilities that this location offered them. This possibility could make the structure of corsairing significant to the city, rather than having to deal with the political objectives of a greater state, such as the politics of the Ottoman empire. If being able to take part in a community is the 'goal', moving here would then seem to be a 'means to an end' that is both a 'normative reason', as well as an 'internal-' and an 'external reason'.

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[164] Rodriguez-Manas, "Agriculture, Sufism and the state in tenth/sixteenth-century Morocco", 450.

[165] Rodriguez-Manas, "Agriculture, Sufism and the state in tenth/sixteenth-century Morocco", 450 & García-Arenal, "The Moriscos in Morocco", 296.

Rabat-Salé would also attract renegade corsairs who needed shelter, which was something they could provide due to their independence as the "pirate republic of Rabat-Salé". As well as attracting other renegade captains, the corsairs of Rabat-Salé was "more free" than the corsairs who were entwined in the Ottoman empire through the Ottoman provinces such as Algiers in the Maghreb. This independence meant that they would not have a strong Ottoman presence of Janissary military that could challenge the corsairs for control. For the renegades, if getting shelter was their 'goal', moving there would for them also be a 'means to an end' that is both 'normative-' and an 'internal-', and 'external reason'.

It is also clear that the position of the city of Rabat-Salé had a positive effect on the opportunities to conduct corsairing activities from those ports. Being able to prey on the valuable Spanish and Portuguese shipping that came through the Atlantic would be another factor, as well as the potential reach they had from those ports, being able to raid the Atlantic coast all the way up to Iceland. These factors could increase the chance that the Moriscos would get motivated and wanted to take part in this activity in order to earn their fortune. The position of the port in itself would then possibly be an 'external reason' for someone to become a corsair in Rabat-Salé, while the possibilities of becoming rich would be a 'goal' where the actors would have 'means to an end' that they acted upon for example by moving to Rabat-Salé.

However, it is interesting that most Moriscos would not join the corsairs. A possibility could be that since they were expelled from a country where they had not needed to participate in piratical or corsairing activity, most of them would have a craft and be artisans which they perhaps wanted to continue to pursue in their new home. At the same time, we know that some Moriscos joined the corsairs, but held lower positions. It is possible to speculate that this might be people who were not engaged in a craft, and were possibly military men without any specific expertise other than being in service. Becoming a member of a ship's crew could then be one of the more natural things to do for such a person.

Finally, it could perhaps be argued that some Berbers, Moors and Moriscos would be motivated to participate on a corsair ship because of the agricultural and economic situation in Morocco. War and famine made people move from rural to urban areas, and someone who had previously been a farmer would now have to find new ways of making ends meet. Could these people fall into the same category as the Moriscos mentioned earlier, who did not possess a craft, and who then had to take part as a crewmember on a ship in order to survive?

Now, looking at this part through the chain of action, I chose look at the Moriscos and Moors as one group in the context of the port of Rabat-Salé. The group of Moriscos and Moors we will refer to as 'actors', will in this case seek to maximize the values within their institution. The question we need to answer then is what kind of institution this is. As the actors inherently are refugees, they might seek to maximize the values within an institution that is connected to being a community, and all that it entails; safety, economic stability, military support, social interactions etc. The values that comes with the "community institution" will then function as a driving force in making their choices going forwards. As these choices are also affected by their limitations, which can hypothetically be that the actors at one moment are stuck in a desert, their choice will probably be affected in such a way that they will not try to create a community in the middle of that desert. The choices they make, will within a certain probability create a social form, in a place which suits their needs. When we follow this model in the next turn, we still follow the same actors (Moriscos and Moors), but this time we see that they have moved to the city of Rabat-Salé, and they are a part of an institution that they inherently sought to be a part of. However, now they might seek to maximize values in other aspects of their life that are connected to other institutions. Being a part of a city that heavily revolves around corsairing, some might seek to be a part of this lucrative business. These actors would then probably seek to maximize the values within an institution connected to being a corsair. And so the chain spins on, leading the actor to new choices and into new social forms.

3.1.2 The Renegades

When people turn away from Christendom and join Islam it is safe to assume that what drives these individuals to convert are rational thinking and motives. As we shall see, the motives to "turn Turk" could be many, and in this part we look at some examples of renegades while aiming to explain their motivations. What is a renegade? A renegade is someone who has diverted from an organization, politic belief or religious belief, and is seen as a person who has "fallen". In the context of the thesis, when referring to a 'renegade' we are talking about a person who leaves the Christian world behind and joins a different world with a different culture, mainly Islam.

3.1.2.1 Renegades in the Hungarian-Ottoman warzone

Not only adventure-seeking people sought to convert from Christendom to Islam. In the first example of renegades we take a look an article written by Gabriella Erdélyi, a history researcher at the institute of History in the Hungarian Academy of Science. She writes about a man and a woman who chose to cross the Christian-Muslim border by appeals of remarriage to the Christian authorities. By submitting an appeal of remarriage, for example when a person became a widow(er), it would be possible to start a new family without committing bigamy or being excommunicated by the church. Erdélyi's research addresses the different motives of the people seeking such appeals and she aims to better understand the rationality behind their choice. Though they are not directly related to piracy and corsairing, they shed light on general reasons to convert.

The women who chose to remarry represented only a small group of voluntary renegades form the Hungarian-Ottoman region. This can be seen through the words of a 1550s school rector from Tolna, Pál Thury Farkas, which described these women as: "unmarried women who had given birth to Turkish men, ladies who had fled their well-to-do husbands on the council to Turks and, typically, widows". From Farkas point of view, these women represented group of unfortunate individuals that were labeled in a way that connected them with certain stereotypes that were associated with sin, lust, having lost control of their lives etc.

The issue is that these stereotypes do not necessarily show the truth or explain the subjects' reason to convert.[166] In opposition to using demeaning labels, Erdélyi argues that the phenomenon of voluntary conversion is a rational act which is done in the interest of taking control of one's life, or destiny, and that rather than abnormal and deviant, conversion was a way of operating in everyday life.[167]

Also, these renegades show us that there is a difference between personal identity and religious identity that stands in opposition to the Christian narrative where conversion mean that the individual would undergo a total transformation of one's self. Rather, converting was

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[166] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 318.
[167] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 320.

a social and tactical practice which was used in the everyday life to adapt to a dominant system.[168]

Some of the questions Erdélyi then seeks to answer is that when the religious difference was neutral, and the rationale that followed was disconnected to the religious aspect, what kind of aspects did the renegades then consider? Did they find social advancement or security to be stronger? And how did they manage to turn the constraints and opportunities within the new system to their advantage?[169]

The first example is the runaway Christian wife who marries a Turk in Buda. In this story the wife ran away while her husband was away from the homeland. The question in this story is why she chose to abandon her husband.

Erdélyi argues that the runaway wife, Mrs. Csiszár, could be driven by several factors. First of all, she asks the question whether Mrs. Csiszár might have fallen out of love with her current husband. And adds that it is hard to tell if it was that Mrs. Csiszár had met a new man in the Ottoman frontier which she fell in love with, or if she sought to escape from a failing marriage.[170]

Secondly, she asks the question whether Mrs. Csiszár was seduced by the Turks social standing, which is suggested to have been a member of the Buda garrison, or of the civile service. In opposition to her former husband who most likely was a gunsmith, and being in an occupation of trade, re-marrying would rise her social status.[171]

Finally, it is natural to ask what the woman who converted knew about her new religion and how it would affect her life, and how she could be expected to be treated. Erdélyi argues that people living on the Ottoman-Hungarian border zone would be well aware of the Islamic customs. They were also well informed that the customs of Islam, such as polygamy, were not practiced in the periphery of the empire. A well-known fact was that Turkish men could discard their wives at any moment. However, Christian men could do the same, and sometimes even sold their wives to pay of their debt.[172]

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[168] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 319-320.
[169] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 320.
[170] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 322.
[171] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 320.
[172] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 327.

The woman could also expect to remain a Christian after her marriage. Because the Islamic state only interested themselves in the religion of the father, as it was his religion that would decide their child's religion, women could in theory continue with her Christian faith while also retaining the same rights as a Muslim wife would.[173]

Another example is that of István Velikei from Radovanc who freely made the decision to stand with the Turks. From the wife's appeal to remarry sent to the Catholic authorities we learn that Velikei had "gone to the Turks" and adopted their clothes (and customs?), attacking Christians, taking a Muslim woman and having children with her, given his castle to the Turks, given provisions to the Turkish army, and maintaining friendly relations with the Turks.[174] Erdélyi suggests that his decision to convert was driven by a social and economic motivation, as he might have had to either flee the territory and abandon his lands to the Ottomans, or remain in place and welcome them.[175]

When it comes to the aspect of identity, Erdélyi shows that there seems to be a difference between men and women. For women, marriage into a different culture also meant that they would transform their identity. In the case of Mrs. Csiszár, it shows us an optimistic view of female agency, where she breaks with social expectations and patriarchal family structures.[176] Converting gave the opportunity to rid herself of a troublesome, or unwanted man. However, Erdélyi argues against this optimistic view, and says that converting was not a way for women to exert their free will, and that the patriarchal social "system" was still present in the Muslim world. Remarrying and converting did then mean that the woman went from the protection of one man to another.[177]

When looking at the cases of Mrs. Csiszár and Mr. Velikei, some possible motives that drove them to become renegades have been identified. For both of them it can be argued that their motivations were driven by rational acts towards a goal. This goal would either be to increase their quality of life, or at least, not ruin their current quality of life. For Mrs. Csiszár, Erdélyi argues that her goal was to use the possibilities of social mobility. This goal led her to marry a Turk in the Buda garrison, a marriage that would give her a higher status compared to her previous role as a wife to a gunsmith. Going off and actually marrying the Turk would then be

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[173] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 327-328.
[174] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 333-334 & 337.
[175] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 339-340.
[176] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 341.
[177] Erdélyi, "Turning Turk as Rational Decision in the Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier Zone", 341.

Mrs. Csiszár 'means to an end'. This 'means to an end' which is what she acts upon is also an 'internal reason', as she will most likely end up earning something by moving, compared to staying back home with her current husband. In the article, Erdélyi tells us how women who wanted to remarry could be charged with bigamy by the local Catholic authorities if they could not prove that their husband was dead. By, leaving for a foreign land the woman would gain new opportunities to start a family, and this could be considered her goal. "Turning Turk" would in this sense be the 'means to an end', which would also be a 'external reason' for the actor, as her life situation was dependent on external factors such as the influence of the Catholic church, and her reason for running away and remarrying would be regardless of her personal motivation.

The question has been discussed whether converting was also was a part of a female agency, breaking with the patriarchal structure of Christian society. While this can be argued, a more prevalent point is that a female who lost her husband would within that social structure look to another man in order to regain the benefits that comes with having a family. As noted, if the husband was not proved dead, the female would be charged with bigamy if she found another man. Then, if we take into account the female agency, this seems less likely to be a motivation for the actor as the Islamic religion had boundaries on women as well, and she would go from one society where she would be subordinate to men, to another.

For Mr. Velikei, the conversion was not related to love or social status, such as for Mrs. Csiszár. Rather, he would have to ask himself what kind of choices he had. With the threat of the Ottoman empire, winning terrain, he had to either give up his castle or submit to the enemy. If he weighted his opportunities, converting to Islam might have had less of an impact on his life than giving away all of his possessions. Then, assuming that Mr. Velikei's goal was to maintain his way of life, we can state that in order to do so, he would have to choose to convert to Islam which would be the 'means to an end'. This would arguably be an 'external reason', because Mr. Velikei was motivated by the threat from the Ottoman empire, which would affect his choices regardless of his personal motivation.

What is rather interesting in this context is the view of identity. The fact that conversion was a result of a social and tactical practice shows there was a difference between religious identity and personal identity, which in turn means that one could convert without it affecting one's personal identity. The Islamic religion, or cultural differences would at least not be seen as a barrier for converting.

Going into the chain of action in order to attempt to explain the pattern of these actors, this will be done in two parts, as Mrs. Csiszár and Mr. Velikei were seeking to maximize the values of two quite different 'institutions'.

The first actor is Mrs. Csiszár. In this case the actor seeks to maximize the values of what can be identified as the "family institution". Values such as love, marriage, family, children etc. are likely prominent in this case. The actor's will to maximize these values causes her to make some choices. These choices can be identified as 'means to an end' which was discussed earlier, but now the limitations of the actor must be taken into account as well. In this case, the choice of the actor could be to re-marry, but the limitations set in by society and the Catholic church also made an impact on the on her choices. Therefore the choice was not simply "re-marry", but possibly "re-location and conversion in order to re-marry". Once the choices were made, they would, with a certain probability, create a new observable social form for the actor. This new social form could be that the actor was in a new marriage, got kids, and experienced love again. Further, the chain continues to affect the actors new values and institutions that she would attempt to maximize. However, we will not follow this actor any further.

The second actor is Mr. Velikei. In this case the actor seeks to maximize the values of what can be identified as an "institution of quality of life". The values would in this case probably be connected to how the actor could maintain his quality of life, and in his political context the factors could be political dialogue, cooperation, minimalizing losses, and maximizing profits. This would then function as a driving force to the actors choices, which would also be affected by his limitations. The limitations in this case are that the actor seeks to maintain his possessions, but that he can only do so within a certain political loyalty. When the actor then makes his choice, based on the values he seeks to maximize and the limitations that affect him, this is to change his political and religious loyalty in order to maximize the values of his institution. This leads him into a new social pattern in which the actor likely accomplishes some of the goals, such as maintaining his possessions, though this new pattern will in turn affect the limitations and values that he in the next turn will seek to maximize. However, we will not follow this actor any further.

We should now ask ourselves, how applicable these motives are to the renegades of the corsair states? As the demographic of the ship was quite different to what has so far been discussed in this part, some motives will perhaps not be applicable, such as remarriage.

However, these cases do shed light on the role of identity in the context of conversion, where we can see that religious and personal identity was disconnected, and therefore it tells us something about which barriers were/were not there. It is likely, however, that motivational factors such as economic gain and social status are more likely to have played a role in the choices of the actors who joined the corsairing ships and, as further analysis will show, corsairing was economically lucrative.

3.1.2.2 Renegades in Spain

In the thirteenth century, the Catalan Raymond of Penyafort drew up a report where he identified five groups in Islamic Spain and the adjoining African coast: Christian mercenary soldiers, Christian slaves, Christian slaves born under Islamic rule who only knew Arabic, the Muslim majority, and the "apostates".[178] He further specified that there were different kinds of apostates; Christians led astray or persuaded by Muslims, Christians inclined toward apostatizing because of the "seduction of the Muslims" or because of intolerable poverty. Penyafort's colleague, Raymond Lull, a Catalan philosopher and theologist with experience in the Muslim-Christian interaction in Iberia, also noted how many of the Christians of the region with ease gave up on Christianity to become Muslims.[179]

People who ended up converting were denounced by the authorities, such as the justiciar of Torrente, Peter Mallen, who after his stay in North Africa had become a Muslim and was circumcised. Mallen was charged with usury, manslaughter, blasphemy, and gross immorality and most importantly being a "renegade".[180]

Even more problematic than the "regular" renegade, were the Christians who joined forces with Muslims. Christians had a long tradition of being hired as mercenaries by the rulers of North Africa and the Islamic regions of Spain going back to the ninth century. These Christian soldiers were hired as elite forces, but were never used for "the holy war" by the Muslim rulers, as they were afraid the soldiers in that setting would turn on the Muslims.[181]

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[178] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 342-343.
[179] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 343.
[180] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 347.
[181] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 350-352.

In the second half of the thirteenth century the Berber dynasties of North Africa began employing more and more Christian mercenaries. And in 1274 the Marinid dynasty hired an Aragonese army with a fleet of fifty ships and five hundred horses in order to force the independent lord of Ceuta to join the dynasty. The Hafsid dynasty used the Christian forces together with their own in order to siege the Catalan tributary island Djerba.[182]

Those who joined as mercenaries were militias, apostates and individual adventurers, but also some knights who were out of favor back home. In a time when there was tension between the crown and barons, angry barons would ride off into the service of Islam, or even employ Muslims in their own civil war.[183] Under the rule of James I of Aragon, rebellious knights who wanted to revolt against the king and were pursued fled to Castilian parts or to the city of Valencia, both of which were under Muslim control.[184]

The mercenary soldiers that would go into the service of Islam could be both militias, knights, and barons from Europe. In the case of the knights and barons, the motivation for going to the Islamic regencies came out of dissatisfaction with their kings. The militias, on the other hand was possibly drawn to the Islamic dynasties because these were in need of allies. This represented an opportunity for the militias to come and find new employment.

Looking at these mercenaries, their goal was likely connected to being hired by an employer who could ensure some kind of safety. Whether this safety would be economic, or in regard to not being attacked by political adversaries, the 'means to an end' was still that they actually went to the Islamic dynasties and took service there. The 'internal reason' would in this sense be that the actor is motivated by the needs to earn money in an environment that provides him safety. The 'external reason' would be that there was a possibility for these mercenaries in the dynasties.

When we look at the mercenaries through the chain of action, the actors would likely chose to maximize the values of an 'economic institution'. These values could be that of economic safety in regards of a salary and/or the prospects of joining a lucrative business. This leads the mercenary to commit to some choices. But as we know, these choices are affected by the actors limitations. The limitations would in this case be that the actor cannot find this kind of economic safety at home. This affects his choice, and he must make the move to a different

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[182] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 352.
[183] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 353-354.
[184] Burns "Renegades, adventurers, and sharp businessmen", 354.

location in order to reach his goal. The choice being made is then that the actor relocates in order to find an employer. This generates the new social form, which the actor experiences in his new location and under a new employer, in this case in the Islamic dynasties.

This analysis does not say anything specific about what could drive someone to enlist on a corsair ship. However, when we are talking about mercenaries, we are likely talking about people who took service in many different types of military service. As argued later, the Janissaries, who mainly formed a land force, would also enroll on the corsair ships, and actually be the main fighting force of such ships. The mercenaries from Europe could possibly have done the same. This also contributes to our understanding of the attitude towards interacting with "the enemy". This also contributes to an understanding of the view on religion and states, and it might be possible to say that the transition between the two factions was more fluent than how it would have appeared at first sight. This is something that is relatable to renegade corsairs who, as we shall see, frequently changed their loyalty.

3.1.2.3 Renegades from the Netherlands and England

As the market for privateering dried out due to peace, many privateers from England and the Netherlands fell for the temptation to prey on merchant ships, turning them to pirates. Eventually driven out of the pirate-harbors close to their homes, these pirates sought refuge in the harbors of the Barbary coast instead. These pirates, considered infidels by the Muslims of North Africa, would receive a warm welcome, nonetheless, as they brought with them new technology that benefited the Sultans and the Corsairs, and many of the pirates would also convert to Islam, becoming renegades.[185]

The advancements in technology that the Dutch and English pirates brought along were implemented on the ships of the Barbary corsairs, allowing them to carry more guns, booty and captives on their vessels. This was because their ships were constructed differently using square-rigged sails allowing for less oar slaves. As such only a small amount of slaves was needed on their ships and the slaves could do other tasks than primarily being the engine of the ship. This technological advancement made two things possible for the Barbary corsairs. Firstly, they were now more equal to the heavily armed European merchant ships which they would encounter. Secondly, the new technology would increase the range in which they could

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[185] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 86.

travel, making it possible for the corsairs to raid the Atlantic coasts of Portugal, Spain, France, England and Ireland. Being able to go into the Atlantic was good for the corsairs, as the Mediterranean coast of Italy and Spain now had great stretches that were abandoned as a result of raiding.[186]

An example of a renegade is the Dutch man Simon Danser. Danser, who lived with his family in Marseille around 1600, decided to travel to Algiers to build square-rigged ships for the corsairs as well as teaching them how to sail them. After a while Danser converted to Islam and became a corsair, changing his last name to Reis. In Algiers, Reis found himself a new wife and family, and practiced corsairing over a three-year period, in which he was said to have taken at least 40 prizes in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. This made him a target, and he was being pursued by French, English and Spanish warships. In 1609, Reis captured a Spanish ship with a Jesuit priest on it. As Reis had a wish to retire in France, he saw this as an opportunity. He agreed to free the priest if he would deliver a message to King Henry IV of France that Reis wanted to return to Marseille to his family, keep his riches and be pardoned for his crimes. King Henry IV agreed to these terms, and in November 1609, Simon, now Danser again, returned to Marseille with four armed ships which he gave up to the French authorities as well as giving up many of his Muslim crew who would become slaves on French galleys. Danser would now engage in attacks on Muslim shipping, and in 1611 he agreed to go on a mission to Algiers, which ended up with Danser being captured in Algiers and sentenced to execution for being an apostate from Islam and conducting attacks on Muslim ships.[187]

Another example of a Dutch renegade is one of Simon Danser's officers, Ivan de Veenboer. Veenboer was a privateer who had turned pirate by attacking merchant ships, then sailing to North Africa where, by 1617, he had an Algerine fleet of corsairs at his side. In Algiers, Veenboer "turned Turk" and changed his name to Suleiman Reis. Suleiman Reis, like Simon Reis, eventually wanted to return to his homeland, and in secret tried to arrange an agreement with the Dutch consul in Algiers where he would be pardoned. The negotiations broke down and Suleiman Reis returned to corsairing with which he would gain a great wealth from attacking Christian ships. Like Simon Reis, Suleiman was pursued by Christian warships and

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[186] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 86.
[187] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 87-88.

in 1620 he finally met his fate in an engagement against a multinational squadron where he was hit by a cannonball and died.[188]

The Englishman John Ward was also a renegade corsair. Originally he was a fisherman, but he had joined a privateering ship during the war with Spain. As the war came to an end, John Ward was drawn to piracy, and he raided the English Channel in 1603 before leaving for the Mediterranean. After moving from raiding the Adriatic sea, to being based in Salé, he eventually ended up in Tunis by 1605. In Tunis he introduced the square-rigged ships to the corsairs, as well as being largely successful in raiding Venetian ships which made him his fortune. Most of Ward's crew were English, Dutch and Spanish, and he even ransomed English captives in Barbary and recruited them to his ships. Like Simon Danser and Ivan de Veenboer, John Ward also wanted to retire in Europe instead of on the Barbary coast. By the end of 1608, Ward was a wealthy man and he tried to negotiate his retirement in Italy with the Grand Duke of Tuscany. As the negotiations fell apart, Ward continued his corsairing and the English government offered him pardon if he would stop his activities. These negotiations were too unsuccessful, and in 1610 Ward's fleet in Tunis consisted of 15 ships that were manned by 1500 men. That year Ward converted to Islam and changed his name to Yusuf Reis. Continuing with his corsairing activity, now Yusuf Reis, he possibly died of a plague outbreak in Tunis in 1623.[189]

Another English pirate, with an interesting story was Henry Mainwaring. What makes Mainwaring's story interesting is that he was born into a gentry family and had an education from Oxford University. In his early years he had pursued pirates in the Bristol Channel in the service of the English crown. But in 1612 he decided to turn pirate, initially being based in Ireland and Morocco. After the port town Mamora was captured by the Spanish, Mainwaring went in to the Mediterranean, finally basing himself in the duchy of Savoy. Henry Mainwaring too, sought retirement in Europe, requesting a pardon from King James I. This was granted, and he returned home. In 1618 he was given a knighthood by the king and was sent to pursue pirates in the English Channel again.[190]

As argued by Jamieson,

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[188] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 88.
[189] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 89-90.
[190] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 90.

"the Dutch and English pirates who came to North Africa in the early 1600s were clearly men of ever-shifting loyalties, but they did play a far more important role in boosting the power and range of the Barbary corsairs than the Moriscos expelled from Spain. Their impact was most obvious in the changing composition of the barbary corsairs fleet."[191]

The renegades that came from England and Netherlands seem to have been driven by a goal of earning money. The fact that they went on and became renegades, and corsairs of the corsair states, shows us that their 'means to an end' was that they could actually go there. In this case, it is possible to identify three 'external reasons' as to why the renegades chose to do so and what enabled this possibility. The first 'external reason' is that they clearly wanted to break with their current life situation. There can be several reasons as to why they wanted to do that, but one likely reason was to gain wealth. As seen in the examples, these individuals managed to become very rich during their period as corsairs. They were possibly aware of how lucrative this business was, and then in turn drawn to it. Here the 'external reason' is that there was a possibility that they could go there and get rich, which existed in addition to the renegades' 'internal reason' for getting rich.

The second 'external reason' is that they knew they could go because they could offer their "secret weapon", technology, which they must have known would be warmly welcomed in the corsair states. This gave them the option to go there as Christians and not be captured or killed. The technology represents the 'external reason' as to why they would choose to go to these states. This was something that would benefit them regardless of what they inherently wanted to do.

The third factor, which is entwined with the second, is that their technology and the fact that they were welcome provided them with the option to go to a new market. The corsair states offered a market that the renegades wanted to utilize, and this thus representing an opportunity, as some of them could not continue their pirate activity from the harbors close to their home. The market represents both an 'external-' and an 'internal reason', as the existence of the market in itself is an external motivating factor, while the internal reason for the renegade would be to go there in order to utilize it and make money.

What is also interesting with these renegades who "turned Turk", is that it appears that most of them only wanted to do this for a brief period of time. In all of the examples presented, the

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[191] Jamieson, *Lords of the sea*, 91.

actors wanted to go back home and retire, though not all of them were successful. This tells us that there is an element of opportunism. They took the opportunity presented to them, but when their goals were met, they wanted to go back home. Even more interesting is the fact that some of them were pardoned, given the possibility to go back home and even bring with them their wealth, wealth that was, of course, stolen from Christians. Certainly, if one knew that one could go and break the law, earn a fortune, and then be pardoned, that might be a motivating factor to do so. Essentially, the opportunity was there to gain a great reward with a low risk in the sense that one would not be exiled forever, as one could negotiate a return to his homeland while keeping his riches.

A possible reason as to why some of them were pardoned, was that they could become a resource to the Christian polities again. As becomes clear when considering the cases of both Mainwaring and Danser, after their pardon, they both took on missions from their states again to hunt pirates and corsairs. Mainwaring and Danser could probably provide expertise from the field, as they had been "behind enemy lines".

Looking at the renegades through the chain of action, the example of Henry Mainwaring in interesting because it lets us follow him through the chain of action three times. In the beginning we can say that he is an actor, employed by English crown, whose goal was to pursue pirates. Somewhere down the line, his goal changed because he gained new values that he sought to maximize. These could be both adventure and economic gain, but for the purposes of this analysis we shall keep it to the 'economic institution'. The values he then sought to maximize could be in the lines of economic gain, independence and self-employment. These values pointed him in one direction, but the limitation was that in order to be independent, self-employed and receive economic gain, he needed to look beyond employment by the crown. Together, the values and limitation pointed him to his choice. He then broke his contract and sought to maximize his values by choosing to become a pirate, which is the social form which ended up being the result of this choice.

In the second turn he would continue to maximize these values, but his limitations had changed. The port he was operating out of had been taken by the Spanish, forcing him to move to the Mediterranean in order to continue maximizing the values that were aimed towards his goal. His new social form was to be a part of the corsairs of the Mediterranean.

In the third turn something would change once more. This time, however, the institution in which he sought to maximize his values had changed. As Mainwaring wished, like many

others before him, to be pardoned and to return to England. As to why this happened to many of the renegades, it could be that they reached their goal of getting rich, or that they had had enough of what the corsairing life could offer. The new institution that he sought to maximize his values in can possibly be identified to be one related to something of safety and predictability and a regular salary by returning to service under the English crown. We shall call this an 'institution of safety'. The limits would now be that he could not do this while living in the Mediterranean, forcing him to move once again. His choice would then be affected by the new limitations as well as the new values, which would then make him move back home where he ended up in a new social form where he could practice his values and live the life he sought after he got pardoned and had re-entered the service of the English crown.

3.1.2.1 Renegade Janissaries

Another group of renegades was formed by the young Christians who were recruited to become Janissaries and who during this process converted to Islam. This process was called *Devsirme,* the practice of converting young boys from the Balkans into the Janissary army. During the 1620s and 1630s the number of boys recruited through the *Devsirme*, dropped until it finally stopped. At the same time, more Janissaries were recruited through voluntary conversion.[192]

Christians voluntarily sought to convert, as it could give them several benefits. Especially in Muslim-controlled lands, conversion would change their social status as they became "new" Muslims, called *reya.* The converts would then benefit from an economical privilege where the new Muslims were omitted from paying the *cizye* taxes, a tax forced on non-Muslims in Muslim controlled areas.[193]

Other privileges was that came with conversion was the possibility for social advancement through the military class called *askerî*. Therefore, conversion was not only economically driven, but also socially driven, where the soon to become renegades were motivated by the prospects of social advancement that would follow the recruitment into the Janissary Corps.[194] Another reason for Christians to convert to Islam, and join the Janissary corps, such as seen in

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[192] Radushev, ""Peasant" Janissaries", 461.
[193] Radushev, ""Peasant" Janissaries", 448.
[194] Radushev, ""Peasant" Janissaries", 448.

the Ottoman-Balkan region, was that enlisting in the Janissary corps would provide one with a regular salary.[195]

The case of the renegade Janissaries provides us with more information as to why someone would become a renegade. For those who were recruited through the *devsirme*, they most likely had no choice. They were most likely indoctrinated into the Islamic religion and the Ottoman culture. Those who joined the Janissaries voluntarily, on the other hand, were goal oriented. First of all, living in a Muslim-controlled land would give any infidel an economic disadvantage if they chose to remain outside of the Muslim faith, as they would then be charged with the *cizye* tax. Being omitted from this tax would then be a goal for some of these infidels, and this a 'means to an end' would for them be to convert to the Islamic religion. This is what we can identify as an 'external reason', as it would be a motivating reason which is not dependent on the internal motivation of the actor.

Further, being able to convert would open a new world of social advancement for the "renegade-to-be". Those who sought this out were goal-oriented in the way that they wanted to accomplish a heightened social status. A way of doing this was that they could join the Janissary corps, and therefore joining the corps would function as a 'means to an end', and it can also be argued to be an 'external reason', as a person who wanted to achieve a higher social status might not be attracted to the Janissary corps in itself, but the corps rather represented an existing opportunity for the actor. The same can be said for joining the Janissary corps in order to gain a regular salary, which would provide the individual with economic stability.

3.1.3 Turks in the Janissaries

The Barbary states offered lucrative opportunities for Levantine Turks. But what motivated them to go to the Barbary states? Several push and pull factors can be identified when looking into the life of a Turk and then looking at what possibilities were waiting for him in the Barbary states.

According to British historian Peter Earle, the sources are unanimous when it looks at who was recruited. The Recruiting officers recruited all kinds of bandits and rebels from the Levant who

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[195] Radushev, ""Peasant" Janissaries", 454.

would be sent to work as Janissaries in Barbary. These people could be all from people who were fugitives from creditors and justice to young problematic men who their families wished to rid themselves of. There were also always recruits to be found, hanging around the ports of Adalia, Cyprus and Cairo, waiting to be picked up, and sometimes the barbary states even sent ships to pick them up.[196] The Benedictine monk Diego de Haedo also wrote that the Turks rushed to Barbary similarly to how the Spaniards went to Peru in order to seek their fortunes.

This clearly shows that a lot of Turks wanted to seek out a life in the Barbary states, and that it most likely was a lucrative life, be it in terms of the prospects of social mobility or economic possibilities. Some of these motives can be seen through what the French orientalist Jean Michel de Venture de Paradis tells us about what the recruiters to the Barbary are telling the Turks to keep them motivated for the journey:

> "The enlisting officer distributes to them a few piastres to maintain their good will, and he gives them a magnificent picture of the fate which awaits them in Algiers, of the immense profits which the race against the Christians will give him, of the prerogatives and wealth attached to eminent offices where his services will lead him in turn."[197] (My own translation).

The recruitment of the Turkish Janissaries can be attributed to the era of Murad III, where the number of Janissaries dramatically and constantly began to increase. What happened was that the recruitment process became more slack, and the origins of the Janissaries started to become more diversified. Previously the Janissary soldiers were recruited from slave boys from the Balkans, but Murad III made it so that all kinds of foreigners and "intruders" could get access to the corps. Even the Turks, which had been held off from the corps, together with Russians, Persians and Gypsies because they would ruin the Janissary's "pure bloodline", as well as in order counter the existing Turkish members of the Empire that from time to time sought to overthrow the sultan.[198]

Because of this the number of Janissaries rose from 13 600 in 1574 to 35 000 in 1597. The numbers continuously rose and into the beginning of the eighteenth century where there was

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[196] Earle, *Corsairs*, 27-28.
[197] Venture de Paradis, *Alger au XVIIIe sièclet* (Alger 1898), 57-58. «Cependant quel- quefois l'officier enrôleur leur distribue de temps en temps quelques piastres pour entretenir leur bonne volonté, et il leur fait une peinture magnifique du sort quiles attend à Alger, des profits Immenses que lui donnera la course contre les chrétiens, des prérogatives et des richesses attachées aux charges éminentes où son service le conduira à son tour.»
[198] Veinstein, "On the Ottoman janissaries", 120 & Radushev ""Peasant" Janissaries?", 450.

about 53 000 Janissaries in the Ottoman empire. Sultan Mahmud I would in 1740 also legalize the marketing of certificates for Janissaries. Anyone who bore this mark would then have the right to collect Janissary wages which eventually took an enormous economic toll on the empire.

After arriving in Barbary, it seems the Turkish soldier was living a pleasant life. Becoming a Janissary, they were lodged up in barracks with beautiful courtyards and fountains. They would be regularly paid as well as being fed and served by the Christian slaves. This life of relative ease, despite the discipline which followed being a Janissary, stood in contrast to the current situation in their homelands.[199]

Initially, the Janissaries were "pure", meaning that they were only concerned with their military administrative duties, and functioned as "loyal slaves" to the Ottoman empire. The Janissaries was removed from their social group, not allowed to marry, and thus not worried about neither family or friends. Another change to the corps, apart from the changes to recruitment, began when they took part in the commercial-productive activities which resulted in a decline in the military discipline among the Janissaries.[200]

In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Sultan Selim further loosened up the rules, and there would be two kinds of Janissaries. One kind would still live in barracks and where known as the Bachelor Janissaries, while the other kind was the one who were to marry.[201] These are elements to the Janissaries which are called "the corruption" of the corps, and is seen as a factor in the decline of the Ottoman empire.[202] But they are also elements which could attract people to become Janissaries.

We remember from the passage about renegades in the Hungarian-Ottoman warzone and Mrs. Csiszár, that she might have heard that the strict enforcement of Islam was looser in the periphery of the empire, in relation to what she could expect from the new religion. This might also be the same for the Janissaries, and that those who moved to the Barbary coast could leave a more relaxed life compared to those back in the Levant who might have been enforced a harder and more strict discipline in their daily life.

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[199] Earle, *Corsairs*, 28.
[200] Kafadar, "Corruption of the Janissaries", 273.
[201] Veinstein, "On the Ottoman Janissaries", 116.
[202] Kafadar, "Corruption of the Janissaries", 273.

Further on, the Janissaries who lived in Tunis was neither troubled by the Islam religion. Tunis was a country of liberty, where religion would not bother anyone. They could practice their religion when it suited them, and they could drink as much alcohol as they wanted, as long as they had money. They would also be able to go on trips to Mecca, or home to the Levant if they wished to. If they were not paid regularly, as promised, they would revolt, and the new rulers first political move was to increase the soldiers pay.[203]

After being enrolled into the Janissaries, they would have mainly three types of duty. The first was to serve one a galley, or other ships sent out from the state. The second was working in the garrisons, and thirdly they could be in the 'flying camps', where they would collect tribute from the "local" tribes. This duty did not lay claim to all of the Janissaries time, and they were then free to pursue a trade, and many of the Janissaries were part time artisans.[204] This is confirmed by historian Evgeni Radushev, who says that the people who took service as Janissaries and were dispatched to the garrisons in large cities were able to combine their obligations within the corps with activities such as trade and crafts. This possible duality of a Janissary made them different from other military men, and it would allow them to infiltrate into the cities' economic life.[205]

The most attractive pursuit was however to join as a volunteer on a corsair ship and share the prizes from the *corso*. The Janissaries would then spend their time between subduing the hinterland tribes, pursuing their own trade, and finally joining a corsair ship. It is in fact a part of a dualistic life that the Barbary society could offer.[206]

Moving to Tunis could also enable the Janissaries dualistic wish. Tunis was a commercial center, which exported grain, vegetables, wool, hides, wax, paper, hardware, spice, dyes, and wines and traded with both Europeans and the Ottoman empire. On the other hand, they were reliant on import when it came to the materials needed for shipbuilding and war materiel. In order to get this they would collect some as tribute, some was captured, but mostly it came to the city by trade through both Christians and Muslims. All the regencies on the barbary coast relied heavily on the import from England, Holland and the Baltic states, especially when it came to munitions and such imports.[207]

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[203] Earle, *Corsairs*, 28.
[204] Earle, *Corsairs*, 31.
[205] Radushev, ""Peasant" Janissaries", 454.
[206] Earle, *Corsairs*, 31 & 34.
[207] Earle, *Corsairs*, 32.

The bases also had fertile hinterlands, which was one of the key factors in the success of the Barbary corsairs. The Dey of Tunis claimed that in 1655 they got all their subsistence form the hinterlands, and thus was not in need of the sea to survive. This was also noted by visitors of the city, which remarked the cheapness of food and wares in Barbary, which they attributed to the fertile hinterlands.[208] And as described by the daughter of an early British consul in Algiers: "This is indeed a land fair to look upon".[209]

Interestingly, historian Angus Konstam argues that since the barbary ports lay on the edge of the Sahara desert there was limited produce from agriculture, and that the hinterland was sparsely populated and produced little wealth. Because of this the wealth had to come from the sea, and as a mean to increase the economic situation in the barbary ports, the governors would encourage corsairs to use their ports. By using their ports the rulers would take a percentage of the profits made by the corsairs. And since corsairing was a hugely profitable business, the ports became central markets for the sale of both slaves and 'booty'.[210]

Looking at the Turks who turned to the barbary coast, and eventually corsairing, it is clear that there were many Turks who were interested in going there. Firstly, they was interested in joining the Janissary corps, which can be attributed to an 'internal reason' in the sense that their motivation could be to receive a regular pay. On the other hand, could also be due to an 'external reason', as political decisions during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries had made it possible for new groups of people to join the corps. As the numbers show, there was a great increase in the numbers of Janissaries in those years, testifying to its popularity.

Those who chose to voluntarily travel to the barbary coast were probably drawn there by the prospects of social mobility in the political system of the corsair states. As we remember from chapter, the political structure of the corsair states made it so that a Janissary could possibly climb to be a member of the Divan and thus take part in the rule of the state. As this was possible even for members of the lowest of social classes, this could be an 'internal reason' for the Turk to travel to the corsair states.

Another reason could be the prospects of economic gain from joining the Janissaries. This economic gain be different depending on the kind of role he would have, from corsairing, to being a guard living in the barracks, or subduing tribes in the hinterlands. This would give

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[208] Earle, *Corsairs*, 32.

[209] Broughton, *Six years residence in Algiers*, 112. As sited in Earle, *Corsairs*, 32.

[210] Konstam, *Pirates*, 75.

them regular pay, which in itself was nothing different from those enrolled in the corps back in the Levant. However, as we have seen, the "corruption" of the Janissaries, as a phenomenon that came late in the modern period, can probably be argued to have occurred sooner in the Barbary coast. This would allow for spare time which could be used on pursuing crafts or nurturing their religious needs in whatever way they wanted and whenever it suited them. Because of this, traveling to the barbary coast could be motivated by an 'internal reason' to live a diverse life which was probably more attractive because it opened up the possibilities to chase personal motivations instead of a life with hard military discipline and possibly strict religious practices back in the Levant.

Looking further at those who would travel to the barbary coast, it can be argued that some of them were sent there because they were criminals, unwanted by their families, etc. Though we can only wonder what would specifically happen to them if they chose not to travel, it can be speculated that this should be considered an 'external reason', where their "need" to travel was affected by the opportunities offered to them in the Barbary coast. There, they could start a new life, regardless of what they might be motivated by themselves.

These reasons for traveling to the barbary coast could have drawn a lot of people here. However, it is important not to under-estimate the importance of economic gain from corsairing, as getting involved in that was one of the most profitable roles the Janissary could have. And it is clear that economic gain was one of the most important motivational factors for a lot of Turks to travel to the barbary coast. This is confirmed by the excerpt of both Venture de Paradis and by the statement by Diego de Haedo, in which he compares the Turks who went to the barbary coast to the Spanish who went to Peru.

Looking at the Turks going to the barbary coast through the chain of action, they are actors who seek to accomplish several goals. One of these goals was to be a part of a society in which they could experience social mobility. The values that they would seek to maximize would then be related to how they could reach this goal. If they were at a point of time in the Levant, the values they would have sought to maximize would be connected to something like cooperation, equality and possibly democratic values. These values, together with the limitations, make the actor take a choice. The limitations in this case would be that their current location did not provide an opportunity for these values to flourish. The choice would then be to move to somewhere where these opportunities did exist: the Maghreb. As a result, the actor would become a part of a new social form as a Janissary in the corsair states.

3.1.4 The slaves as a motivation to become a corsair

The aspect of slavery in the corsair states might have been a legit reason for some individuals, or groups of people, to seek out a life as a corsair. Considering the scale of slavery in barbary, even though the numbers are incomplete, we can agree that the capture of slaves was big business. Capturing slaves and trading them on the markets were some of the corsairs' main activities, and were even, as stated by Davis, "state-directed expeditions". Therefore, going to the corsair states in order to be a part of these state-directed expeditions could be an 'external reason' for actors to go there, instead of, for example, being a privateer or pirate along the Atlantic coast.

Further, it has been shown that the purchase and selling of slaves was seen as an investment activity. Especially to the moors and renegades of Europe, buying slaves that could be worth a lot of money, such as captains or men of status, could function as an investment. Having a slave as a servant, moreover, could also be one of the motivations for someone to go to the corsair states as it could essentially heighten the luxury of a person's life.

Finally, the *galeotto* could be one of the reasons for a privateer, or other kinds of shipowners, to turn to barbary and become a corsair. By having slaves on the ship, the captain could free the crew from tasks that revolved around motoring the ship, and rather have them do more important tasks. The other element to this is that these slaves would essentially motor the ship for free, as they were forced to work themselves to death. Ironically, this would result in their captains having to go and capture more slaves. Free labor could be an 'internal reason' for the actor to go to the Maghreb, as it would probably be economically beneficial for the captain of the ship.

4.0 Conclusion

As mentioned in the introduction, my research question is *What motivated groups and individuals to become Barbary corsairs in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries?* The discoveries made in this thesis have allowed me to give answers to the research question. The answers contribute to a discussion around why someone chose to become a corsair, rather than provide conclusive evidence.

By using theory that seeks to explain someone's reason to act, and combining it with the theory that I have called *chain of action* that comes from sociology, I have through identifying an actor's goals been able analyze what could have been a possible reason for an actor to act in a certain way to achieve this goal. Identifying 'internal-' and 'external reasons' has helped me gain a better understanding concerning in what institution the actor seeks to maximize his values. Taking into consideration the historical context, it has also been possible to look at the actor's limitations. When we place all of these factors into the chain of action, it has given us an understanding as to how the actor may have thought and made choices in order to end up in his new social form, which is the result of the process that started with a goal. The use of these theories has not been able to give a definitive answer as to why someone chose to become a corsair. Rather, as mentioned earlier, it allows us to give possible reasons as to why someone might have chosen to do so, and the thesis is therefore contributing to the discussion.

The individuals and groups that became corsairs came from different backgrounds, and therefore they had different options and motivations in life. Firstly, the people in question had to make it to the Maghreb. Here the thesis has been able to identity two groups: those who travelled there voluntarily, and those who were forced to go there. Out of those who decided to travel to the Maghreb voluntarily, the thesis has looked at renegades from the Netherlands and England, Janissaries from the levant, and knights, barons and mercenary militia from Europe.

The knights, barons and mercenary militia that chose to travel to the Maghreb, represent a group whose goals we can assume were in some way connected to an 'economic institution', and they had to move to the Maghreb in order to maximize the values of that institution. In the Maghreb they could find employment, which served as an 'external reason' for going there. Their 'internal reason' for going there could be that they wished to earn money, and achieve economic safety. After looking at this group through the chain of action, and applying the 'internal-' and 'external reasons' to it, we could see how they reached their new social

form, which is being an employee in the Maghreb and achieving economic safety. It is then possible to conclude that this group sought to maximize the values of an 'economic institution', and they were therefore driven by economic factors.

The Janissaries who chose to travel to the Maghreb likely had a goal related to both an 'economic institution', and a 'social institution'. Because of their limitations, the Janissaries would need to move to the Maghreb in order to maximize the values of these institutions. In the Maghreb they could join the political structure of the corsair states and climb within that system, possibly becoming a member of the Divan council who ruled the city. They could also take different jobs and had the freedom to pursue personal crafts and trades. As the Janissaries came from different backgrounds, some might have "had to" leave the Levant in order to start a new life. The political structure, economic possibilities, as well as the freedom of the corsair states could for the Janissaries represent both 'internal reasons' and 'external reasons'. By looking at these motivations in order to identify the Janissaries' goals, we could also identify what kind of institution they sought to maximize. With the limitations that the Janissaries had in relation to reach this goal, we could understand how their choices were affected and how they finally reached their new social form, where they ended up in the corsair states. It is then possible to conclude that this group sought to maximize the values of an 'economic institution', a 'social institution', and perhaps even an institution related to freedom, which tells us that they were driven by economic factors, social factors and factors related to the freedom of choice.

The renegades of the Netherlands and England probably had a goal in relation to earning money. Their 'means to an end' was to travel to the Maghreb. Why they chose to do so could be that they wanted to earn money, and because of their limitations, they had to break with their current life in order to reach that goal. Also, traveling to the Maghreb was something they knew they could do, as they brough with them technology that they could teach and sell, making them welcome there. This technology also gave them an entry to a new market which the renegades wanted to utilize. These three factors represent 'external reasons' as to why the renegades of the Netherlands and England wanted to go there. When we looked at the renegades in the chain of action, we could, in the case of the renegade Henry Mainwaring, follow him on several chains. This is because we knew that his goals changed, and therefore we could follow the chain several times by identifying what institutions he sought to maximize. Based on his goals and values, we identified that the first institution was an

'economic institution'. The values in this institution, together with the actors limitations made him enter a new social form where he ended up becoming a pirate. In the next chain, his limitations were altered, and the new social form that the actor ended up in was that he went to the Maghreb and became a corsair. In the third chain, the goals of the actor had changed, and he sought to maximize the values of an 'institution of safety'. The actor was again under limitations that prevented him from reaching his goal, and therefore the limitations, together with the values of the new institution affected the choices that made him end up in a new social form where he travelled back home after being pardoned. Based on this analysis we can conclude that an actor over time could be driven by different goals. These goals led him into new institutions that he aimed to maximize the values of. It is therefore possible to conclude that the renegades of the Netherlands and England were opportunistic people who were driven by an 'economic institution'. It then appears that when their goals of economic gain were met, they got a new goal, and were then driven by an 'institution of safety', where they could return home and enjoy their riches.

Out of those who were forced to travel to the Maghreb, the thesis has looked at the Moors and Moriscos originating from Spain, and captured European slaves. The Moors and Moriscos who were expelled from the Spanish kingdoms during the Reconquista and 'the great expulsion' would both seek communities along the North African coast. For these actors, the coast and its opportunities, in the sense of what the sea could offer them, could represent an 'external reason' for going there. As the city of Rabat-Salé also had a political structure that was built up around corsairing, going there could also be an 'internal reason' for the actor in that they could seek to maximize the values of an 'economic institution'. Another factor to this was that the vengeful Moriscos enlist on a corsair ship and launch raids against their former kingdoms as acts of revenge. This would also serve as an 'internal reason', but also a 'nominative reason' for the Moriscos. After being expelled from their homeland, their goal would probably be to get to somewhere they could be safe and were able to make a living. In that sense, the groups probably wanted to maximize the values of a 'community institution'. By looking at the goals they set themselves, this made them seek to maximize the values in the 'community institution'. Together with the different limitations that affected them, their choices led them into a social form that was a community along the North African shore. It is therefore possible to conclude that these actors were driven by factors related to economic gain and safety within a community. However, we can also argue that they were driven by emotional factors in regard to the vengeance they felt towards the Spanish kingdoms. The

community along the north African shore would also let them get an outlet for their vengeful emotions.

The aspect of slavery along the North African coast could represent both an 'external reason' and 'internal reason' for other groups who chose to go to the Maghreb. The structure around slavery, that resulted, as stated by Davis, in "state-directed expeditions" would draw actors who sought to maximize economic values to the Maghreb. The existence of this opportunity could be an 'external reason', while the possibilities and uses for the slaves could be an 'internal reason'. It is possible to conclude that the aspect of slavery made the North African coast a lucrative region for corsairs who sought to maximize values related to an 'economic institution'.

The conclusion to this thesis is that the different actors who ended up in communities or structures that allowed them to become corsairs came from many different backgrounds. Their goals were different, their starting points were different, and their options and possibilities were different as well. Their approach would then vary. However, their 'means to an end' was often similar in that they travelled to the North African coast, even though this did not happen in the same way. The difference in their starting points and goals led them to have different 'internal-' and 'external reasons', for going to the north African coast. This tells us something about what kind of institutions they sought to maximize the values of, and therefore what motivated them to become corsairs.

The motivations that we have discovered have been many, but clearly economic motivations played a large part. Corsairing was undoubtfully economic lucrative, especially because of the slave aspect that was present in the Maghreb. Out of those who chose to go to the North African coast voluntarily, it seems that most of them were motivated by the prospects of economic gain. Other motivations were also discovered, such as the possibilities for social mobility, different aspects of safety, for example economic safety or shelter, and personal freedom. For those who were forced to go to the North African coast, it is perhaps only the Moors and Moriscos that can be argued to have had concrete motivations to become corsairs. After being expelled from Spain, basic needs had to be covered first, and therefore it can be argued that they were driven by the motivation to find a community where they could be safe, as well as giving them the economic foundation to survive. This group could in theory choose to join any community where these factors existed. However, a reason to why they ended up in a city like Rabat-Salé is because it had a political structure built up around corsairing which

could fulfill the Moriscos wish for revenge against their former kingdom. Therefore we can argue that the Moriscos were emotionally motivated to join the corsairs as well. While the Moors who had lived in Rabat-Salé longer and developed the structure around corsairing were probably motivated by the economic gain that was possible from that port because of its geographical position.

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