PIRACY AND CAPTIVITY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

1550–1810

Edited by
Mario Klarer
Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean

*Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean* explores the early modern genre of European Barbary Coast captivity narratives from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. During this period, the Mediterranean Sea was the setting of large-scale corsairing that resulted in the capture or enslavement of Europeans and Americans by North African pirates, as well as of North Africans by European forces, turning the Barbary Coast into the nemesis of any who went to sea.

Through a variety of specifically selected narrative case studies, this book displays the blend of both authentic eyewitness accounts and literary fictions that emerged against the backdrop of the tumultuous Mediterranean Sea. A wide range of other primary sources, from letters to ransom lists and newspaper articles to scientific texts, highlights the impact of piracy and captivity across key European regions, including France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Scandinavia, and Britain, as well as the United States and North Africa.

Divided into four parts and offering a variety of national and cultural vantage points, *Piracy and Captivity in the Mediterranean* addresses both the background from which captivity narratives were born and the narratives themselves. It is essential reading for scholars and students of early modern slavery and piracy.

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*1550–1810*  
*Edited by Mario Klarer*
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of Cervantes and fellow slave in Algiers (*An Early Modern Dialogue with
Islam*, University of Notre Dame Press, 2011), and is currently working
on a complementary volume, an NEH-funded translation of Antonio de
Sosa’s *Epítome de los reyes de Argel*. 
In the early modern period, the Mediterranean Sea was the setting of large-scale corsairing that resulted in the capture or enslavement of Europeans and Americans by North African pirates as well as North Africans by European forces. This historical phenomenon turned the so-called Barbary Coast—a pejorative but widely used term for the city-states of Tripoli, Algiers, and Tunis under Ottoman rule, and the independent sultanate of Morocco—into the nemesis of any European who went to sea between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Knights of Malta as the most pronounced force on the Christian side—together with the slave markets in Livorno, Malaga, Marseille, and Malta—epitomized piracy and captivity for the Muslim world. Both players, the Barbary corsairs and their Christian counterparts, embodied the risk of pirate attacks and enslavement for anybody who went to sea or inhabited coastal regions of the Mediterranean basin at this time.

The activities of the North African privateers not only affected the lives of thousands of Europeans—including burghers of landlocked cities such as Augsburg in Bavaria or inhabitants of remote Iceland, which fell victim to pirates in 1627—but also impacted American citizens during the early Republic. When diplomacy failed to protect American sailors against North African pirates, the young United States founded the U.S. Navy and was able to decide this conflict in its favor through military action. The Barbary Wars and European colonialism in Africa in the early nineteenth century with the French occupation of Algiers in 1830 marked the end of centuries-long corsairing.

Piracy and captivity in the Mediterranean were, of course, as old as seafaring itself. Even the earliest specimens of Western literature, for example, Homer’s *Odyssey*, report incidents of piracy and land raids as well as ensuing captivity. In the Roman Republic piracy in the eastern Mediterranean became such a threat to traffic and commerce that even Julius Caesar fell into the hands of Cilician pirates, was held hostage, and regained his freedom only after paying a high ransom. Immediately after his release, Caesar gathered forces and took cruel revenge on the very pirates who had abducted him. But Mediterranean pirates in antiquity were also subject to large-scale, semi-public operations, most notably by Pompeius, who earned considerable renown after successfully curbing eastern Mediterranean piracy in the first century before Christ.
Although piracy remained an issue throughout the Middle Ages, it once again became a major threat as well as a global economic enterprise with the dawn of the early modern period. Modern North African corsairing in particular, and the rise of privateering in the Mediterranean in general, were intricately interwoven with the Barbarossa brothers, two sea captains from the island of Lesbos, who successfully took possession of Algiers and Tunis in the first decades of the sixteenth century. The younger brother especially, Chaireddin Barbarossa, became the major figure in Mediterranean piracy and the main antagonist of Christian naval forces (see Figure 0.1). By nominally positioning himself and the newly controlled territories in North Africa under the protection of the High Port, Barbarossa was able to back up his position through the support of the Ottoman Empire. The rise of the North African corsairs immediately prompted reactions by Christian forces, culminating in various large-scale operations by the Habsburgs. For example, in 1535 Emperor Charles V conquered Tunis with an enormous fleet, led by Andrea Doria (Figure 0.2), followed by a disastrous and unsuccessful siege of Algiers in 1541.

Although in the European imagination piracy and privateering throughout the early modern period is mostly connected to North African pirates, it was a bilateral phenomenon that was carried out by both North African and European forces. In particular, the Christian Knights of Malta were key players who preyed on Turkish and North African vessels, thereby enslaving thousands of Muslims and trading them on the slave markets in Malta, Marseille, Malaga, or Livorno, which structurally resembled those of Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, or Salé.

Especially the human cargo turned out to be extremely sought after by these state-protected pirates or privateers. Unlike transatlantic slavery, which was mostly based on plantation labor, it was ransom for Christian captives that drove the North African slavery system. On the Christian side, a large number of captives from North Africa were destined to serve as galley rowers. However, the status of slaves—as all victims of pirate abduction were referred to in contemporary sources—was a fluid one. Their fate in North Africa as well as in Europe could oscillate between being held as hostages for ransom, exploited as galley rowers, or employed as house slaves who had to perform manual labor in various contexts.

However, the major share of revenues in this slave economy, especially in North Africa, derived from ransom payments. This flow of cash was funneled through a number of diplomatic and political, as well as formal and informal, channels. In early modern Europe, we find two major models for ransoming slaves from Muslim captivity. One was the Catholic confraternity system, in which specific monastic orders specialized in ransoming slaves from Ottoman or North African captivity. The Trinitarian and Mercedarian friars collected alms in order to finance the ransom of Catholic slaves from North Africa or other Muslim regions. At times, the redemption of slaves went hand-in-hand with large orchestrated processions of the newly freed
Figure 0.1 Portrait of Chaireddin Barbarossa (c. 1478–1546), Turkish naval commander and privateer

Source: Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck. KHM-Museumsverband.
Figure 0.2 Portrait of Andrea Doria (1468–1560), Genoese admiral
Source: Schloss Ambras, Innsbruck. KHM-Museumsverband.
slaves (see Figure 0.3). On these occasions hundreds of former captives had to parade through major European cities wearing chains and their North African slave outfits for maximum emotional response by the spectators. These events were an integral part of the orders’ continuous campaigning to generate alms for the future ransom of slaves.

On the Protestant side, which lacked the monastic order system, so-called *Sklavenkassen* (“slave banks”) guaranteed the ransom of sailors from the hands of North African pirates. This system developed in particular in the Hanseatic region, most prominently in the city of Hamburg. The *Sklavenkassen* were the first social security insurances in early modern Europe; and although they could not limit the risk of falling prey to North African corsairs, they guaranteed efficient and speedy returns of sailors to their home-towns in the event of captivity.

North Africa lacked institutionalized ransoming organizations resembling the Catholic orders or the Protestant insurance system. However, this did not prevent local rulers or private individuals from intervening on behalf of Muslim captives in European hands. A limited number of documents have survived that corroborate the existence of large-scale ransoming operations that North African diplomats and envoys successfully carried out in Spain or other European countries.

Scholarship is divided over the exact number of persons that were subject to this form of captivity or slavery in the Mediterranean basin during the early modern period. Robert C. Davis (2003) represents the high end of the spectrum by calculating over one million individuals in North African

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*Figure 0.3* Pierre Dan, *Historie van Barbaryen, En des zelfs Zee-Roovers* (1684); f. 59
Source: Mario Klarer.
Introduction

captivity for the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. But even more cautious estimates by Gerald MacLean (2007) of several hundred thousand European slaves captured by Muslim corsairs for this timeframe are impressive enough to drive home the dimension of this phenomenon. Possible numbers for North African victims who fell into Christian hands are even harder to deduce. However, the several thousand Muslim slaves that are mentioned in the few surviving ransom documents by North African envoys suggest that the number of human captives must have been relatively balanced between Orient and Occident.

The reason why the fate of Europeans in North African captivity dominates scholarship derives only in part from a Eurocentric bias. The prevalence of European captivity narratives stems largely from the uneven distribution of surviving documents. In my research I was able to collect more than one hundred European captivity narratives in almost all European languages, ranging from Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, German, Dutch, Polish, Danish, Swedish, and English to Icelandic, to name only the most prominent ones. From the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century, the Barbary captivity narrative almost adopted the status of an autobiographical genre, oscillating between authentic eyewitness account and literary fiction. The European Barbary captivity narrative is the focus of my primary text anthology *Christian Slaves among Islamic Pirates: An Anthology of Barbary Coast Captivity Narratives — 1550–1810*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York: Columbia University Press, 2019). It brings together in English translation a cross-section of major examples of European Barbary captivity narratives in a variety of different languages, thus making a diverse and pan-European type of narrative available to international readers for the first time.

These European eyewitness reports were closely interwoven with Christian notions of spiritual self-stylization, on the one hand, and the economic interests of book publishers and redemption organizations, on the other. All these diverse factors—some of which the essays of this collection discuss in great detail—are responsible for the European perspective on slavery in the early modern period and thereby completely outweigh comparable sources on the North African side. Nevertheless, an emerging body of scholarship has devoted painstaking archival work to unearth North African documents in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish that complement and relativize the uneven—i.e., predominantly European or Christian—perspective on this bilateral phenomenon.

In addition to the widespread quasi-genre of the European Barbary captivity narrative proper, numerous other documents shed light on Mediterranean piracy and slavery. Major sources constitute letters by captives, diplomats, ransomers, or relatives of hostages, texts that circulated widely across the Orient and the Occident throughout the early modern period. Other documents include ransom lists—especially the ones produced by the Catholic orders who specialized in liberating captives, such as the Trinitarians or Mercedarians. These official, often printed, ransom catalogs
constituted an important means of advertising the orders’ successful activities. On the Protestant side, as Magnus Ressel (2012) has shown in his monograph, archival documents pertinent to the “slave banks” are most valuable sources for reconstructing ransoming processes and insurance activities in Protestant Northern Germany. In addition to these archival sources, newspaper articles, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, shed light on piracy and captivity from a European public perspective.

On the North African side, documents are less abundant or nonexistent. The reasons are diverse: first of all, Muslim practice differed dramatically with respect to the production of autobiographical narratives as a religiously motivated genre, as Nabil Matar demonstrates in the concluding essay to this collection. In addition to the theological dimension, the dissemination of all text types in North Africa during the early modern period could not rely on a widely available print culture, as was the case in Europe at the time. Despite the fact that official ransom lists are not common documents in North African archives, the overall scale of ransom or exchange of North African captives from European hands can be deduced from some of the testimonies of Muslim ransomers and diplomats. The same is true for select letters by captives to North African rulers asking for support in the ransom process. Conversely, royal letters from North Africa on behalf of Muslim captives reached European courts.

This collection of critical essays investigates the wide range of Mediterranean piracy and captivity in the early modern period by focusing on a large number of discourses and text types, including some of the sources mentioned above. However, it cannot do full justice to the genre-like European Barbary captivity narrative proper. In order to account for these narratives, as well as the literary transformations prompted by these eyewitness accounts, the essays in the companion volume, *Mediterranean Slavery and World Literature: Captivity Genres from Cervantes to Rousseau*, ed. Mario Klarer (New York: Routledge, 2019), focus specifically on text types that are responsible for the representations of Mediterranean piracy and Barbary captivity in popular European literature and media.

In contrast to the collection focusing on the literary dimensions, the essays in this edited volume focus on the early modern phenomenon of Mediterranean piracy and captivity in general, relying on select case studies from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. I have taken care to select essays by experts on a variety of European regions, including France, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Scandinavia, and Britain, but also the United States and North Africa, to shed light on the phenomenon from diversified national and cultural vantage points. However, a number of essays also map out the larger background before which the discourses surrounding specific events or phenomena evolved, including legal theory, redemption documents, authentic and fictional captivity narratives, scholarly and scientific texts, as well as theological, biographical, and diplomatic Muslim sources on piracy and slavery in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish.
Introduction

Contributions

Part 1: Labor and Law

The essays in the first section of the collection sketch out the setting in which Barbary piracy and captivity evolved or tended to be conceptualized in the European and American imagination. The spectrum spans shifts in the economy of the early modern period to its interdependence on human trafficking, the necessity to legitimize pirates for economic and political goals, and the problematic terminological and conceptual status of captives in this early modern North African economy. Based on cases from three centuries of corsairing and human trafficking in and out of Northern Africa, involving parties on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea and the Atlantic Ocean, the essays map the temporal and geographical spread of this early modern phenomenon.

Trading identities

An early, possibly the first, European Barbary captivity narrative is Balthasar Sturmer’s *Verzeichnis der Reise* (1558), written by hand in German. His account is remarkable in that Sturmer himself adopts all the major roles in this early modern theater of trade, piracy, and human exchange. Sturmer, a merchant’s son, enlists on a Christian pirate ship after selling a shipload of wheat for his father in Lisbon. He then falls victim to Turkish pirates and is forced to fight as a Turkish slave against fellow Christians during Emperor Charles V’s siege of Tunis in 1535. He later has the option to become a slaveholder and eventually returns to his original profession as a merchant.

My discussion of Sturmer’s detailed adventures as a merchant, pirate, slave, and slaveholder in the 1530s serves well as the opening essay to this collection on piracy and captivity in the early modern Mediterranean. Despite Sturmer’s idiosyncratic and unique experiences, his account touches upon the major themes pertinent to European and North African piracy and slavery in the centuries to come. I give ample space to Balthasar Sturmer’s own voice, thus providing the reader with a firsthand impression of the different themes or aspects the volume’s subsequent chapters raise in greater detail. Sturmer’s confession-like memoirs negotiate and amalgamate the main ingredients of early modern Mediterranean corsairing and slavery, revolving around questions of identity, alterity, and hybridity, but most prominently the intersection of religion and economy—all of which the contributions to this volume discuss widely.

Unkind dealings

European captivity narratives depicting events in North Africa—what was then referred to as the Barbary Coast—conspicuously embed real-life experiences in a religiously motivated framework. Depending on whether the
victim was Protestant or Catholic, autobiographical testimonies of captivity used slavery as a simile or metaphor for hell, purgatory, God's miraculous workings, Christ-like suffering, or as a manifestation of divine predestination. However, this overall religiously coded surface at times permits glimpses into different, though less foregrounded, dimensions that fuel the Barbary captivity genre from within, namely early modern economic discourses.

Daniel Vitkus, the expert on British Barbary captivity narratives, looks behind this veneer of religion and real-life storytelling in this early modern genre. By linking slavery, captivity, and ransom processes to early modern pillars of capitalism and globalized economies, Vitkus lays bare a hitherto widely neglected kernel of the emerging genre of captivity narratives. His case in point is one of the earliest printed specimens of British accounts from North Africa, Richard Hasleton's 1595 narrative of his threefold captivity. The Protestant Hasleton “escaped” from Algerian pirates, ended up in the hands of the Spanish in Mallorca, and fled from the clutches of the Inquisition back to Algiers, from where he was eventually ransomed with money from a British entrepreneur.

Vitkus’s close reading of Hasleton’s overtly religiously coded captivity narrative unlocks a hidden economic deep structure inherent in Barbary captivity narratives in general. The seemingly idiosyncratic British case of Hasleton thus turns into a paradigmatic model for interpreting captivity narratives within an economic framework in a variety of national contexts throughout the early modern period.

Ambivalences of recognition

In the same way Daniel Vitkus argues for an economic backdrop before which early modern Mediterranean piracy and captivity evolved, Walter Rech retraces the legal frameworks for conceptualizing Barbary corsairs in theories of international law. The necessity of legal decision-making with respect to the goods captured by as well as goods captured from pirates, together with the political legitimizations of actions taken against the Barbary States, prompted two opposing strands of legal reasoning from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Either Barbary pirates received the legal status of state enemies (hostes) or were degraded to simple thieves (piratae, latrones), who were situated outside international legal standards.

Whereas older theories of international law tended to elevate Barbary corsairs to the legal status of legitimate enemies within the rules and regulations of international warfare, their status mostly changed into that of a barbaric Other, which lost its standing as a quasi-legal entity in international relations from the mid-eighteenth century onward. This shift is deeply rooted in the political and economic circumstances that required or facilitated either position. For example, by granting pirates official enemy status, the booty of corsairs could be considered to be in the pirates’ possession legally and thus could be acquired through purchase or capture by third parties without running the risk of having to restitute the goods to the original owners.
Toward the end of the eighteenth century, political powers, such as the early United States, utilized contrary lines of argumentation in order to engage in military conflicts with North African states on the grounds of their lack of equal standing in terms of international law. This binary and gradual succession of “accommodating” versus “realist” positioning deeply reflects the overall attitude toward North African pirates in the systems of Western international law and, by extension, the larger European imagination of the Muslim Other.

“Free, unfree, captive, slave”

While Walter Rech retraces the legal status of the pirate as one major agent in human trafficking in the early modern period, Peter Mark’s chapter on late sixteenth-century Morocco investigates the terminological and official standing of captives, slaves, hostages, and free laborers in this economy of human exchange. Mark’s case is António de Saldanha, a Portuguese nobleman who fell into Moroccan hands in 1578 and spent fourteen years as a captive in the vicinity of the Moroccan Sultan Ahmed al-Mansur. Saldanha’s narrative sheds light on the fluidity of terminology and status of “human resources” in the early modern Maghreb. Mark pinpoints the different degrees between free versus unfree labor in the kingdom of Morocco as well as the repercussions of this economy on the status of “imported” free guest workers from Europe. The specific logic of the then newly-established armament industry by Ahmed al-Mansur serves as a paradigmatic case in point for economies that blur clear-cut boundaries between free and unfree labor in early modern North Africa in general. Mark thus delves into questions concerning the terminological labeling of victims of North African pirate attacks or land raids through a close reading of a very specific historical incident in the aftermath of the disastrous defeat of the Portuguese army in Morocco in the Battle of Alcazar in 1578.

Part 2: Home and Hybridity

Similar to the first set of essays—all of which focus on larger questions concerning terminological fluidity when denoting the major structural agents, including captors versus captives or free versus unfree laborers—the next group of contributions also highlight concepts of hybridity. The investigations circle around various notions of individual belonging, such as conscientious religious choice, ambivalence of identity, and cultural or economic crossovers.

“Renegades”

One of the most obvious manifestations of cultural fluidity with respect to the actors in Mediterranean piracy and captivity is the figure of the renegade.
The convert or the apostate played an important historical role, both on the captors’ as well as the captives’ sides, and thus advanced as a trope in the literature and the stage of the early modern period. By exploring the modes of representation of renegades in American texts of the 1790s, including both literary and authentic narratives of captivity, Anna Diamantouli pinpoints religious and cultural transformations in a crucial moment of U.S. identity formation in the Early Republic. Characterized by the tension between the United States and North Africa, which will soon culminate in the Barbary Wars, the figure of the renegade becomes an avatar of possibilities or alternatives for individual and national self-fashioning. By juxtaposing the literary transformations of the renegade figure in fiction with authentic descriptions of converts in personal memoirs and eyewitness accounts, Diamantouli sketches a picture of cultural hybridity oscillating between literary stereotypes and individual experiences. Although Diamantouli uses a corpus of texts restricted to the decade of the 1790s, her findings, nevertheless, touch upon the general roles assigned to religious converts in Barbary narratives and popular media of earlier centuries.

Identity crises of homecomers from the Barbary Coast

Hybridity does not necessarily manifest itself through straightforward apostasy or religious conversion as in the case of the renegade. As Robert Spindler’s chapter demonstrates, cultural ambivalence is an issue in most captives’ accounts, even in texts by those who remained faithful to the Christian religion. Especially in the case of captives who were abducted at an early age, i.e., before or during puberty, the re-acculturation process after returning to their European home communities could prove as problematic as falling into North African bondage. Using a number of cases from different European national and cultural backgrounds, Spindler highlights mechanisms of acculturation and re-acculturation that escape clear-cut notions of captor versus captive and identity versus alterity. In his close readings of select authentic European Barbary captivity narratives, Spindler indirectly fleshes out key terms of recent cultural theory, such as “ambivalence,” “hybridity,” and “mimicry” in these texts. By placing captives’ autobiographical reflections on acculturation in the context of research on post-traumatic stress management, Spindler is able to compile a set of decisive factors in early modern identity formation and reformation.

“Arab speculators,” states, and ransom slavery in the Western Sahara

Christine Sears’ chapter on the fate of the American Capt. James Riley and his fellow crew members in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1815 widens the scope of this section of the volume, geographically as well as temporally. Although Sears investigates larger economic and trade-related aspects of captivity and ransoming strategies that are not directly concerned with Barbary Coast or
Mediterranean captivity and ransom activities per se, her chapter pinpoints the diverse nature of redeeming mechanisms in North Africa. The case of Capt. Riley and his crew illustrates the mechanisms that govern the trade of captives in a region outside the sphere of influence of the kingdom of Morocco. Sears minutely retraces the well-documented steps of Capt. Riley and his men from the initial shipwreck off the coast of Africa, their fall into the hands of local tribes, the systematic exchange of the captives between several owners, and their final ransom in Mogador. The chapter elucidates a larger logic that involves several structural agents in this economy of captivity and ransom—a procedure that was fundamentally different from the state-governed ransoming processes in the so-called Barbary States. The Sub-Saharan economy of exchange was based on individual initiatives on both sides, i.e., the African captors as well as European captives were individually vested in the ransoming process. Sears provides valuable insight into a slave economy that did not follow the well-known North African piracy or corsair trajectory, but rather relied on locals who salvaged shipwrecks off the coast of Sub-Saharan Africa as well as traded or bartered the stranded sailors. This mutual cooperation of captors and captives guaranteed their respective goals—economic gain on the captors’ and redemption on the captives’ sides. The Riley case thus exemplifies a hitherto neglected form of North African captivity and redeeming practice outside of the Mediterranean basin.

Part 3: Diplomacy and Deliverance

The degree of acculturation into foreign settings, the decision to convert to another religion, and the success of reintegrating into one’s home culture depended on a number of factors. The next group of chapters explores some of these concepts, which so decisively shaped the individual and collective experiences of early modern captives. The spectrum included modes of communication by slaves to initiate a possible liberation, formal and informal diplomatic channels, as well as institutionalized ransoming organizations. Once again, the cases range from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, adopting the perspective of both captives and captors, as well as that of Europeans and North Africans.

Michael Heberer: A prisoner of the Ottoman navy

Piracy, captivity, diplomacy, and redemption constitute an intricately interwoven network of forces—even in the oldest surviving captivity narratives in the early modern period. An extraordinary example is the 1610 German narrative by Michael Heberer. As a volunteer on a Maltese galley that preyed on Turkish vessels in the Eastern Mediterranean, Heberer fell into Alexandrian captivity and spent three years as a galley rower before he was ransomed out of Constantinople. Heberer’s narrative expounds the bilateral
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phenomenon of piracy or privateering, both on the Christian as well as on the Muslim side; gives insight into the political conditions, culture, and religion of the Ottoman Empire; and, last but not least, permits glimpses into the personal life of a prisoner. However, it also documents late sixteenth-century diplomacy with respect to ransoming captives—in this particular case, mostly failed diplomacy. Numerous letters and personal meetings testify to Heberer’s personal initiative to bring about his liberation and highlight diplomatic venues available to a slave at the time.

Piracy, diplomacy, and cultural circulations in the Mediterranean

Diplomacy is also the subject of Khalid Bekkaoui’s analysis of the exchange of material objects—mostly gifts—between the kingdom of Morocco and Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The exchange spanned a wide range of commodities, including exotic animals, items of everyday use as well as technical machinery, and, to a certain extent, objectified human “trophies.” Hinging on individual personae, such as the so-called renegada queens in the harem of the Moroccan emperor, these gifts’ idiosyncratic traits reflected larger mechanisms of an early modern exchange of commodities across cultural divides. These material objects when seen in the context of cultural exchange adopt a discursive dimension reminiscent of Bruno Latour’s “parliament of things.” Bekkaoui’s painstaking catalog of gift exchange from a predominantly North African vantage point offers a privileged perspective of cultural crossover and appropriation processes on a bilateral level. He manages to trace a multitude of diplomatic channels connecting Europe and the Maghreb, all of which at times intersected with the ransom or exchange of captives.

Confraternity models in the “redemption of slaves” in Europe

These diverse diplomatic channels of communication facilitated a wide array of ransoming efforts and exchanges of captives on both sides—from Muslim North Africa and from Christian Europe. Andrea Pelizza’s chapter demonstrates how complex and, above all, how dependent on denominational as well as political factors ransoming processes were within Europe. Using Catholic redemption organizations in the Republic of Venice and the City of Bruges as two religiously similar but in their political interconnectedness fundamentally different structural entities, Pelizza delineates the scope and limits of institutionalized ransoming. In addition to relying on a rich corpus of textual documents, Pelizza also introduces paintings that the respective organizations commissioned in order to stress their distinct structures on levels of visual self-fashioning and self-representation. Despite focusing on these two select confraternities, Pelizza also outlines the larger ramifications of Protestant versus Catholic institutional liberation practices in general.
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Part 4: Oppositions and Otherness

The exchange of humans and objects across the religious and cultural divides that separated Europe from North Africa was not solely restricted to material items or ransom. On the contrary, voluntary and involuntary traffic between cultures also resulted in representations of the Other in a variety of media and contexts. The last set of chapters delve into questions of stereotyping and coming to terms with Otherness in early modern Mediterranean piracy and captivity. Although we expect these representations to run primarily along the binary of Islam versus Christianity, some of these discourses escape the opposition of Europe versus North Africa and negotiate inner European tensions, as in, for example, denominational frictions within Europe before and during the religious wars of the seventeenth century. At the same time, the confrontation with the religious Other that North Africans experienced in European captivity produced documents that function as a lever to put cultural and religious attitudes toward captivity into a new perspective and also explain reasons for the development or absence of certain text types in respective cultures.

Khayr al-Din Barbarossa

Texts about piracy and captivity intentionally or unintentionally celebrate Otherness on various levels, the relativity of which becomes most apparent when we have parallel sources on one incident or acting agent. This is the case with respect to the most important player in Mediterranean piracy in the sixteenth century, Chaireddin Barbarossa, who was largely responsible for the rise of the North African city-states of Algiers and Tunis. He embodied a major threat to European sea trade and functioned as the personification of Muslim privateering and human trafficking in the Mediterranean. Chaireddin Barbarossa established North African privateering as a major economic force aimed against Europe, while at the same time, when opportune, his fleet supported the French king in a war against Spain. His official sixteenth-century biography, Gazavat-ı Hayrettin Paşa, by Seyyid Muradi Reis, documents economic aspects of Mediterranean piracy and slavery as well as inner-European conflicts from an Ottoman perspective. A copy of Muradi's sixteenth-century manuscript was “captured” by the Spaniards from an Ottoman ship in the Battle of Lepanto (1571) (see Figure 0.4) and brought back to Spain, where it was translated by an Ottoman slave into Castilian under Emperor Philip II in the second half of the sixteenth century. Therefore, the manuscript is in itself an item of intercultural exchange, including piracy, slavery, and the transmission of commodities as well as translation across cultural and religious boundaries in the early modern Mediterranean.
Diana de Armas Wilson juxtaposes the sixteenth-century biography of Barbarossa by the Ottoman chronicler Muradi with the biographical sketches by Antonio de Sosa, a Spaniard and fellow captive of Miguel de Cervantes in sixteenth-century Algiers. Sosa’s multivolume encyclopedic text is one of the earliest European sources on the role of Algiers as a major player and threat to European commerce and politics in the Mediterranean. In her parallel reading of these two roughly contemporaneous, but, culturally and politically speaking, opposing sources, Wilson relativizes stereotypical European depictions of Muslim piracy in general and Chaireddin Barbarossa in particular.

_A Huguenot captive in ‘Uthman Dey’s court_

Gillian Weiss also traces notions of Otherness, probing questions of a less obvious binary of religious opposition. She focuses on one of the most unique texts documenting Barbary captivity in the early modern period, the *Histoire chronologique*. This two-volume, eleven-hundred-page manuscript from the year 1605 is one of the two surviving accounts of Tripolitan captivity and thus