Johanna Tóth

THE MUSLIMS OF ALGIERS IN ANTONIO DE SOSA'S *TOPOGRAPHIA, E HISTORIA GENERAL DE ARGEL* (1612)

MA Thesis in Comparative History, with a specialization
in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Central European University

Budapest

May 2013

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Johanna Tóth

(Hungary)

Thesis submitted to the Department of Medieval Studies,
Central European University, Budapest, in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Master of Arts degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies.

Accepted in conformance with the standards of the CEU.

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Chair, Examination Committee

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I, the undersigned, **Johanna Tóth**, candidate for the MA degree in Comparative History, with a specialization in Interdisciplinary Medieval Studies declare herewith that the present thesis is exclusively my own work, based on my research and only such external information as properly credited in notes and bibliography. I declare that no unidentified and illegitimate use was made of the work of others, and no part of the thesis infringes on any person's or institution's copyright. I also declare that no part of the thesis has been submitted in this form to any other institution of higher education for an academic degree.

Budapest, 20 May 2013

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Signature

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INTRODUCTION

After the conquest of Constantinople, the number of treatises about the "Turks" increased in great number; Carl Göllner listed 2463 editions and 500 writers, pamphlets, newssheets, memoirs, accounts, etc., which dealt with them.[1] The humanists of the era were lamenting on the great loss of the classical learning and blamed the "Turks" by calling them the "new barbarians," the enemy of civilization.[2] On the other hand, the new empire was of great interest to European polities, which gathered all kinds of information on the "enemy" threatening their borders and sent diplomats and spies to Ottoman territory. There were many "unofficial spies" who helped the information-gathering of the state – like captives and travelers. Because of these many channels through which the knowledge of the "religious other" arrived to Christendom – through people from different regions, of different education, with different aims of conveying information and mode of encountering the "Turk" (if there was an encounter at all) – information on the "Turks" greatly varied. While it is true that most of the writings conceived of the "Turks" (interchangeably used term was "Moors" and even "Saracens") as a homogenous group, with characteristics of being "infidel," "cruel," "sodomite," "barbarous," exceptions did exist. There were accounts that had a more nuanced view of the Muslims and could present a somewhat more complex picture. My argumentation goes along the lines of a recent scholarly debate that has emphasized this varied image of the Muslims in Europe.[3]

[1] Jeremy Lawrence, "Europe and the Turks in Spanish literature of the Renaissance and Early Modern Period," in *Culture and Society in Habsburg Spain. Studies Presented to R.W. Truman by his Pupils and Colleagues on the Occasion of his Retirement, RW Truman*, ed. by Nigel Griffin, et al. (London: Tamesis, 2001), 17.

[2] Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West, Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, c2004), 43.

[3] Scholarly works that argue for the presence of a more nuanced image of the "Turk" in European literature of the early modern era include David R. Blanks, "Western Views of Islam," in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St. Martin's Press: 1999), 11-53.; Daniel J. Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism, Representations of Islam in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Europe," in Blanks and Frassetto, *Western Views of Islam*, 207-231.; Bisaha, *Creating East and West*; Lucette Valensi, 'The Making of a Political Paradigm: The Ottoman State and Oriental Despotism," in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Anthony Grafton and

The early modern era was also a transformation period in the sense that the methods of talking about another culture changed at this time according to several factors. This era was a period of development of new perceptions, new ideas, new methods; religious and secular perceptions blended, more emphasis was put on empirical knowledge, there was a pronounced rise in curiosity for distant lands, travel literature, etc., all of which created conditions for accounts that depicted a surprisingly detailed and colorful picture of a Muslim society. With more systematic, even "scientific" methods which placed more importance on experience besides continuing to uphold the notions of *auctoritas*, and which urged "observers" to lose themselves in details, some were able to distinguish among different groups of Muslims, and discuss different "ethnic" and cultural groups inhabiting Muslim societies. These writings can be considered as early "anthropological" accounts in their focus, methods and depth. Such is the source I analyze in this Master's thesis: Antonio de Sosa's *Topographia, e historia general de Argel* [Topography and General History of Algiers].

Antonio de Sosa was a Spanish subject of Portuguese origin, who held a considerably high position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Spanish monarchy. He was captured in 1577 by Muslim corsairs in Ottoman service.[4] Then he was kept in Algiers as a slave for four and a half years (1577-1581), at the same time as Miguel de Cervantes was there as well, when he managed to escape. De Sosa was very productive in his captivity: he read various books, had conversations with different kinds of people and wrote daily in his

Ann Blair (Philadelphia, 1990), 173-203.; Eric R. Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople, Nation, Identity, and Coexistence in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, c2006).

[4] The information about de Sosa is scarce. María Antonia Garcés' important research identified de Sosa as the author of this account, which was previously ascribed to Diego de Haedo, archbishop of Palermo. See her introduction to *Topography of Algiers, An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam*. For other background work on Sosa see also her book *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive's Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002), and George Camamis' *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977).

prison cell.[5] De Sosa's work *Topographia, e historia general de Argel* was published in 1612 in Valladolid under the name of Diego de Haedo, the Archbishop of Palermo.

De Sosa's work consists of five books, but in my thesis I am going to focus only on the first one, *Topography of Algiers*, which gives a colorful and detailed account of the city of Algiers, its geography, architecture, inhabitants, different groups of people and their customs, the different religions, military and governmental organization, etc. The book is important for several reasons. First of all because it was written about a city that was known as the "capital of the corsairs," which was a strong force that controlled the seas of the Western Mediterranean in this period. Algiers was also the capital of one of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, which sought and reached a certain amount of independence regarding its government. It was a Mediterranean city with a complex multi-cultural and multi-lingual society, an important trading centre about which not many accounts had been written. The importance of the book which I am going to study in the thesis is that it is a significant piece in the series of accounts of the sixteenth century written about the Muslims with an ethnographic sensibility in the sense that the author is mainly concerned with the inhabitants of the city and its surroundings, their everyday life, clothes, customs, characteristics, religious rites, etc. He gives account of the different "ethnic" and religious groups in every day contact with each other, the nature of their relationships and the boundaries between them. De Sosa's work is exceptional among early modern accounts on Muslims because of its detailed and nuanced depiction of the "ethnic" groups in a Muslim society, and because of the criteria of categorization of different identities that he employs.

In his account of "Turks," "Moors," renegades, and "Jews," de Sosa divides them into further subcategories – the "Turks" are divided into those from Anatolia and those from "Romania;" the "Moors" consist of the citizens (baldi), the Kabyles, the Zwawa, and

[5] The circumstances and space of mobility of the captives in the Ottoman Empire, which Algiers belonged to in the period, I am going to discuss in Chapter 2.

"Moors" from Spain; Jews could be from Spain, from Africa, etc. De Sosa basically divides these groups according to where they live or where they came from as well as their cultural characteristics (their religious rites and every day customs). In his account he detects differences between people in their customs, behavior, clothes and language. In an era when the category of the "Turk" typically applied to Muslims in general and was used interchangeably with "Moor," and when "Moor" could also refer "only" to Muslim of North Africa and/or Spain, de Sosa's categories were exceptionally nuanced and fundamentally new. He gives account of the diversity in the appearance of different groups of "Moors," describing one group as "partly white partly tan," the other "very dark brown," while on the stages of seventeenth-century England Shakespeare's Othello was still played by an actor with blackface.

It has to be noted, however, that the categories he uses are of a mixed nature; one cannot say they are clearly "ethnic." Neither are the boundaries of "identity" clear, as they were not clear in the era itself. Furthermore, these "ethnic," rather "ethno-religious" or "cultural" categories are not the same as today; and such early modern categories as "professional identity" or "regional" category of identity are also present in the text.[6] Hence, I do not want to project the modern understanding of Moors, Turks, etc., nor the category of "ethnicity" or "religious identity" of today, but I would like to study the text to see how these categories function in this particular account of de Sosa; what categories like "Turk" "Turk by profession," "Moor," etc., mean for him; how he conceives the Muslims of the Iberian peninsula; and what socio-cultural themes he chooses to relate and why.

The analysis of the culture of the people of Algiers and the categories of classification he uses place de Sosa in the series of those early modern writers who, getting into contact with an alien culture, wanted to observe, understand and give account of it by

[6] The problem of the different categories of identity will be discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

making the observed things comprehensible through setting up certain themes of inquiry[7] – to do the anthropologist's work. Humanism, European navigation, discovery of new lands, great curiosity for foreign lands and cultures, etc. contributed to the development of the genre of travel literature and the methodology of travel (*ars apodemica*), which set the pattern for the observation of foreign lands. The methodology and focus of some of these early modern writings was mainly the study of human diversity; as de Sosa, they put emphasis on the people, thus, they tended towards an ethnographical account.[8] As Joan-Pau Rubiés puts it, "The history of ethnography in travel writing can thus be written as the history of the emergence of a basic set of analytical categories, expressed in different genres and languages, and of the changes in emphasis and assumptions within those languages."[9]

In order to place de Sosa's work among other early modern anthropological treatises and to see how much his categorization is different and new, first, I am going to place de Sosa himself along with his account in a historical context. With particular attention to Algiers I will look at the events that determined political processes, and the writings of the intellectuals from this age of the "Turkish threat," specifically in the Western Mediterranean. I will also touch upon the notion of slavery in the Ottoman Empire and in Algiers to see the conditions in which de Sosa's and other captives' accounts were created. Then, in the second

[7] In the process of understanding of another culture (which cannot be done entirely) the "observer" draws similarities and diversities compared to his culture – contributing to a self-understanding, too, and represent the things in a setting of certain cultural themes as points of analysis. The historian of ethnography Greg Dening used a beach–island metaphor where the "observer" reaches the island of the "observed" and as he put it "he does not see the islander's colors or trees of the mountains. He sees his." (Cited in the introduction to Stuart B. Schwartz, *Implicit Understanding: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz (New York: Cambridge University Press: c1994), 2.) The observer can never comprehend the observed culture completely, as this border is not permeable; the phenomena he/she experiences in the alien culture have to be translated in order to be understood – if it is possible.

[8] See: Palmira Brummett, "Genre, Witness, and Time in the 'Book' of Travels," in *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, ed. Palmira Brummet and Andrew Colin Gow (Leiden, Brill: 2009), 2.; Joan-Pau Rubiés, *Travellers and Cosmographers, Studies in the Historyo f Early Modern Travel and Ethnology* (Aldershot: Ashgate Variorum, c2007); John Howland Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *Kroeber Anthropoligical Society Papers* 30 (1964): 1-19.; *Writing Culture, the Poetics and Politic of ethnography: a School of American Research Advance seminar*, ed. by James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1986).

[9] "Travel writing and ethnography," in Rubiés, *Travellers and cosmographers*, Part 1., IV, 21.

chapter I will give a cultural background for the work and the possible influences on the author, his application of contemporary ideas, methods of presentation, genres, and the emerging "ethnographic knowledge." I will place the work among the genres of travel literature and captivity accounts, as well as among the general and particularly "Iberian" perceptions of Muslims. My question here is where de Sosa's account stands in the series of productions of the emerging "ethnographic knowledge" of the age, how much he relies on his experience, and to what extent and in what sense we can talk about anthropology in this work.

There are several other questions to be taken into account, such as the purpose of writing, the audience, the sources that were used, its religious and political use, the narrative strategies, etc. As it is not feasible to compare de Sosa's to all the writings this era produced and the classics that he could have read, I will greatly rely on the secondary literature about the Western perception of Muslims, about early modern identity, early modern travel literature and early anthropology. Furthermore, I will compare his account to writings on Africa in the early modern age – mainly by Leo Africanus and Cervantes – and also some of those exceptional works that distinguished among Muslims. Nonetheless, I do not want to make a thorough comparative analysis but rather see how de Sosa perceived Islamic culture and what his categories of analysis were.

The first modern edition of the whole work (*Topographia e historia general de Argel*) was published in 1927-1929 by Ignacio Bauer y Landauer by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles.[10] The next edition came very late, and instead of the whole only one book was published in 1990: the *Diálogo de los Mártires* by Emilio Sola and José María

[10] Diego de Haedo, *Topografía e historia general de Argel*, ed. Ignaicio Lauer y Landauer (Madrid: Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, 1927-1929) 3 vols. Before that, and parts of the *Topography* was published in the Revue Africaine in 1870-1871 by Dr. Monnereau and Luois Adrien Berbrugger (Diego de Haedo, "Topographie et histoire générale d'Alger," trad. Dr. Monnereau and A. Berbrugger, *Revue Africcaine* 14 (1870): 364-375, 414-443, 490-519.) and the *Epítome de los reyes* was translated to French by H.D. Grammont

Parreno. In 2001, a critical edition of the first book, the *Topographia*, was published by María Antonia Garcés.[11] Apart from the introductions to these editions, George Camamis wrote about the work in his *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el siglo de oro*, and he made an important step, confirming that the author of the *Topography* is Antonio de Sosa and not Diego de Haedo, even if it was published in 1612 under de Haedo's name.[12] It was Garcés who made extensive research on de Sosa, offering indispensable information on the life of the author in her book *Cervantes in Algiers* and later, in the critical edition of the *Topographia*. Emilio Sola and José F. de la Peña also worked with the *Topography* as a source in their book entitled *Cervantes y la Berbería* for the delineation of the historical context and the main actors in the Western Mediterranean, Barbary and Algiers in the sixteenth century; and their work is also important as a witness of Cervantes' life and work.[13] Their introduction to the text is a thorough analysis of the author, his work, the text and its importance. The other two studies to mention were written by Lisa Voigt and Ana María Rodríguez Rodríguez, who emphasized the importance of the work as a source for the experience of captivity. They mainly look at how captives (and de Sosa) created identities in their work, how they defined their captors' as well as their own identity, and how captivity transformed the "self" in a changed circumstance and influenced the description of the "other." Rodríguez examined the manifestation of the moments of "*la confrontación con la diferencia*."[14] The neglect of the secondary literature regarding the work's ethnographic aspects is inexplicable, especially concerning de Sosa's representation of intra-Muslim

in 1881. (Diego de Haedo, *Histoire des rois d'Alger*, trad. Henri-Delmas de Grammont (Argel: Adolphe Jourdan, 1881.)

[11] Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*.

[12] George Camamis, *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el siglo de oro* (Madrid: Editorial Gredos, 1977.)

[13] Emilio Sola, José F. de la Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería, Cervantes, mundo turco-berberisco y servicios secretos en la época de Felipe II* (Spain. Fondo de Cultura Económica, c1995.)

[14] Lisa Voigt, *Writing Captivity in the Early Modern Atlantic, Authority in the Iberian and English Imperial Worlds* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, c2009); Ana María Rodríguez Rodríguez, "La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmanas en tres obras del siglo XVII: *Topographia e historia general de Argel*, *Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán* e *Historia de Mindanao y Joló*," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2007).

divisions of the Algerian society, which was an outstanding phenomenon among the contemporary works about the Muslims.

Chapter One
Antonio de Sosa and his *Topographia*

"...cuánto pasa en Argel sé, y aun lo escribo todo, día por día..."[15]

De Sosa's Life

Antonio de Sosa was Portuguese by birth, but it is supposed that he had taken Spanish citizenship some time before 1576.[16] He was a doctor of canon and civil law (*Doctor in utroque iure*) and a doctor of theology, which meant "a rare distinction in early modern Spain and Portugal,"[17] and thus a good chance for being employed in the high bureaucracy of the state.[18] Considering the strong competition for these posts, in order to gain a distinguished position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy one had to keep in close contact with the court. It seems that Sosa did so, because he received the position of vicar general[19] of the bishopric of Siracusa (Syracuse) and Catania in Sicily.[20] With the death of the bishop of Catania, on 28 March 1576, de Sosa lost his support and mentor, and he went to Rome. He wrote to Philip II asking for the position of dean and vicar general of the cathedral of Agrigento in Sicily, which was regarded as an outstanding post with a great income. On 26 October 1576, Philip II nominated him for the deanship,[21] but he could not take up his job because on his way to Sicily he was captured. In April 1577 three ships of the Order of Malta sailed from Barcelona to Valletta, Malta, with de Sosa with his family travelling on

[15] "I know everything that occurs in Algiers, and I even take it down completely, day by day." Cited and translated in Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 77.
[16] Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 60. As I have said in the Introduction, information on de Sosa's life is scarce, his date and exact place of birth is unknown.
[17] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 68.
[18] Garcés (*Cervantes in Algiers*, 68) assumes that de Sosa studied either in Coimbra or at the University of Salamanca, as it was favored by Portuguese students.
[19] A vicar general was appointed by the bishop as his deputy. If the bishop was absent, the vicar general was allowed to exercise ordinary jurisdiction: Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 59.
[20] It is sure that Bishop Juan Orozco de Arce, who appointed de Sosa as vicar, was elevated to the bishopric in December 1562. Ibid., 58-59.
[21] Ibid., 60. According to the fact that the duke of Terranova, president of the kingdom of Sicily, wrote a recommendation for him (according to de Sosa) and according to the marginal notes of the secretary of the Council of Italy ("We have a very good report of Antonio de Sosa's person and letters [studies]"), de Sosa was regarded as a highly qualified and honorable person. Ibid., 59.

the *San Pablo*. The ships were crossing the channel between Malta and Sicily when a great storm separated them from the other ships. They took refuge on the island of San Pedro (near Sardinia) where they were attacked and captured on 1 April 1577 by a squadron of 12 galiots from Algiers under the leadership of the famous corsair Arnaut Mamí.[22] He took de Sosa to Algiers, the "corsair capital," as a captive along with his family and 290 other people, all of whom he sold as slaves. De Sosa spent four and half years in Algiers, between 1577 and 1581, in a small prison in the house of Mohammad, a Jewish renegade.[23] According to what he writes, he was treated badly by his master, and was kept alone in a dark, humid prison cell with chains on his legs. Sometimes he was sent out to public works, supposedly in order to make him write more begging letters to the Spanish king to pay his ransom, which must have been high because of de Sosa's high position.

In captivity de Sosa used his time reading and writing. He surrounded himself with books[24] in his prison cell:

> Ramírez: So, every time I come, must I find you occupied with books? Sosa: In a solitude like this, and in a prison so isolated from every talk and conversation that my master, this barbarian, keeps me, what better occupation is there than reading saintly and good books?[25]

[22] Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 41-42.; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 69. One of de Sosa' works, *Epítome de los reyes*, mentions the capture of the ship, and so does Cervantes in his drama *El trato de Argel* [Life in Algiers], which relates it through the discussion of the characters Zahara and Silvia. It is also interesting to note that Arnaut Mamí was also the one who captured Cervantes: Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 69.

[23] Ka'id Muhammad was in charge of the mint in Algiers; he had converted first from Judaism to Islam, then to Christianity, then to Islam again. De Sosa mentions him more times in his account – he lists among the *ka'ids* of Algiers and he writes about him in *Diálogo de la captividad*, but certainly he was model for the much negative depiction of Jews in de Sosa's text. See: Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 42-50.; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 77.

[24] According to the research of Garcés (and also according to some mentions by de Sosa himself) he read (in Algiers and/ or before) and used for his whole work Aristotle, Arrian, Galen, Herodotus, Hesiod, Plato, Ovid, Pliny, Justinian, Lucan, Cicero, Strabo, Polybius, Macrobius, Suetonius, Virgil, Thucydides, Tacitus, the Holy Scriptures, St. Paul, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Flavius Blondus, Paolo Giovio, Boccaccio, Pedro Mexía, Lorenzo Valla, Leo Africanus, Sebastian Münster, and others. Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 73.

[25] "Ramirez: De manera que ¿siempre que acá vengo le he de hallar ocupado en los libros? Sosa: En una soledad como ésta y en un encerramiento tan apartado de toda plática y conversación en que este bárbaro de mi patrón me tiene, ¿qué mejor ocupación que leer los libros santos y buenos?" Antonio de Sosa, *Diálogo de los Mártires de Argel*, eds. by Emilio Sola y José María Parreño (Madrid: Hiperión, c1990), 54.

De Sosa wrote about all the things and the people which surrounded him, the city of Algiers with its landscape and history, the people living in the city and around it, and the circumstances of Christian captives in Algiers. In spite of his incarceration his sources were not only books, but different kinds of people. De Sosa was in contact with the people of his master's household, and Christians visited him with their problems as he was a man of the church.[26] With Miguel de Cervantes, who became his best friend there, they discussed poetry and literature and also their literary productions written in captivity.

Cervantes was captured on the sea by the same pirate, Arnaut Mamí, and was in captivity in Algiers around the same time as de Sosa, between 1575 and 1580. In one of his books, *Diálogo de los Mártires*, de Sosa gives account on the second attempt of escape of Cervantes, who had shared the plans with de Sosa, and invited him to join them – which is a sign of great trust from Cervantes' part. In addition, de Sosa gave a testimony on the part of Cervantes after his being redeemed while de Sosa was still in captivity in 1580 (the testimony can be found in *Información de Miguel de Cervantes de lo que ha servido á S.M. y de los que ha hecho estando captive en Argel…*). De Sosa writes: "I was one of those with whom the said Miguel de Cervantes communicated many times and in much secrecy about the said business."[27] Their being in touch and discussing in their captivity appear in their texts in common topics and similar descriptions regarding certain phenomena in their works.[28]

[26] As his master Muhammad was a municipal officer of Algiers, his household was frequently visited by various people, so de Sosa could have a rich vision on the Algerian society. The people who visited de Sosa in his prison cell or conversed with him otherwise are present in his *Diálogos* (Jerónimo Ramírez, a slave of a Morisco renegade, Fray Antonio González de Torrez, a Knight of St. John and slave, Muhammed's son-in-law Ahmud, envoy of Mercederian monk Fray Jorge Olivar, etc.). Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 82.

[27] "yo fuy uno de los con que el dicho Miguel de Ceruantes comunicó muchas vezes y en mucho secreto el dicho negocio." *Información de Miguel de Cervantes de lo que ha servido á S.M. y de lo que ha hecho estando captivo en Argel…*transcription by Pedro Torres Lanzas (Madrid: José Estaban D.L., 1981), 157.

[28] Some of them will be indicated in the analysis of de Sosa's work in this thesis.

In July 1581 de Sosa managed to escape, which cost his master a huge amount of money.[29] He went first to Madrid, where a scandal broke out in 1582. First, he was accused of being an Augustinian friar who had fled from his order and pretended to be a lay priest (and thus obtained a prominent position as vicar general).[30] Moreover, it turned out that the woman with him on board was not his sister but his lover and presumably his "nephew" was his son. He was incarcerated in the Augustinian Convent of San Felipe and convicted in November 1582. The order sent him to Rome to the pope to ask for pardon, which he got eventually, along the punishment that he had to go back to Algiers and report on the conditions of Christians there. If de Sosa would have accomplished his punishment is not known because Hasan Pasha Veneziano, the governor of Algiers at the time, did not give him a safe conduct to travel there, so de Sosa could stay in safe in Christian lands.[31] The pope did not remove de Sosa from his office of dean and vicar general of the cathedral of Agrigento, which made Philip II angry and this poisoned the relationship further between the pope and the king.[32] Philip II insisted on removing de Sosa from the post, calling him apostate in his letters and accusing him of the worst possible charge – the intention of becoming Turk during his stay in Algiers. Despite of these continuous attempts and accusations de Sosa remained in his assigned post until his death in 1587.[33]

De Sosa's Work

De Sosa's work *Topographia, e Historia general de Argel* [Topography and General History of Algiers] contains three books; the first is the *Topograpy of Algiers*, which gives a colorful description of the city, its topography, government, and inhabitants; the second

[29] According to Garcés, the ransom for de Sosa and his family was fifteen hundred ducats, three times more than for Cervantes, see: Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 61. There is not much information on his escape; Garcés assumes that he escaped on a merchant ship, but before that he had ransomed his sister. According to his memorandum, his nephew died in Algiers. For more about the issues around his escape, see: Ibid., 62-66.
[30] An ordained friar cannot leave his order except with the pope's confirmation otherwise he becomes an apostate. Ibid., 66.
[31] Ibid., 67-69.
[32] There had been already a confrontation over the question of papal jurisdiction in Spanish lands. Ibid., 70.
[33] Ibid., 71.

book, *Epítome de los reyes de Argel* [The History of the King of Algiers], is a chronicle of the rulers of Algiers; the third book, called *Topographia* [Topography], contains two dialogues on captivity, *De la captividad* [On Captivity] and *De los mártires de Argel* [Of the Algerian Martyrs], and a theological discourse entitled *De los morabutos* [Of the Marabouts]. [34] The work was published in 1612, after de Sosa's death, in Valladolid under the name of Diego de Haedo, archbishop of Palermo.[35]

The whole title of the work is *Topography and General History of Algiers – Divided among Five Books, which will Exhibit Strange Cases, Horrific Deaths, and Extraordinary Tortures that Christianity Needs to Understand: with Copious Doctrine and Curious Elegance*.[36] This heading not only sets the topic of the account, but its main concerns and goals as well. First of all, the usage of terms "topography" and "history" refer to a holistic description of the city, not only city mapping but, in a broader sense: it was intended to present an account on its inhabitants and its culture. This is reflected how it is named in various others places, like in the appraisal (*Topography or Description of Algiers, Its Inhabitants, and Its Customs*) and in the approval of the court's designated censor and the king (*Topography and Description of the Things of Algiers, Its Events, and the Succession of*

[34] Here, I am using Garcés' division of the work. The first modern edition of the *Topographia*, which was published in 1927-29 by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Españoles, with the preface of Ignacio Bauer y Landauer provides another possibility of division: the first volume contains the *Topografía de Argel* and the *Epítome de los reyes*, the second the *Diálogo de la captividad* and the third the other two dialogues. Rodríguez, "La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmanas," 12.

[35] George Camamis and later María Antonia Garcés (in *Cervantes in Algiers* and later in *An Early Modern Dialogue*) confirmed that the author of the work was Antonio de Sosa; José María Parreño and Emilio Sola in their introduction to their edition of *Diálogo de los Mártires de Argel* also attest to this. About the assumptions on this issue, see more in: Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 72-78.; Camamis, *Estudios sobre el cautiverio*; Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 33.; Rodríguez, "La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmanas," 14. I will not give here a detailed explanation of why it was published under the name of Diego de Haedo, the archbishop of Palermo, whom de Sosa knew and had worked with after his captivity. One assumption of Garcés is that because of the scandal surrounded de Sosa's name it was not possible to publish his book under his name. He must have left his work with Diego de Haedo in Sicily, as Haedo was nominated to the bishopric of Agrigento in October 1584. De Sosa and Haedo worked together there at least two years. But the work was published much later, in 1614, long after Haedo and Philip II's death. It was published by Haedo's nephew, the younger Diego de Haedo. Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 72-76.

[36] *Topographia e historia general de Argel, repartida en cinco tratados, do se veran casos estraños, muertes espantosas, y tormentos exquisitos, que conviene se entiendan en la Christianidad: con mucha doctrina, y elegancia curiosa.* One has to take into account that the work could have undergone some editing by the Diego

Its Kings).[37] On the other hand, the title offers a description on the miseries of captives, as he claimed in some place: in order to let the world know about "great miseries, sufferings, torments, and martyrdoms suffered by the Christian captives in the hands of the Moors and Turks especially in Algiers."[38] Furthermore, according to the contemporary ways of attracting a possible audience, he included words such as "extraordinary," or "horrific," which anticipated a "sensational" report.

In his work, mostly in its *Diálogos* de Sosa aimed at showing how Muslim captors treat their slaves, and similar to the *Topographia* (the part I am going to analyze), he does not forget to mention positive examples. Beyond this he relates about the misery of galley slaves and other captives, the tortures and deaths of recaptured slaves, and the *baños*. He depicts a very gloomy picture about the whole city: "All of Algiers and its plazas, houses, streets, its countryside, the marina and its ships are nothing less than natural and proper smithies of the devil."[39] The *Diálogos*[40] are so full of exaggerations or experienced torments that Garcés writes: "For Sosa, however, the Barbary world was an apocalyptic universe filled with tortures, executions, and bloodshed, torments portrayed with such detail that one might be tempted to compare his three dialogues to a treatise a la Sade."[41] In the *Diálogo de*

de Haedo or his nephew of the same name who published the work, in this way it is also plausible that it was not de Sosa, who gave this title for his work.

[37] The titles of "ethnological" works produced in the sixteenth century and what they imply is going to be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

[38] Cited in Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 2.

[39] "Todo Argel y todas sus plazas, las casas, las calles, los campos, las marinas y sus bajeles no son menos que unas herrerías propias y naturales del demonio" Ibid., 43.

[40] The dialogue was a wide-spread form of writing in the Renaissance following classical sources, more especially mimicking the Socratic (or Platonic) dialogue. This form is followed obviously by de Sosa in his *Diálogos*, but it also left its imprints in the other books as well, which can be seen in places like: "When asked the cause of this, they respond that the angels will carry them to Heaven through these locks of hair when they die. When asked why they wear long robes, they respond that when they enter into Paradise, those who were not worthy of admittance there … could enter with them by hanging on to their skirts without being repelled back." *Topographia*, 218. A nice example of another captivity narrative, which was written in form of dialogue is the *Viaje de Turquía* (1557). More on dialogue in the Renaissance see: Jean-François Vallée and Dorothea B. Heitsch, *Printed Voices: the Renaissance Culture of Dialogue* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c2004); Peter Burke, "The Renaissance Dialogue," *Renaissance Studies* 3, no. 1 (1989): 1-12.

[41] Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 44.

los Mártires he depicts 33 stories and only one does not end with the death of the captive.[42] While the *Diálogos* are mainly characterized by a condemnation of the Muslim culture and religion (the *Diálogos de los morabutos* is a continuous debate between Islam, "the incorrect," and Christian religion, "the correct" religion), they are those writings, which contains the most information about the author. There is a connection between the different books as there are references to each other: "... the Moors … were forced to consent and subject themselves to the yoke and lordship of Barbarossa, as explained in more detail in our *Epítome de los Reyes de Argel*."[43] The *Topographia* and the *Epítome* have a very different tone than the *Diálogos*; here, de Sosa inclines rather toward giving an accurate picture about the history and reality of Algiers, using both his sources and his observations, and confronting them.

Focusing on the *Topographia*, first, one has to look at its structure and see what its main focus is. It starts with the history of the city, as the past, the issue of origin is one of the main concerns of humanist thinkers and writers. But even though the history of the city from the antiquity is depicted in details, and de Sosa touches upon other "required" topics of the early modern *ars apodemica*, or "art of travelling" (new and old name of the place, foundation of the city, etc.).[44] The history occupies only four chapters from the 41, and the next section, the topographical description of the city also takes only six chapters. Apart from the last three chapters, which gives account on the topography, natural beauty and government of Algiers the part in-between discusses people of the city and its surroundings, and their customs through 27 chapters. Thus, from the organization of the text one can clearly see the emphasis of the author on people, customs, occupations, religious rites and festivities, marriage and burial ceremonies, clothing, their languages, etc.

[42] It is the one, which depicts Cervantes' second escape. Ibid., 45.
[43] *Topographia*, 103.
[44] About the *ars apodemica* and the topics a narrative of a foreign land should have been recorded by the traveler, see Chapter 3 of this thesis.

It is unknown when de Sosa wrote the treatise, but it seems he had already started it in Algiers, and completed and edited it after his escape. At least, he must have made notes during his captivity as the account contains much and very detailed information. Furthermore, there are some hints that some parts were written in Algiers, some after his escape. In one place he writes: "There are also many Turks and Moors who have been captives in Spain, Italy and France; … another great number of Jews who speak Spanish, Italian, and French very prettily because they have been *here*…"[45] When he is discussing the differences between Christian and Muslim calendar, he uses the Julian calendar, so it was supposedly written before the Gregorian calendar was introduced (in Catholic countries in 1582).[46] Furthermore, he writes: "from the first day that I entered Algiers, I have written, among other things, the number [of Moriscos] that arrive, and even in what month, in what week, in what day and hour, and how they came."[47]

De Sosa's purpose(s) of writing cannot be stated with certainty, as there could be various reasons for his composition. As it has been mentioned, in the title de Sosa put an emphasis on the miseries of captives in Algiers and the remembrance about them – so it served as a kind of "martyrology" of Christians murdered and tortured by Muslims;[48] as a memento of captives taken by corsairs, an impetus for the redemption of those still alive; and as another tool for proving that the true one religion is Christianity. In *Diálogo de los mártires* he writes:

> We trust in the Lord for His mercy that from this place we shall take him out someday, together with the other bodies of many other Saints and Martyrs of Christ, who sanctified that land with their blood and their blessed deaths; and we shall put them in another, more comfortable and more

[45] *Topographia*, 185. Italics mine.
[46] Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 339.
[47] "... desde el primer día que entré en Argel, tengo escrito con otras cosas, el número de cuantos [moriscos] vinieron y aun en qué es, en qué semana, en qué día y hora vinieron, y cómo vinieron." Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 34.
[48] See other "martyrologies" at the end of the sixteenth century in Sola and Parreño, *Diálogo de los Mártires de Argel*, 13.

> honourable place, for the Lord's glory, that such saint and such example he left to us, the captives.[49]

Camamis argues that this part reveals the confidence that one day this land will be Spanish (I would rather say Christian) and it is also the reason for the need of a precise registry about the heroes that consecrated the land and sacrificed themselves for their religion and for the destruction of the Muslim dominion in Algiers.[50]

This remarkable accuracy (which was also a feature of certain humanist writings) characterizes the whole text. The very detailed description of the city with its fortifications, bastions, streets, and houses certainly served strategical matters (the accuracy can be seen directly from the titles of the separate chapters he devotes to topographical descriptions: "The Ramparts of Algiers," "The Gates of Algiers," "The Fortifications of Algiers," "The Moat of Algiers," "The Castles and Forts outside Algiers," "The Houses and the Streets of Algiers"). Let me cite two examples, where the strategical function of the chapters is obvious: "On the island closest to the port there are, in addition, two small towers. … But these two towers are of small importance, having absolutely no force of artillery."[51] "This castle has a great defect…"[52] "This whole fortification is dominated by and vulnerable to a mountain on this right hand … where an enemy with artillery could disturb all help coming from the city."[53] De Sosa also mentions his role as a kind of "spy" in a letter written to Philip II after his release from captivity:

[49] "Deste lugar confiamos en el Señor por su piedad, que algún día le sacaremos, y con otros cuerpos de otros muchos santos y mártires de Cristo, que con su sangre y bienaventuradas muertes consagraron aquella tierra, le pondremos en otro más cómodo y más honroso lugar, para gloria del Señor, que tales santos y de tal exemplo nos dexó a los cautivos." Cited in Camamis, *Estudios sobre el cautiverio en el siglo de oro*, 118.
[50] Ibid., 119.
[51] *Topographia*, 111.
[52] Ibid., 113.
[53] Ibid., 116. This function of the captivity narratives is well-known and that they also took part of the information-gathering of the state is obvious at least from the common phenomenon of much detailed descriptions of the place where they were kept. See: Daniel Vitkus and Nabil I. Matar, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption: Barbary Captivity Narratives from Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, c2001); Lajos Tardy, *Rabok, követek, kalmárok az Oszmán Birodalomról* [Captives, envoys, merchants about the Ottoman Empire] (Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó, 1977); the account of Diego Galán (*Edición crítica de cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán*, ed. by Matías Barchino (Cuenca: Ediciones de la Universidad de

> "the intention of the Turk with this armada, and the way that 'Uludj 'Ali would have to make war on the king of Fès, as I found out in Algiers some days ago … from janissaries and renegades of the king's house… I have written all of this in some papers and memoranda that I brought with me from Algiers."[54]

The precise description continues with the account of the inhabitants, which could also serve strategical matters, as the accurate information on the "religious others" was helpful for the Inquisition, which was in its heyday in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[55]

Apart from the possible purpose of writing discussed above, other considerations could be also present in the writing process. For instance, his ambitions of creating a great work, which attested his broad view and knowledge, with which he could become the colleague of such humanists or classical writers that he cited in his text (like Pliny or Münster). On the other hand, as Linda Colley discussed in her article, writing in his prison cell – away from his familiar environment, in a humiliated status as a captive – could serve as a means to survive and of preserving his identity,[56] and it also helped to fill the empty hours that he spent in his room alone, closed off the outside world. Moreover, one should not leave out curiosity that was certainly present in the author's aims, that is the intention of the discovery of an alien way of life – the fascination towards certain phenomena, which is visible in his descriptions (e.g. the tattoos, the "witchcraft" where "black women say wonderful things," his inquiry to determine the reasons behind certain matters, etc.).

Castilla-La Mancha, 2001); etc.; Camamis suggests that a military man helped de Sosa in the writing of information of strategical and military matters. Camamis, *Estudios sobre el cautiverio*, 70.

[54] Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 66.

[55] The Inquisition was established by the Catholic monarchs (Ferdinand II of Aragon and Isabella I of Castile) in 1481 to clear the Iberian Peninsula from all heretics, and to make it a homogenous Catholic state. In the end of the fifteenth century, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the politics of the Spanish monarchy was to diminish all forms of heresy – and was to do it through the forced conversion, then the expulsion of Jews and Muslims from the peninsula. The forced conversion produced the phenomena of the "crypto-Muslim" and "crypto-Jew" as a suspicion and as a reality, hence the Inquisition was searching for these "heretics" with every kind of means and used every kind of source to find them. I am going to discuss the issue how de Sosa's text or others' serve the institution of the Inquisition more in Chapter 4.

[56] Linda Colley, "Going Native, Telling Tales: Captivity, Collaborations and Empire" *Past and Present* 168 (2000): 170-193.

Lastly, I would like to call the attention to some characteristics of de Sosa's writing, first of all to point the ways how consciously he built up his work. He approaches step by step his topic, slowly introducing it to the reader: he first shows a bigger picture of Algiers in "the province of Africa" at the "37 degrees latitude"[57] providing an account of its history since antiquity to the present day. Then he walks into the city from the sea through the gates, the outer wall along which the author and the reader walks (being the wall on the left hand side), through the moat the reader arrives to inside of Algiers right into its streets and the houses, that is, the people living in them. After all, he starts the introduction of the inhabitants of the city – where they live and come from, their professions, their ceremonies and everyday lives. He tells these details according to a lifetime span: from marriage and childbirth through the pastime activities and festivals to the death. After, the reader leaves the inhabitants through government and finds him/herself among the natural beauties of Algiers – now on the other side of the city than the sea. Thus, one can see how nicely he gave a frame to his main topic, that are the people of Algiers. With this structure, he surpasses most writers of his time (captives, geographers, or diplomats), who followed mostly the methodology of travels or wrote about things they saw as it happened, or just randomized. Secondly, another typical characteristic of his writing is the elegant use of irony for conveying his negative judgement towards certain phenomena:

> All these Bedouins and their women are ugly, ill-featured, of skin and bones, tan or very dark brown in color, and, above all, extremely dirty pigs… The same can be said about their women, save that they *miraculously wear something on their heads*, any old rag of linen out of the rubbish dump. *And these lovely and refined gallants* are the same people who conquered Africa and even almost all of Spain…[58]

One of the writers of the Siglo de Oro, which used the *Topographia* is Lope de Vega (1562-1635), who used chronicles and history books for his literary writings. Barroco Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses, a "historian" and novelist (11585?-1638) also adapted

[57] *Topographia*, 93. Italics mine.

passages from the *Topographia*.[59] Camamis also shows that in Céspedes y Menes' stories and characters the topic of the captive – taking the "The Captive's Tale" inserted in *Don Quijote* as a model – was becoming popular in the seventeenth century. Thus, it shows the importance of these two works (de Sosa and Cervantes') and their authors as the "forerunners of the motive of the captives in the literature of seventeenth century Spain."[60]

In historiographical works and references the *Topographia* had been neglected till 1752, when it was discovered that the *Diálogo de los mártires* contains some biographical information on Cervantes, and was mainly known from this aspect. However, it became popular among English and French historians, and not because of Cervantes. In 1731, John Morgan published *A Complete History of Algiers* in London and used many parts – some places word by word – of de Sosa's work (although Morgan commented quite negatively on it).[61] But it was the nineteenth century and the French expedition to Algiers (1830), which brought great interest of the French scholars towards the *Topographia, e historia de Argel*. The translation of some of its passages appeared in *Revue Africaine* in 1870 and 1871 by Monnerreau and Berbrugger. These scholars acknowledged the importance of this work concerning the historiography of Algiers.[62] So it is visible, that the work was much more successful outside Spain. The first two books, *Topographia* and *Epítome*, were those which were translated by the French, while the *Diálogos* were disdained by almost all the historians of Algiers, as they did not recognize their importance for studying captivity – from the angle of political history, of cultural and mental history alike.

[58] *Topographia*, 122. Italics mine.
[59] Camamis in his *Estudios sobre el cautiverio* (151-163.) makes a comparative analysis between Lope de Vega's (*En La mayor desgracia de Carlos V y hechicerías de Argel*, Zaragoza, 1633) and Céspedes y Menes' (*Poema trágico del español Gerardo y desengaño del amor lascivo*, 1615) works and the *Topographia*. Camamis even shows some passages of Céspedes y Menes, which are almost word by word the same as some parts of *Diálogo de la captividad* of de Sosa. Ibid., 159-160.
[60] Ibid., 173.
[61] "But excepting a few good Passages and remarks, which I occasionally pick out, his three tedious *Dialogues*, in particular, concerning *Captivity*, *Martyrs*, and *Morabboths*, or *Mohametan Santons*, are silly enough, replete with nauseous Cant, and in many Cases, insufferably partial." Cited Ibid., 90.

Chapter Two
Historical Context: The Clash of Empires in the Western Mediterranean and North African Slavery

"Algiers, a most powerful Ottoman city situated right in front of Spain"[63]

In this chapter I discuss the geographical and historical context for the source at the center of this thesis, Antonio de Sosa's the *Topography of Algiers* from the end of the sixteenth century, in particular his description and characterization of Algerian society. With this purpose in mind, the following discussion will provide a brief overview of the encounters between the Spanish and the Ottoman Empires in the Western Mediterranean and the activities of the Barbary Corsairs. Finally, narrowing the focus from North Africa to Algiers, the discussion will briefly introduce Algerian society and government in the sixteenth century.

2.1. Barbary[64] Corsairs, Spain, and the Ottoman Empire

One of the scenes for the "clash of two civilizations" or "clash of two ways of war," as Thomas F. Arnold put it in the book *European Warfare, 1453-1815*,[65] was the Western Mediterranean, where an expanding Christian (Spanish and Habsburg) and an also expanding Muslim empire (the Ottoman Empire) came to be neighbors, and struggled with

[62] H.D. de Grammont was the other French scholar, who translated the whole *Epítome de lor reyes.* Camamis, *Estudios sobre el cautiverio*, 92.

[63] Description of Algiers by Antonio Salamanca on his printed map of Algiers from 1541. For the map, see Biray Kolluğlu and Meltem Toksöz, eds., *Cities of the Mediterranean. From the Ottomans to the Present Day* (New York: I.B. Taurius & Co., 2010), 53.

[64] In the sixteenth century, the name "Barbary" meant different things to different people in Europe. Most Europeans used the name "Barbary" to refer to the territory of the Maghrib; the name indicated the area where the Berbers lived, from Tripoli in the east to the Atlantic coast in Morocco in the west, covered the regions of today's Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. But for the Spanish in the sixteenth century Barbary meant the territory controlled from the city of Algiers (*Berbería central argelina*). *Pasar a Berbería* ("to go to Barbary") was an expression in Spain used when speaking about the Spanish Muslims who abandoned Andalusia and immigrated to North Africa. See Sola and De la Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería*, 11-12. Leo Africanus also provides explanation of the name see Leo Africanus: *The History and Description of Africa, and of the Notable Things Therein Contained*, ed. by Robert Brown (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Vol. 1., 129. Mármol Carvajal gives various reasons for the name Berbería; he explains that the Arabs believed the name to have been given by the Romans. Mármol Carvajal, *Primera parte de la descripcion general de Affrica, con todos los successos de guerras que a audio entre los infieles...*(Granada, 1573) lib. 1. fol. 5. cap. 6.

[65] Thomas F. Arnold, "War in Sixteenth-Century Europe," in *European warfare, 1453-1815*, ed. Jeremy Black (New York : St. Martin's Press, 1999), 30.

each other for military, economic, and political supremacy in the region, and on a broader scale, for universal rule.

The second half of the sixteenth century inherited the rivalry of the fifteenth century. At the end of the fifteenth century the Spanish kingdom[66] continued its centralizing tendencies (bureaucratization, forming a standing army), and territorial expansion (*reconquista*) at the expense of the Muslims on the Iberian Peninsula (the conquest of Granada in 1492).[67] The expansion and the increase of intolerance in Spanish religious policy resulted in a great flow of Hispano-Muslim immigrants resentful towards Spain into the Maghrib. Spanish troops advanced to North Africa and set foot there.[68] Algiers agreed to pay tribute and gave the Spanish one of the four islands in front of the city (where the Spanish built a fortress, El Peñon).

The success of the Spanish *reconquista* can be explained mainly by the weakness and decentralized nature of the Muslim kingdoms in North Africa. There was no political unity and loyalty to the sultans; the Maghrib was inhabited mostly by nomadic herdsmen, Arabic and Berber tribes leading a pastoral life or living by agriculture.[69] The city dwellers

[66] The Spanish crown consisted of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castile, united by the marriage (1469) of their respective monarchs Ferdinand II and Isabella I, in 1472.

[67] See more about the Nasrid Kingdom of Granada and the warfare between the Spanish and the Hispano-Muslims in the chapter "A Military Revolution" by Andrew C. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier: a History of the Sixteenth Century Ibero-African frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 11-26.; Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 146.

[68] Spanish troops conquered Melilla (1497), Mers el-Kebir (1505), Oran, Bougie, Valez, and Tripoli and many other cities surrendered (1518-1511) to the new captain general, Pedro Navarro, a former corsair. In addition, the Spanish built a line of *presidios* (garrisons) in the Maghrib shifting the frontier between the Spanish and Muslims to the Maghrib. These garrisons were isolated, surrounded by hostile Muslim tribes, thus they were hard to maintain. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 5.; Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 147.

[69] The Ziyanid dynasty ruled the middle section, with Tlemcen at the centre and Constantine in the east. Beyond that the Hafsid dynasty controlled the coastal regions and caused border disputes with the Ziyanid dynasty. In the western area, in Morocco, the Wattasids of Fez in the second half of the fifteenth century and the Sa'idian dynasty from the first half of the sixteenth century dominated the region. Morocco was the territory which received thousands of Muslims from Granada, who settled in enclaves along the coast. The territory became an important area for the Granadan nobility. See Sola and De la Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería*, 13.

and peasants were oppressed by the tribesmen[70] while the rulers could not impose their powers over them and thus establish large standing armies. The core of the army was alien elite troops – Muslims from Andalusia, Christian mercenaries, black slaves from sub-Saharan Africa, and Turkish archers.[71]

At the beginning of Charles I's reign (Charles I, king of Spain 1516-1556, Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor and Archduke of Austria 1519-1556)[72] the Ottoman Empire crept into the region.[73] Privateers established their bases on the shores of the Maghrib, thus inaugurating an indirect Ottoman presence in the region as a first stage of expansion. As de Sosa puts it:

> The inhabitants of Algiers have for ages been occupied with corsair activities at sea, using ships with oars for their robberies. After the Catholic King, Ferdinand, conquered the kingdom of Granada … the corsairs intensified this practice, causing even greater harm to Christians, because many Moors of Granada, as well as others from Valencia and Aragón, immigrated to Barbary. Being well versed in the wars across Spain, where they had been born and raised, and being familiar with surrounding islands … the corsairs had greater occasion and better equipment to rob and cause great harm … [74]

According to the definition of Emrah Safa Gürkan,[75] a corsair was:

> anybody who went on a *corso* by participating in the *razzia*, regular raids that the North African sailors undertook at the expense of Christian shores and ships,[76] encouraged and financed at times and protected always by a political

[70] The cities tried to keep connections with the ruling dynasties to ensure their help against the attacks of the tribesmen; in this sense a cultural division can be observed between the urban and rural areas, see: Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 3-4.; Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 46-52.
[71] Ibid., 22.
[72] Aside from these political issues, the realization that the revenues from the North African trade could not compete with those from the New World led to a defensive policy on the North African frontier. See ibid., 43-44.
[73] The first attempt to control the Western part of the Mediterranean occurred as early as the very end of the fifteenth century. In answer to a letter from the Hispano-Muslims of Granada in 1487, the sultan, Bayezid II (1481-1512), sent the privateer Kemal Reis to collect information on the Western Mediterranean. He established relations with North African leaders and initiated the first encounters with the Muslims in Granada by sailing along the shores of southern Spain. Ibid., 58-60.; Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*, 147-148.; Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*; John Francis Guilmartin, *Galleons & Galleys* (London: Cassell, 2002), 128.
[74] *Topographia*, 102.
[75] Emrah Safa Gürkan, "The Centre and the Frontier: Ottoman Cooperation with the North African Corsairs in the Sixteenth Century," *Turkish Historical Review* 1 (2010): 125.
[76] They did not all have the same background; some came from the Levant, some from Spain, some were Muslims by birth, and some were converts. There were also Christian corsairs, mainly from Malta, Livorno, Senj or from the Habsburg Empire, Naples, Messina and Trapani. Ibid., 126.

> body. A corsair was a privateer who operated under a universal set of laws, rules, and customs.[77]

The first half of the sixteenth century is considered the period of the rise of corsairs.[78] The rising stature of the Ottoman Empire in the region was a consequence of a private enterprise of the Barbarossa brothers, Oruç and Hayreddin.

The Barbarossa brothers, who had been engaged in piracy from the first decade of the century, moved their base to Djijelli ("a seaport 180 miles east of Algiers")[79] around 1516, making it the base of the pirates in the Western Mediterranean. Oruç, at the invitation of the Algerians, extended his control over Algiers.[80] "The Turks having loudly declared him throughout the city as lord of Algiers, the Moors … were forced to consent and subject themselves to the yoke and lordship of Barbarossa."[81] After the death of Oruç, Hayreddin became the leader of the city. After the news of Spanish preparations for an expedition, Hayreddin asked for help from the Ottoman sultan in return for accepting his overlordship. Selim I (1512-1520) accepted this offer and sent 2000 Janissary troops and artillery. Hayreddin was appointed governor-general (*beylerbey*) of *Cezayir-i Arab* (Algeria of the Arabs).[82]

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[77] Ibid., 126. He distinguishes between a privateer or corsair and a pirate. Corsairs operated in the framework of a state or institution, under the protection of a political authority. They were bound by certain rules and regulations. Thus, a privateer would not attack a ship of a state he was in a good relationship with, the state he was "serving," even if in reality this was not always the case. Ottoman History Broadcast: Episode 76. Corsairs and the Ottoman Mediterranean with Emrah Safa Gürkan, October 26, 2012. http://www.ottomanhistorypodcast.com/2012/10/ottoman-empire-pirates-barbary-history.html

[78] The corsairs also had great importance for information-gathering for the state. They were in a close relationships with Western and Southern Europe and they could easily spy on the enemy, especially given that there were many renegades among their ranks. About the issue of the importance of unofficial "spies," see Gábor Ágoston, "Information, Ideology, and Limits of Imperial Policy: Ottoman Grand Strategy in the Context of Ottoman-Habsburg Rivalry. In *The Early Modern Ottomans. Remapping the Empire*, ed. V. H. Aksan, D. Goffman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 75-103.

[79] *Topographia*, 103.

[80] In 1516, when Ferdinand II died, the Algerians considered their oath to him as invalid and wanted to dislodge the Spanish from the Peñon. But when Oruç arrived, Al-Thumi sought help from the Spanish. Oruç executed the ruler and the richest and most influential inhabitants. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 149.; Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 8.

[81] *Topographia*, 103.

[82] Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 65. Emrah Safa Gürkan poses the question of the exact date of the incorporation of Algeria into the Ottoman Empire and the appointment of Hayreddin. Because of the lack of mention of the events related to Algiers and North Africa in the Ottoman chronicles until the year 1533, he

Hayreddin governed Algiers for eight years, during which period Algiers became the principal center of Ottoman authority in North Africa.[83] During his governorship he extended and strengthened his authority in the area. In 1528, Barbarossa already controlled the territory from the coastline of the province from Djijelli to Cherchell, from the plain of Mitidja to Constantine.[84] Hayreddin succeeded in subjugating the local leaders, taking the Peñon from the Spaniards in 1529 and transforming Algiers into a naval base. In 1533, Hayreddin was appointed admiral (*kapudan paşa*) of the Ottoman fleet in Istanbul and sent back to conquer Tunis. After unsuccessful negotiations between Charles V and Hayreddin, Charles launched a campaign against Algiers in 1541, which ended in a disaster.[85] Barbarossa retreated in 1544, died two years later, and was followed by his son Hasan as the *beylerbey* of Algiers. During Hayreddin Barbarossa's rule Algiers became a strong naval base, if not the strongest on the coast of the Maghrib, and thus one of the main enemies of the Spanish in the Mediterranean.

After Philip II's abdication of the throne (king of Spain, 1556-98, king of Portugal, 1580-98), Spain's attention was divided mostly between the Mediterranean and the Netherlands, but always with one eye on the sea. He was concerned with the repulsion of the "Turkish Threat" even if his empire was troubled with great financial problems. One of the main events during his reign was the unsuccessful Ottoman attack on Malta in 1565 with the goal of improving the Ottoman position in the Maghrib.[86] The events of the decade[87] saw improvements in fortifications, the increasing size of armies, and the greater use of cannons,

argues that it was incorporated into the empire only in that year. Until that time, the incorporation and the appointment were only symbolic. See Gürkan, "The Centre and the Frontier," 133.

[83] Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 151.

[84] Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 68.

[85] The emperor's fleet was damaged by a storm. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 154.; Guilmartin, *Galleons & Galleys*, 132.

[86] Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 84.

[87] The Spanish attack on Tunisia and their defeat at Djerba in 1560, the unsuccessful campaign of the newly appointed governor, Hayreddin's son, Hasan Paşa, which aimed at conquering Oran in 1563, and Philip II's successful naval campaign on the strait of Gibraltar (Peñon de Velez) in 1564.

which all meant a much more expensive military and longer campaigns. The galleys became bigger, slower, and more costly.[88]

Although at the court of Philip II the faction of the duke of Alba won, arguing for a concentration of resources on the European frontier, internal problems did not let the Mediterranean frontier be forgotten.[89] Philip's 1567 edict, which forbad the Moriscos to exercise many of their Islamic customs and aimed at their full assimilation, brought turbulence to the kingdom. The revolt of Alpujarras (1568 to 1570) was greatly supported by the Ottoman centre and the provinces of North Africa. In accordance with the order of Sultan Selim II (1566-74), the naval captain Uluç Ali Paşa, who was appointed to the governorship of Algiers in 1568, sent men and arms to the rebels. Moreover, the Ottoman naval agents took the advantage of the revolt in Spain and captured Tunis in 1569, as it was essential to control it due to its position between Algiers and Istanbul.

Partly as an answer to the Ottoman plan that aimed at defending the eastern trade routes by taking Cyprus, the Holy League was formed by Venice, Spain and the Pope. It defeated the Ottomans at Lepanto in 1571. The battle did not affect the acquisitions of the Ottomans in North Africa.[90] Although from 1573 to 1574 there were both Ottoman and Habsburg campaigns to take Tunis,[91] the importance of the Western Mediterranean as a theater of war decreased. From 1575 (Philip II's bankruptcy), the Spanish king sought peace with the Ottoman Empire. The foreign policy of the Ottomans was also directed towards east, the Safavid Empire, which made the Western Mediterranean less important. The peace

[88] About the advantages, disadvantages, and developments of the galley in the Mediterranean, see: Guilmartin, *Galleons & Galleys*.
[89] Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 86-87.
[90] The sailors under the command of Uluç Ali performed well in the battle and the ships of the North African provinces were not destroyed, thus, they were able to send several ships and men to the armada in Istanbul as Uluç Ali (with the new name Kılıç Ali Paşa) was appointed admiral in 1571. These ships constituted the nucleus of the new Ottoman armada. Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 92
[91] In 1573, capture of Tunis by Don Juan de Austria; in 1574, recapture of Tunis by Uluç Ali.

treaty between Spain and the Ottoman Empire was realized in 1580 and the Ottoman navy was recalled from Algiers in 1581.[92]

2.2. Population, Government, and Society of Algiers

The population of Algiers increased to a great extent towards the end of the fifteenth century and reached peak during Hayreddin Barbarossa's reign. This growth was partially due to the immigration of Hispano-Mulsims from Spain. The growing numbers were also related to the incoming janissaries and corsairs, renegades arriving, not to mention captives and merchants, Jews and Christians coming to the port city.[93] This demographic boom resulted in the city's taking a central place among the capitals of the central Maghrib, not only demographically but economically and politically as well.[94] In the sixteenth century, the composition of its society changed completely.

The political situation in the regency was characterized by infighting among hostile factions and social groups. The key actors were the Ottoman-appointed governor general (*beylerbey*), the community (*taifa*) of the corsairs, the Ottoman troops (*Ocak*),[95] the Ottoman centre, the tribes of Algeria, and the local inhabitants of the city. The relationship among these groups can be characterized as interdependent. The "newcomers," like the corsairs and then the Ottoman soldiers settling in the area, used the divided nature of political authority in the Maghrib to establish their rule and form the ruling class of its cities, such as Algiers. The government of the corsairs was popular neither among the *baldi* (native inhabitants of the city) nor among the Kabylie tribesmen of the hinterland, but it brought prosperity.[96]

[92] Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 153.; Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*, 98-99.
[93] For more about the population of the city, see Federico Cresti, "Algiers in the Ottoman Period," in *The City of the Islamic World*.
[94] Cresti, "Algiers in the Ottoman Period," 437.
[95] First the *taifa* of the corsairs was part of the Ocak, the army, but in the seventeenth century they formed a different group, Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 159.
[96] Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 56. The *beylerbeys* first governed for unlimited terms, but after 1587 for a fixed period of three years. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 153. The reason for the change of the governorship was the intention of independence in the North African province, See H. A. R. Gibb, J. H.

Furthermore, the provinces were not only dependent on the Ottoman Empire; politically and militarily they were supported against the Christians with munition, supply for shipbuilding, weapons, and recruitment.[97]

A great portion of the recruited soldiers came from Anatolia according to an agreement between Selim I and Hayreddin.[98] Thus, the basis for the rule of the governor-general of Algiers was Muslim "Levantine," not local but loyal to the leader of the province.[99] The corps did not allow locals to join the army, thus remaining completely foreign in origin.[100] The seamen were also recruited partly among Muslims of Levantine origin, but many if not most were renegades.[101]

The other group that held great importance in the city was the corps of janissaries. Being a janissary was a great privilege. Janissaries acted as the "lords" of Algiers; everyone had to respect and fear them. They could only be arrested by their officers and neither did they have to face public execution. The Ottoman government tried to prevent abuses by the janissaries, which were common and harsh.[102] There was an adverse relationship between the corsairs and the janissaries that stemmed from the fact that the janissaries were not allowed to join the corsair ships and thus were not able to get a share of the booty won at sea. In 1568, Mohamed Paşa decreed that the janissaries could join the seamen and vice versa, thus decreasing although not eliminating the hostility. Another source of disorder was the sons of janissaries, the *kuloğlu*, marrying Moorish women. Their status was problematic as they were between the *baldi* and the janissaries, but they were eager to attain their fathers'

Kramers, E. Lévi-Provencal, J. Schacht, eds., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), "Algeria," 368.

[97] Gürkan, "The Centre and the Frontier," 141.

[98] Two thousand men of *devşirme* origins probably came from the Balkans and four thousand from Anatolia.

[99] Ibid., 143.

[100] Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 58.

[101] Being a renegade was a great advantage for a mariner as he knew the Christian-European languages, and was familiar with the culture and customs much better than a janissary.

[102] In 1582, the Ottoman government expelled the troublesome janissaries because of their abuses. In 1587, they ordered the janissaries in Tunis to intercede in local affairs. In 1595, in Tripolitania they had to take steps towards preventing janissaries from robbing local inhabitants. Gürkan, "The Centre and the Frontier," 159.

status. The janissaries did not want to incorporate them into their ranks, which led to a *kuloğlu* rebellion in the seventeenth century that ended with the defeat of the janissaries' sons and led to stricter control over them. [103]

Other troops also could be found in Algiers, like the few less important *sipahis* (cavalrymen), who were over-age janissaries or recruits from the Levant. Additionally, some Berbers and Arabs also served as cavalrymen in the military. The presence of immigrants from Spain in the army also has to be mentioned: the Andalusian Muslims were of great help as they contributed to spreading the use of firearms.[104]

The corsairs organized themselves into a corporation or *taife* (community). Their activity was a state monopoly, which was supervised by a minister (*wakil al-kharj*).[105] For a time, the *belyerbeys* themselves were elected from corsair captains, so usually the operations of the *reis* were in correspondence with the governors. The booty they seized was sold and the profits shared among the sailors. A defined amount of the share had to be given to the governors and to the sultan himself. The inhabitants of Algiers also shared the goods and captives, so the activity of the corsairs brought prosperity to the city.[106]

Ottoman control over the provinces was rather loose as it was hard for Istanbul to exercise direct control over the regions. Until 1587, *beylerbeys* of corsair background controlled the province, then, towards the end of the century, persons with *enderun* origin[107] were appointed to the office. The governor-general governed in the name of the sultan, but several times the *beylerbey* acted on his own without following the orders of the center. The *beylerbeys* sometimes were only puppets in the hands of the *Ocak*, and it also happened that

[103] Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 59-61.
[104] Ibid., 64.
[105] Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 165.; Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 63.
[106] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, "Algeria," 368.; Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 165; Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 63-64.
[107] "The term *enderūn* in Ottoman Turkish was used to designate the 'Inside' Service of the Imperial Household of the Ottoman Sultan. It denoted the complex of officials engaged in the personal and private service of the Sultan – included therein was the system of Palace Schools." B. Lewis, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2. (Leiden: Brill, 1991), "Enderūn," 697.

they interfered in the process of appointments of *beylerbey* instead of the previously favored corsair captains. The caliphate pasha represented the *beylerbey* when the latter was away from the city.[108]

Algerian society had basically a tribal character. Tribes leading a pastoral life inhabited the western and southern parts of Algeria and in the east the majority of the population made a living from agriculture.[109] The leaders of the tribes were often religious persons who drew their lineages from holy persons. These *marabouts* had a great influence in some regions, so much so that they became founders of certain principalities.[110] In the cities, these *marabouts* and the *ulema* supplied the *muftis*, *kadıs*, and *imams* of the mosques; they made their living from the pious foundations (*habus*) they belonged to. Therefore the *marabouts* supported the Ottoman sultan because their appointment and living depended on him.[111]

In conclusion, Algerian society was colorful, comprised of different groups coming from different regions and different religious and cultural backgrounds. Apart from the Muslim population – Moors, Ottoman Turks, renegades, corsairs, Moriscos – a great number of Jews and Christians lived there who were artisans, merchants, free men or slaves. The intermingling of these various groups caused a hybrid frontier world, a mixed frontier society that can be called a "crossroads of civilizations."[112] One of the most important sources of this diversity and complexity along the Mediterranean was the great number of slaves brought into the city who were an indispensable labor force and also provided necessary information about Europe that was of great value for the Algerian and Ottoman

[108] Wolf, *The Barbary Coast*, 65.
[109] Abun-Nasr, *A history of the Maghrib*, 161.
[110] Ibid., 162. In order to gain their goodwill, the Ottoman authorities gave them tax exemptions or created *habus* property from them. See Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib*, 163.
[111] "The Ottoman Turks were Hanafite and the indigenous Algerians were Malikites, but each person belonged under the jurisdiction of his/her own kadı." Ibid., 161-162.
[112] Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue with Islam,* 2.

governments and also provided information on the "other," the Muslims, for the readers in Europe.

2.3. Slavery in Algiers – "Un Cuerpo Muerto"?

> *"Un infelice cautivo queda desta suerte con el cautiverio tan manco, tan falto de una tan grande, tan notable parte de su proprio ser y valor, y siendo semejante y tan emparejado con un bruto y vil animal..."*[113]

De Sosa writes in *Diálogo de la Captividad*: "For the honor (moral dignity), title, and (juridical) existence that the law assigns to the slave consists in calling him and declaring him noting more than a dead body, or an entity without being…"[114] With a "dead body" how could de Sosa compile such a great work as the *Topographia*? The question arises: How much could he see of the city and know about what was happening there? To understand the conditions of de Sosa in captivity, the circumstances that affected his ability to observe and write, one has to consider the notion of slavery in Algiers and in the Ottoman Empire, which can shed light on the opportunities a captive had, the space where he could move, and his modes of gathering knowledge.

At the end of the sixteenth century, the history of the Mediterranean entered a new phase; it experienced a change in the nature of naval warfare and the "golden age of piracy" began.[115] States retreated from the seas and gave place to corsairs, both Muslims and Christians,[116] to operate on the Mediterranean to an extent that had never been experienced

[113] "An unhappy captive thus becomes through his captivity so maimed, so missing in such a great and notable part of his being and value, and being similar and so equal to a brute and vile animal…" cited and translated in Voigt, *Writing Captivity*, 56.
[114] "Pues la honra, el título y el ser que el derecho da a un esclavo es que le llamó y declaró por no más que un cuerpo muerto o sin ser, mas antes es el mismo nada y como si no fuera en el mundo" – translated and cited in Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 149.
[115] Pál Fodor, "Maltese pirates, Ottoman captives and French traders in the Early Sixteenth-Century Mediterranean" in *Ransom Slavery along the Ottoman Borders (Early Fifteenth-Early Eighteenth Centuries)*, ed. Géza Dávid and Pál Fodor (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 221.
[116] See more about the Christian pirates: Molly Green, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants: A Maritime History of the Mediterranean* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

before.[117] The increase in pirate activity brought along an increase in the number of slaves in Algiers; many more captives were taken in corsair activity than in battles.[118] Slaves were prominent parts of the economy of both policy and the information-gathering of the state.

Although there were stages that each slave went through without exception, slavery was far from being the same for everyone. The conditions could differ according to the (social and other) background of the slave, the master, their relationship, treatment, occupation, gender, and so forth. For instance, Diego Galán gives account on an almost-family kind of relationship with his master's family:

> When we arrived to our house, my owner ordered me to take care of the laundry…on which I put so much punctuality and diligent that my master and his children together with all the rest of the family, developed such love and affection for me that I was free to go out of the house to wherever I wanted to go.[119]

The notion of slavery in the Islamic world was a different phenomenon than that of the ancient worlds or that of the New World. Slaves in the Ottoman Empire belonged under the jurisdiction of the *sharia* (religious law), even the Quran and the *hadith* (records of Muhammad's deeds and speeches) mention it. In these, slaves are considered human beings, and according to *sharia*, masters should treat their slaves well.[120] Only a non-Muslim or a child of a slave could become a slave.[121] Their number and importance grew in time, so when the internal supply was not enough for the demand, Muslim rulers started to import slaves as manpower from non-Muslim lands. There were three modes of acquiring slaves:

[117] Ottoman sultans in this period dispatched messages to the corsairs before every campaign with orders to disturb Christian ships and to take captives – as many men (and goods) as possible, see: Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier*.
[118] Daniel Bernardo Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain and the Creation of the Mediterranean: Captivity, Commerce, and Knowledge," (PhD. diss., University of Michigan, 2011), 16.
[119] "Llegado que hubimos a nuestra casa, mi dueño me dio por cargo el cuidado de lavar la ropa … en lo cual puse tanta puntualidad y diligencia que me cobraron tal amor y afición mi amo y sus hijos con toda la demás familia, que tenía libertad de ir fuera de casa donde quisiese..." *Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán*,191.
[120] If a master did not treat his slave well, he was obliged to sell him/her. These regulations worked in theory, but it depended on several factors if these principles could be brought into effect.
[121] See: *Enyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 1. "'Abd."

capture in war, raiding and kidnapping, and purchase.[122] A certain portion of the acquired booty (including captives) was given to the governors and the sultan, they could choose the important slaves first.[123]

Here, the problem of terminology has to be discussed, primarily the interchangeability of the expressions "captive" and "slave." Pál Fodor makes a distinction between these two, stating that prisoners of war and captives for ransom (*fiye, baha*) were called *esir/tutsak,* while the slaves had several other names, like *kul, abd, adb-i memluk, gulam,* etc. for the men and *cariye, karavaş, eme, memluke, rakike,* etc. for the women, and neither in law nor in actuality was an *esir* a slave.[124] These categories sometimes overlapped, and changed over time. Robert C. Davis and Daniel Bernardo Hershenzon argue against the distinction, saying that these two terms, "slave" and "captive," are used interchangeably in the sources.[125] I am using both terms and do not make a distinction between them, as de Sosa also uses both of the expressions ("they ordinarily arrive here as captives and slaves.")[126]

Three types of captives can be named in Algiers after their sale: the "king's" (governor's) slaves, the slaves of private individuals,[127] and public prisoners.[128] Which group captives were distributed to depended on their social status they held back in their home countries, furthermore, their prices were set according to age, place of origin, sex,

[122] Ehud Toledano, *The Ottoman Slave Trade and its Suppression, 1840-90* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), 15-16. Here one can also read about the different nature of enslavement by *devşirme*. About *devşirme* and the question of the case of the *zimmis*, see also: Y Hakan Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise, 1800-1909* (place: MacMillan, 1996), 2.

[123] In Algiers it is debated whether it was one in five, or one in eight or one in ten. See Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 11.

[124] He states further that the *esir* was the one who made the first step to slavery, see: Pál Fodor, Introduction to *Ransom Slavery*, XIV.

[125] Davis, *Christian Slaves*, xxv.; Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain," 25-26.; See more on the terms: Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise,* xx.; *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* "'Abd."

[126] *Topographia,*, 119.

[127] Only a minority could afford to keep slaves. Fodor, *Ransom Slavery*, xvii.

[128] Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Francisco Rico (Madrid: Punto de Lectura, 2012), 409-410. I used the translation of John Ormsby of *Don Quixote* on E-Books Directory (http://e-bookdirectory.com); Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain," 32.

physical appearance, abilities, beauty, etc. According to their occupations, captives could be personal bodyguards, eunuchs, concubines, domestic servants (the most typical form of slavery), skilled workers (they were treated better, but mostly they were not liberated because of the need for them), galley slaves, or they were used for public works (miners, construction projects), or agricultural work. They could also work in a shop and it happened many times that they started their own business in the course of time. The state was the main "employer" of slaves; it used them in great numbers in the administration and in the army ("military-governmental slavery.")[129] Therefore, in the Ottoman Empire slaves gradually constituted the part of the ruling class; many grand viziers were of slave origin.[130]

There were three *baños* in Algiers, as de Sosa relates: "Worth noting, too, are the buildings called the Bagnios of the King, which are the houses – or, more accurately, the corrals – where they keep their Christian captives and slaves."[131] The "Great Bagnio" (*Baño grande del rey*), where the most valuable and important slaves were incarcerated, was the most secure. The next was the *Bagnio de la Bastarda*: "This building in particular houses the Christians of the *makhzen*, as they call the garrison places in a stronghold, because the makhzen – essentially the city – is their patron and master;" "they send the captives here to public works."[132] De Sosa says that these prisoners had more freedom; they could come and go "as they please, as long as the agha and janissaries do not employ them."[133] In these *baños* there were religious services regularly in the churches; there were a pharmacy and doctor for them as well.[134] These captives were essential parts of the economy of Algiers, which needed manpower, moreover, the city was in need of skilled labor. Captives for ransom meant great amount of money, however; their ransom was paid by their family, the

[129] Erdem, *Slavery in the Ottoman Empire and its Demise*, 1.
[130] About the debate over the need to distinguish *kul/harem* slaves from other kinds of slaves, see: Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent*, 18.
[131] *Topographia*, 256.
[132] Ibid., 257. Sosa also gives an account why it is called "bastarda" (galley), see: ibid., 256.
[133] Ibid., 257.

state, or redemptionists ("economy of slavery").[135] Robert C. Davis estimates the numbers of slaves at 20 000 to 40 000 persons in Algiers between 1586-1680.[136]

Captives were also of great use for the state they belonged to. They were prominent parts of the information-gathering of the state, as Hershenzon puts it, captives were "mediators who circulated information between institutions in Spain, Algiers, Morocco"[137] and "revolutionized the production and transmission for strategic knowledge in the Mediterranean."[138] They sent reports from their captivity (de Sosa also states that he sent reports regularly), or/and wrote treatises after they returned home relating their experiences and observations about the city (maps, urban plan, descriptions of the fortifications, inhabitants, etc.) and the events, activities, and plans of the corsairs, etc. Every kind of knowledge was valuable.[139]

The life of a captive was determined to a great extent by his first sale.[140] Their price, their masters, the status of the master, the job they were given were all decisive factors in defining their circumstances and their opportunities. Their status and positions were dynamic, shaped by several elements; they did not necessarily stay at the level where they were at the beginning of their captivity. They tried to integrate themselves into the society.[141] According to several factors, like their abilities and skills, slaves could improve

[134] For more, see: Ellen G. Friedman, "Christian Captives at 'Hard Labor' in Algiers, 16th-18th Centuries," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 16 (1980), 625.
[135] Taxes had to be paid on each slave upon his/her arrival to the city, see: Fodor, *Ransom Slavery*, xx. See more about the issue of the economic value of slaves in Davis, *Christian Slaves*.
[136] De Sosa estimates the number of Christian slaves to more than 25 000 (*Topographia*, 119.); Davis also says that in Tunis and Tripoli their numbers were much less – in Tunis it was about the one third or one fourth of the number of slaves in Algiers, and in Tripoli there were only maximum 25 000 (but rather 15 000) people. Davis, *Christian Slaves*, 35.
[137] Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain," 2.
[138] Ibid., 16.
[139] See more on this issue in Chapter 4-5 of Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain."
[140] It was not always the case; Bertolomew Georgievic relates about his being sold (or he fled) and purchased seven times (*The Rarities of Turkey gathered by one that was sold seven times a Slave in the Turkish Empire…*, London: 1661) He enumerates a great variety of jobs he did in captivity.
[141] A more elaborate argument against the definition of slavery as "social death" see Chapter 2 of Hershenzon, *Early Modern Spain*.

their circumstances and positions.[142] Over time they changed masters and occupations; they made friends, had helpers, and established widespread social networks.[143] They could even become almost part of their master's family as one of the main examples, the case of a domestic slave, Diego Galán shows. He was promised upon his purchase: "be good and loyal, and I will treat you well,"[144] and according to him, he became almost a part of his master's family. Regarding social mobility, conversion made it much easier. For Algiers, captivity sources commonly relate that they were urged to convert with flattery by force when they arrived.[145] The great advantages of "turning Turk" are related in de Sosa's account, such as the ability to inherit from his dead former master and the gift and money he would get from the governor/sultan upon his conversion, "who also supplies the costs of their food," and that he can join the janissaries.[146] Above all they got much better treatment and often married into the family of their master: "There are Turks and renegades who have ten, twelve, fifteen, twenty or more of these renegades, who they call their sons and treat accordingly."[147]

[142] About the classification of the positions of enslaved people in the debated categories of *kul/harem* slaves as "other kind of slaves," see: Ehud R. Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent: Bonds of Enslavement in the Islamic East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, c2007), 20-21. He classifies the positions of slaves according to task, stratum of the slave owner (urban elite, rural nature, or merchant), location (core or peripheral area), habitat (urban, village or nomad), gender (female, male or eunuch) and ethnicity (African or other). Leslie Peirce argues that "elite slaves," just as like "common slaves" could not transmit their property to their descendants, and were still legally slaves; "the sultan controlled their right to life, taking it if they were judged to have violated their bond of servitude," see: Leslie Peirce, *Morality Tales: Law and Gender in the Ottoman Court of Aintab* (Berkeley: University of California, 2012), 315.

[143] Like Jerónimo de Pasamonte, who traveled through the Mediterranean with his master, made friends and after he fled, he was able to go home with the help of the acquaintances he had in the Greek islands and other parts of the Mediterranean. Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain," 55.

[144] "Sed vos vueno y fiel que yo os trataré bien." *Cautiverio y trabajos de Diego Galán*, 186.

[145] Diego Galán gives an account on a successful conversion of two men from Granada and Fuencarral, who were "persuaded with great efficiency." *Cautiverio y trabajo de Diego Galán*, 88. The pressure to convert that captives suffered was an important part of captivity narratives, serving the purpose of proving that the returned captive had not become Muslim but preserved his faith.

[146] *Topographia*, 126-127.

[147] Ibid., 126. About the "master-slave paradigm," see: Ehud Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent*. He argues that "Enslavement … is a form of patronage relationship, formed and often maintained by coercion but requiring a measure of mutuality and exchange that posits a complex web of reciprocity." Ibid., 8.

Antonio de Sosa was a captive for ransom, a highly valued one as he was a high-ranking member of the Hispano-Italian Church.[148] He was bought by a Jewish renegade, Muhammad, a rich municipal official in charge of the mint of Algiers,[149] listed in the list of *kaids* of Algiers before 1581 in de Sosa's account, and who "does nothing else but occupy his days and nights in rummaging through money…"[150] He was incarcerated in the house of Muhammad, and according to him was sent out to do hard public work from time to time in order to make him beg the Spanish king to pay his ransom. Muhammad's house was one of the largest and most prominent in Algiers according to de Sosa,[151] thus de Sosa met many kinds of people of different origins, officials, visitors, not to mention the diversity of his master's household (wives, children, relatives, servants, and slaves) and the Christian slaves who visited him in prison.[152] Thus, his captivity was not like death in the sense that he was quite active, reading and having conversations, gathering news from people around him. He was in contact with Spain, sending letters to the king and even writing a testimony for the report on Cervantes upon his manumission.[153] However, like most captives, de Sosa, felt isolated, wasting his time in a hostile environment, experiencing continuous humiliation and marginality[154] and the "experience of vulnerability."[155] De Sosa was reading and writing, which might have been his mode of retaining his identity, as Linda Colley puts it "reaction

[148] When Hasan Paşa arrived in Algiers to start his governorship in 1577, he confiscated captives with high ransom values from their masters. Muhmammad was one who resisted and did not give de Sosa and others to him. As Muhammad was a Muslim, Hasan Paşa could not appropriate his slaves, see: Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 44.
[149] Ibid., 43.
[150] Sosa depicted his master like this in *Diálogo de la captividad* cited in Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 43.
[151] Ibid., 47.
[152] Garcés in *Cervantes in Algiers* listed some of his visitors and people de Sosa encountered, see: Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 82.
[153] See: Emilio Sola, "La Información de Argel de 1580" (2007) http://archivodefrontera.com (Last accessed February 20, 2013); Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*.
[154] The slave market has to be mentioned here. Most of the captivity narratives give a detailed account of the humiliating experience of the slave market, where they were exhibited naked and observed by hundreds of eyes.
[155] Colley, "Going Native, Telling Tales," 178.

of captivity … could differ markedly"[156] just as the modes of retaining one's identity in an alien, moreover, hostile, world, in completely different circumstances, status, climate, far from home and from the known world.

[156] Ibid., 176. She discusses the strategies of captives to retain their identity from clothing to writing as being "anchors of identity." Ibid., 180.

Chapter Three
The Cultural Context for de Sosa's Account: New Renaissance Genres for Ethnographic Knowledge about Muslims

"When I came among them, it seemed indeed to me as if I were stepping into a different universe." [157]

Antonio de Sosa was captured in 1571 by corsairs, who were in the service of the Ottoman Empire. This was the age when the scholars, kings, merchants and common people in Europe lived in fear of such a fate. The "Turkish threat" was the main concern in contemporary literature of various genres. De Sosa's account is a product of this era in the sense that it uses the perceptions and methods of presentation developed by his contemporaries, but it also constitutes an original contribution stemming from his specific circumstances and experiences. This chapter will attempt to situate de Sosa's account in the cultural context in which it was written, the tradition he was educated in, the ideological trends of the age, and literary influences on the author. Furthermore, it will examine de Sosa's account for the characteristics of the genres of travel literature and captivity narratives.

3.1. New Genres for New Knowledge: Ethnographic Knowledge, Travel Literature and Captivity Narratives

De Sosa was educated at a prominent university on the Iberian Peninsula,[158] and became a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Spanish monarchy in the sixteenth century, serving as the dean and vicar general of Agrigento (Sicily). His humanistic outlook and his literary influences are signaled in the very beginning of his *Topographia*:

[157] William of Rubruck cited in Anthony Pagden, *European encounters with the New World: from Renaissance to Romanticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 3.

[158] As I mentioned in Chapter 1, it is not known precisely which university he attended. According to the research of Garcés, he either studied at the University of Salamanca, as it was favored by Portuguese students, or in Coimbra. Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 68.

> The learned and curious Moorish author Leo Africanus claims in his *Description of Africa* that it [Algiers] was constructed in ancient times by an African people called the Mesgrana … He never says when this occurred, however, nor does he cite any authorities to confirm his claim. Because neither in Strabo, nor Pliny, nor Polybius, nor in the Tables of Ptolemy, nor the *Itinerarium* of the Emperor Antoninus … can there be found any nation, peoples or city called Mesgrana.[159]

As a humanist he cites ancient authors and accuses Leo Africanus of not being accurate and not using sources to prove his claim. However, de Sosa's account itself is less based on the writings of classical authors than on his own observations as an eye-witness, as I will demonstrate in the following chapters. Thus, while the text contains the existing stereotypes and tropes of his age (Turks as tyrants, the vilest people, and sodomites characterized by "lechery and gluttony," etc.), it is rather a detailed compilation of empirical knowledge.

It is essential to begin with an overview of the developments of the era when the text was written, starting with the different perceptions of Muslims present in Christendom and the Iberian Peninsula, and the ideas about "religious others" in the age of the Renaissance, in order to see how de Sosa diverges from or follows them. As there was a close relationship between Spain and Italy,[160] and many Italian thinkers, professors, and artists went to Spain to study there and vice versa in the fifteenth century, Italian humanist ideas were influential in the intellectual life of the Iberian Peninsula. It is therefore important to examine the Italian Renaissance ideas about the manner in which empirical knowledge should be gathered and presented, as well as about Muslims and religious others to which de Sosa could have been exposed.

There were at least two determining features of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that have to be considered in order to understand the development and transformation of

[159] *Tophographia*, 93.
[160] Spain and Italy were not only close geographically (active shipping routes linked the two peninsulas) and politically (Spanish influence in the region was considerable), but they also had active cultural connections.

perceptions about the world beyond Europe, more particularly about the Muslim others, which led to the production of "ethnographic knowledge" that came to constitute early modern anthropology. The Renaissance brought new ideas, new perceptions and attitudes, but also transformed the already existing medieval and revived the classical ones. What is important among these changes and transformations is that there was more emphasis on observation and empiricism, and the urge of the humanists for continuous self-education and self-improvement regarded travel and "wandering life" as one way of learning.[161] Contemplating the "dignity of man" and a new concept, that is, the idea of the homogenous nature of human beings,[162] implied the observation of humans "globally," which, with the increasing mobility of men and the discovery of new lands, led to the travel becoming popular as a new kind of experience, and the popularity of a new genre, that is, travel literature.[163] The religious contemplation of pilgrimage of the Middle Ages gave way to a more secular vision paying particular attention to humans. This process began earlier than the fifteenth century; a continuity can be observed from ancient times (starting from Odysseus) through the peregrinations and crusades of the Middle Ages and the chivalric romances of the late Middle Ages.[164] Therefore, as the word "transformation" implies, travel

[161] This notion of the travel for the "extent of wisdom" can even be found in antiquity (Odysseus, Apollonius of Tyana). Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés, Introduction to *Voyages and visions: towards a cultural history of travel*, ed. by Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (London : Reaktion Books, 1999), 11-13.

[162] Almut Höfert, "The Order of Things and the Discourse of the Turkish Threat. The Conceptualisation of Islam in the Rise of Occidental Anthropology in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Between Europe and Islam*, ed. by Almut Höfert and Armando Salvatore (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 42.

[163] As Rubiés and Elsner put it in the introduction to their book, *Voyages and Visions*, these new perceptions and the emergence of empiricism were a response for a "crisis of belief" in the fourteenth century and contributed to the development of travel literature as a literary genre offering an "alternative source of narrative truth." Thus, "what the Renaissance inherited from this period was, above all, the idea that there was a kind of truth about men and nature which was accessible to all, rather than just to a specialized religious elite, and which rested upon direct observation rather than upon written authority," Rubiés and Elsner, Introduction to *Voyages and Visions*, 29-30. Justin Stagl, in his book *A History of Curiosity*, also notes that the phenomenon of pilgrimage "was losing its legitimacy" and that new legitimation was needed, which was found in education. Erasmus of Rotterdam (c. 1466-1536) praised the "pious work of self-improvement against the useless, expensive and morally corruptive pilgrimage." See Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*. (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, c. 1995), 47.

[164] Here one also has to mention the missionaries to pagans in the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, like the works of William of Tyre (1130-86) and Gerald of Wales (1145-1223), whose curiosity about customs is reflected in their writings. The most popular book in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries also needs to be mentioned, that is, the *Description of the World* by Marco Polo (c. 1298), which contains numerous

writing in the early modern era did not develop against the writings of medieval practices and ideologies (of the crusades, pilgrimage, and chivalry), but rather it grew out of them in a partly changed form.[165]

In the fifteenth century, with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and the conquest of Constantinople, curiosity about the Muslims, especially the Ottomans or "Turks," increased as they came to be seen as a political, religious and cultural threat. The consequence of the fear and anxiety, and also of the necessity of an accurate knowledge about them, was a large number of treatises on the "Turks," producing a specific kind of genre, the *Turcica*.[166] So an urge for "discovering" and gathering knowledge also had a political side. It formed part of the information-gathering of state intelligence, which used every kind of knowledge from every kind of source in order to prepare itself for a military encounter, territorial expansion, or to provide the necessary information for diplomatic missions and negotiations.

The encounter of these two elements (the changing ideas in the age of the Renaissance and the expansion of the Ottomans) together with the discoveries of new lands were important factors that led to the production of knowledge in such amounts that it had to be organized and a methodology had to be developed in order to make the gathered "ethnographic knowledge" comprehensible.

Ethnographic Knowledge and Travel Literature

Although anthropology became a discipline in the nineteenth century, its methods and characteristics are present already in de Sosa's account. The anthropologist John Howland Rowe argues that:

ethnographic data and is mostly based on observations and experience, although it contained fanciful sections influenced by medieval lore as well. Introduction to *Voyages and Visions*, 25-37.

[165] *Voyages and Visions*, 31.

[166] As it has been mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, Carl Göllner listed 2463 editions and 500 writers, pamphlets, newssheets, memoirs, travel accounts, captivity narratives, and so on which are concerned with the

> the beginnings of anthropology are to be sought in the Renaissance movement in Italy in the fifteenth century … In the sixteenth century there was a great expansion of anthropological observation, and we find the first attempts to classify and interpret anthropological data.[167]

The cultural concepts of the Renaissance, the emphasis on empiricism, the importance of observation, and interest in differences among men are some of these factors that contributed to an emergence of a kind of ethnological sense.[168] Sixteenth-century "anthropology" was certainly different from the nineteenth-century one but some continuities from the early modern era can be observed.

The word "anthropology" originated in the sixteenth century and was first used in 1501, in the title of a book called *Antropologium*, "discourse on man" by Magnus Hundt the Elder. The words "ethnography" and "ethnology" were not mentioned before the nineteenth century, but the subjects which are now labeled ethnographic were termed as "life and customs" in the title, and the closest equivalent to "ethnology" was the expression "moral history."[169] As ethnology deals with the divisions of human kind and its characteristics,[170] it is undisputable that the *Topographia* can be placed among the ethnographic treatises. De Sosa writes hundreds of pages about the people of Algiers. He is concerned with their place of living, names, languages they speak, their clothes, physical appearance, everyday life,

"Turks." However, it has recently been argued that this number is much greater. Lawrence, "Europe and the Turks in Spanish literature," 17.

[167] John Howland Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology in the Sixteenth Century," *Kroeber Anthropoligical Society Papers* 30 (1964): 1-19.

[168] Ethnology is a subfield of anthropology and is also called cultural anthropology. Raymond Scupin and Christopher R. DeCorse. *Anthropology. A Global perspective* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Education, c.2004)

[169] The word "history" has the original meaning of "research" in this context or "a report on research" while "moral" is derived from the Latin *mos, moris*, meaning "custom." Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology," 1. In the sixteenth century, works with these words in the title appeared in growing numbers. Giorgio Iteriano, *The Life and Location of the Circassians* (1502), Damião de Goes, *The Beliefs, Religion and Customs of the Ethiopians* (1540), Juan Gonzalez de Mendoza, *The Story of the Most Remarkable Matters, Rites and Customs of the Great Kingdom of China* (1585), etc. One can see that the pioneers of this kind of "knowledge-gathering" were the Italians, the Spanish, and the Portuguese, and the "Northerners" (English, Dutch, etc.) were just behind them. See Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology," 2.

[170] Ethnology is "the study of the divisions, especially racial, of human-kind, their origins, distribution, relations and characteristics" while ethnography is "the systematic recording of human cultures." Palmira Brummett, "Genre, Witness, and Time in the 'Book' of Travels, in *The "Book" of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250-1700*, ed. Palmira Brummet and Andrew Colin Gow (Leiden, Brill: 2009), 2.

customs, and religions, and he records these by looking at different "ethnic" groups and describing them one by one.

With the changing interest in "other" people and increase in the mobility of men, and, as I have mentioned, travel becoming a mode of education, the number of travel accounts grew to great numbers and a methodology was developed. The early modern travel reports were classified with the genre of *historia*, in which the author described various facts he observed.[171] First, the observer did not select his observation on a methodological basis. He recorded what he thought was worth writing down (what was interesting for him, extraordinary things, useful for the state, what was expected from him, etc.).[172] He wrote down the data mainly chronologically, but later a methodology of travel writing, a hierarchical pattern, developed, which defined the categories of observation and the mode of arrangement.[173] What is called the method for writing about travels, *methodus apodemica* or *ars apodemica*, the art of travel, was developed around 1570 for the organization of the expanding empirical knowledge. The first handbooks for organizing knowledge were produced by the British.[174] However, the humanist Pierre de la Ramé (1515-1572) in his book entitled *Dialecticae Institutiones* (1543) developed a questionnaire format that became known as the Ramus Questionnaire, which became very popular as an organizing apparatus.[175] In 1577 Theodor Zwinger published his *Methodus apodemica in eorum gratiam qui cum fructu in quocunque tandem vitae genere peregrinari cupiunt* in Basel, in which he offers a methodology for travel-writing.[176] He offers models for descriptions of

[171] Concerning the transition periods of travel narratives see *Voyages and Visions*, ed. Rubiés and Elsner.
[172] Facts and events called "*memorabilia, insignia, curiosa, visu ac scitu digna* (things memorable, striking, curious, worth seeing and knowing)," Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 50.
[173] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*; Almut Höfert, "The Order of Things."
[174] For instance, Andrew Boorde's *The fyrst boke of the Introduction of knowledge*, London (1542) and Thomas Wilson's *The arte of Rhetorique, for the use of all such as are studious of eloquence…..*, London (1553). See Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 49.
[175] On this see Ina Baghdiantz McGabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France*, (New York: Berg, 2008), 45.
[176] The book was a result of Zwinger and Hugo Blotius meeting and discussing how to find a solution for the expanding empirical knowledge that was produced and spread widely because of the printing press. They

cities and people, discussing the name (ancient and new) of the city, its territory, history, constitution, principal sights, and the occupations of the inhabitants.[177] After and around the time of Zwinger, more methodologies appeared; a popular one appeared in Nathan Chytraeus' *Variorum in Europae itinerum Deliciae* (1594).[178]

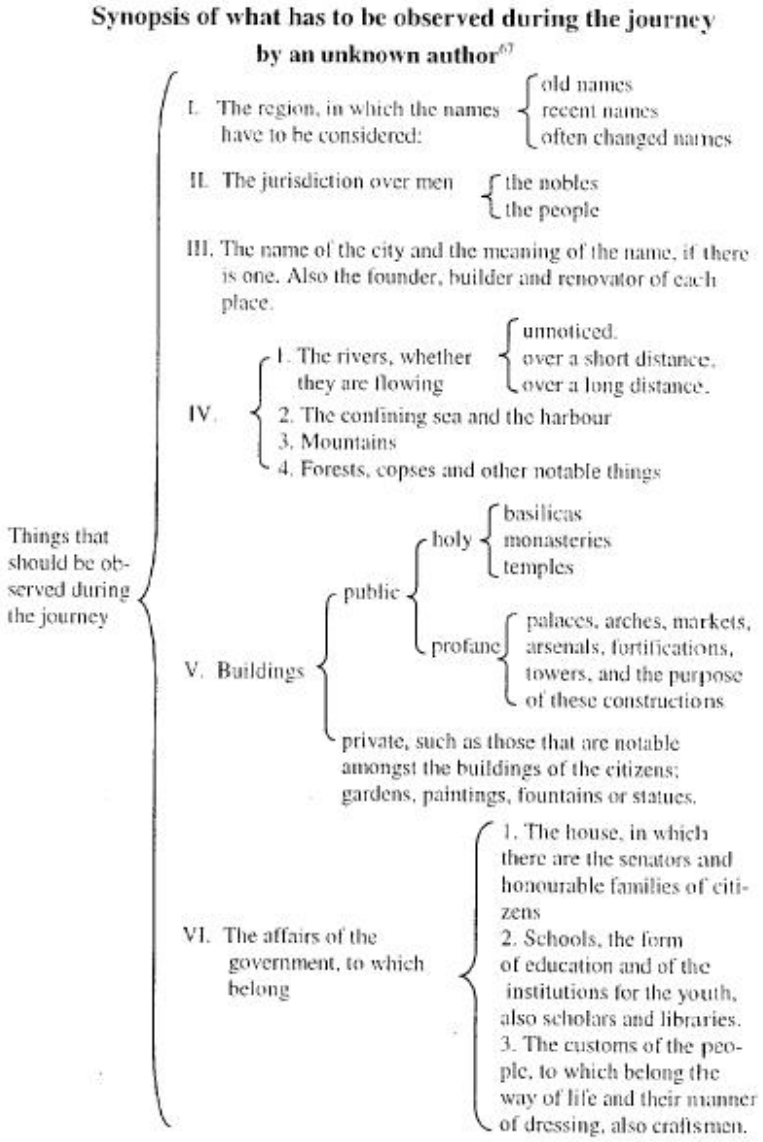

Figure 1. Synopsis in the work of Nathan Chytracus.[179]

followed one of the great humanists of Spain, Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540), who had already set up collections of notes that were classified according to subjects. Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 57-58.

[177] Ibid., 58.

[178] Ibid., 62. This schema was partly based on Hilarius Pyrckmair's method, written in his *Commentariolus de arte apodemica seu vera peregrinandi ratione* (Ingolstadt, 1577).

[179] Höfert, "The Order of Things," 59.

If one looks at the content of de Sosa's *Topographia*, it is visible that he follows these kinds of patterns. However, additionally he puts much more emphasis on describing people. He starts with the foundation of Algiers, its history form ancient times, and he explains the name of the city (its new and its old name). Then he describes the city, its walls, gates and buildings. He continues with the inhabitants of the city and its neighbors, the different "ethnicities" and the various occupations they hold. De Sosa puts emphasis on every day life and customs in the following chapters, and closes his account by describing buildings again, and the natural beauty of the city and its government. The first and the last chapter give a frame for writing while the middle part deals with the people of Algiers and is much longer and constitutes the main section of the account. One can see from the organization of de Sosa's work that his principal interest lies with the inhabitants. He examines the different groups of people, different "ethnicities," separately, discussing them one by one. This emphasis makes de Sosa's work stand closer to anthropology as it is mainly concerned with the difference among men and "establishing facts of human diversity."[180]

Captivity Narratives[181]

Not for everyone was travel a "mode of education" and a voluntary enterprise. For some, it was rather a matter of making a living (merchantmen), a profession (ambassadors, spies) or an unwanted and unplanned encounter with the "other" through the experience of captivity. Thus, when one is talking about the genre of travel literature one has to consider the many "subgenres" or overlapping genres, like diplomatic and ambassadorial reports,

[180] Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology," 5.
[181] For captivity accounts as narratives, as writings which are part history and part imagination, see Margarita Levisi, "Las aventuras de Diego Galán," *Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo* 65 (1989): 109-177.

memoirs, pilgrim itineraries, maps, merchant and navigational handbooks, letters, even captivity accounts, etc. [182]

As de Sosa was taken as a captive to Algiers and wrote his account there, it is essential to look at the characteristics of captivity accounts (especially of those who ended up on the Barbary Coast) and what this "genre" (or "subgenre") implies. This kind of texts written in captivity or afterwards had great value as sources that provided information on a different culture, and were an important part of the information-gathering for the state.[183] They transmitted knowledge on the events in the Mediterranean, Muslim society, the land, the customs, the religion of the people, etc. In Spain, captivity narratives became popular with Cervantes, de Sosa's fellow captive in Algiers. Modern literary scholars consider him a key representative and symbol of the *cautiverio* (captivity) genre, since his "The Captive's Tale" (inserted in *Don Quijote*, of which the first volume was published in 1605 and the second in 1615) gave rise to numerous other passionate accounts on the topic of captivity in seventeenth-century Spain.[184] Captivity accounts share many characteristics with travel narratives, often following the same pattern of systematizing the gathered knowledge. Moreover, they also share the same problems that the reader should be aware of while reading these kinds of accounts.

First, one has to think about the purpose of the writing and the function of the account. As I have mentioned, they may have been part of the information-gathering for the state, as after returning home captives were often asked about what they had seen –

[182] See more: Brummett, "Genre, Witness, and Time," 1. According to the "subgenre" a piece of writing belonged to, its contents also varied. For example, an ambassadorial report is supposed to contain more accurate information and be more objective as it was part of the state intelligence, while merchantmen and captives had a different kind of purpose in writing and experienced a different kind of encounter.

[183] Emilio Sola, "Espionaje, información y cultura. Literatura de avisos en la época de Cervantes," *Escrituras silenciadas en la época de Cervantes*, ed. Emilio Sola, et al. (Alcalá de Henares, Spain, Servicio de Publicaciones, 2006): 19-37; Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain."

[184] See Miguel de Cervantes, *Los baños de Argel* (1615) and *La gran sultana* (1615); Antonio de Sosa: *Topografía e historia general de Argel* (1612); the works of Gonzalo de Céspedes y Meneses and Lope de Vega in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

geography, maritime affairs, government, etc.[185] Even if they were not, some might have felt it their duty to tell of their experiences and what they saw, as was the case with de Sosa.[186] If one only takes a look at the first chapters of his account, one can see how detailed the information is he provides about Algiers, about its fortifications and main buildings, pointing out the strong and weak points of the city. Furthermore, these narratives could serve religious aims either by demonizing the religious enemy and imperial rival[187] and thus fulfilling an "apostolic mission" or being a tool for the Redemptionists, whose aim was to collect money for redeeming captives. In the era of Philip II, religious issues were taken more seriously, as the king intended to portray himself as the defender of Catholicism, and a real fighter against the infidels.[188] They could also urge for a conquest by showing the misery of the Christian captives there or by pointing out the beauty of the land which had been Christian before and should not be allowed to be wasted in the future.

The strategy of writing also has to be taken into account in the case of captivity accounts, namely, that the writer was willing to incorporate things that he thought the reader would expect from him. This was a strategy of authentication as well. In order to be considered trustworthy, the authors gave detailed descriptions based on their own observations but also cited others and incorporated well-known tropes and events.[189] In this way, the author might include tropes and stereotypes about the Muslims that were expected from him and not necessarily (only) his own observations. Often the author was not able to comprehend the significance and the meaning of the things he had witnessed, so his writing

[185] Matar, "Introduction," in *Piracy, Slavery,* 32-33. "The recovery and transmission of knowledge about the Mediterranean was a task that almost every captive in the Mediterranean was engaged in." See Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain," 117.
[186] De Sosa, after his flight, wrote a letter to the king claiming that he was a valuable source of intelligence on Algiers, probably hoping to advance in his career. He mainly referred to some letters he had written to the king during his captivity. Garcés, *An Early Modern Anthropology*, 66.
[187] Voigt, *Writing Captivity*, 54.
[188] For more on this issue, see Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra, "Las crónicas de cautivos y las vidas ejemplares en el enfrentamiento hispano-musulmán en la edad moderna," *Hispania sacra* 45 (1993): 67-82.

should be considered selective.[190] Next, one has to keep in mind that these narratives were self-portraits of the author, which could have further concerns, like the portrait of his country, his smaller patria (like a city and its agglomeration), his church, etc.[191] So the writer had to mix the issues that were expected from him with those that he experienced and what he regarded as interesting. In this sense, one has to think of the difference between "truth" or real experience and what the writer wanted to convey, just as in the case of other genres, like travel literature.

Captivity writings are accounts that were informed by the author's experience of an alien culture and are therefore one of the great sources for Western perceptions of Muslims. But captives mostly wanted to keep their differences and keep a distance from the "others," and in this way, to preserve their identity using different strategies, like clothing, writing down their ordeals, or by socializing with people from their country, or others of similar age, occupation, etc.[192] It has to be kept in mind not only that captives wrote their works long after their experiences, and thus composed their accounts from memory, but also that they wrote about an experience that was shocking for its protagonist; it was an experience of humiliation and fear. How someone reacted to the happenings and the new circumstances also differed and can be traced in the writings.[193] Furthermore, they could not write everything down because of censorship and the Inquisition. Moreover, some accounts are a kind of "plea" and proof of the writer's still being a Christian, not converted. Thus, in spite of these accounts relating observations, they also contained tropes and stereotypes which the author likely never experienced (this was true of de Sosa as well). Considering all these

[189] The other characteristics of the writing that consequently come from this is that the authors often wrote about the same events, like the death of Uluç Ali in Algiers in 1587, which was an event mentioned in every account on Algiers produced at that time.
[190] Colley, "Going Native"; Rodríguez, "La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmana," 128.
[191] Rodríguez and Linda Colley have engaged with the self-representation and psychology of captivity writings; further see also Bunes Ibarra, "Diego Galán, la literature oral silenciada por el afán de prestigio literario," *Escrituras silenciadas en la época de Cervantes* (Place: publisher, 2006), 44.
[192] See Colley, *Writing Captivity*, 179-180.
[193] Ibid., 176-177.

angles, captivity accounts are ambiguous writings marked by ambivalence stemming from simultaneous rejection of and admiration for an alien culture.[194] They were one-sided accounts of a cross-cultural encounter and as such they should be handled with great caution not only by looking at the author, his text, and the audience it was written for, but also at the specific context where it was written.[195]

3.2. Perceptions of Muslims in Europe and Spain in the Sixteenth Century

Perceptions of Muslims in Europe in the Sixteenth Century

Talking about the Ottomans, the perceptions of them found in these writings varied according to time and space, the political and cultural context, the education and origin of the author, etc., but some tropes and categorizations were commonly used in the accounts. These classifications were influenced by ideas and prejudices coming from traditional categories for the "other" (non-Christian), in some cases specifically Muslims (the "Saracens" of the Crusades, etc.), inherited from the Middle Ages and from classical literature. When the news of the fall of Constantinople arrived, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405-1464; the later Pius II) called the event "the second death of Homer and a second destruction of Plato."[196] From this reaction one can see what the fundamental "problem" of the humanists was with the "Turks." They were "beasts" and "barbarians" (de Sosa simply calls them "stupid"),[197] who "trample with filthy feet on the discipline of all laws and liberal arts, and … on Holy Religion …"[198] This emphasis on the inferiority of their culture, education, and the superiority of the Christian world is a significant characteristic of these

[194] Rodríguez, "La representación de las relaciones hispano-musulmana," 126.
[195] Colley, *Writing captivity*, 175.
[196] Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 2.
[197] *Topographia*, 124.
[198] Marcilio Ficino (1433-1499) cited in Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 75..

writings.[199] Even if the expressions were inherited from the Middle Ages, there was a transformation towards a more secular view and argumentation.[200] The fight, primarily against "backwardness," appeared alongside the urge for crusade, and gradually replaced it. "Barbarian" had quite the same meaning as the other widely-used term, "heathen," which originally (in the Bible) denoted the "gentiles" (non-Jews, and in the New Testament non-Christians) and thus marked an important distinction between "us" and "them." This expression also implied being idolatrous, occupied with divination, witchcraft, being lustful, greedy, angry, a liar, and talking to the devil.[201] But the opposition of the heathen/Christian gradually was replaced by the Turk/Christian, putting the emphasis on a distinguishing feature of a more secular nature. The mono-religious worldview transformed to a multi-religious one as the authors started to use categorizations of different kinds. Next to and gradually, instead of the characterization of the "Turks" (Muslims) being heretical or pagan, new alternative terms such as "sect" or "law" appeared, indicating their faith. In the same way, the topos of the "wild man," ("savage") indicating people without proper law and government, disappeared gradually and descriptions of their government gained an important place in the accounts, which even praised the functioning of it.[202]

While the Muslims were still the main enemy of Christianity and the religion was still one of the most important issues to be related on, different elements were emphasized in the writings, and the society and government became as important topics to be described as

[199] As I have argued in the Introduction, the perception of the "Turks" varied, thus even among the early humanist writers, like the chancellor for the Florentine republic Coluccio Salutati (1331-1406), a more positive picture could appear. He praises the military organization, battle tactics and the strong faith of the "Turks." Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 54-57.

[200] Margaret Meserve emphasizes even more the political considerations of the humanist writings, arguing that it can be observed in some cases that there were "good Muslims" and "bad Muslims" according to political interests. For the fight against the "Turks" European states (and authors) sought to ally with other Muslim polities in spite of their "religious otherness," Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 5.

[201] Rowe, "Ethnography and Ethnology," 6.

[202] The government of the Ottoman Empire was discussed positively by Jean Bodin in his *Les six livres de la République* (1576), in which he looked at different forms of monarchy in the worlds. He considers the Ottoman monarchy a legitimate one and he approves the power, administration of the empire, and the great discipline in its society. Baghdianz McGabe, "The Ambassadors," *Orientalism in Early Modern*, 60-61.

the religion. It is visible that besides the perceptions rooted in the Middle Ages, a new attitude, new topics can be found in the writings.[203] While the early humanists accused the "Turks" for being "barbarians" which primarily indicated people without religion, the accusation transformed into a barbarism meaning mainly lack of education. The early writings were born in a context in which there was not much direct contact with the Ottoman Empire, so the sources for the writings about the "Turks" were predominantly rumors and classical sources. With the conquest of Constantinople, and with the establishment of diplomatic, economic ties with the Ottoman Empire, it gradually changed, and brought information on the "Turks," which was much closer to reality. The ambassadorial reports and travel writings, which became wide-spread in Europe because of the printing, had a great influence on the perception of the "other."[204] In the middle of the sixteenth century travelers and diplomats did not only offer their observations on Ottoman customs, religion, military and political organization, but brought to Europe books, manuscripts, and objects they collected. With their collections and writings they contributed to the fields of astronomy, medicine, archeology, mathematics, botany, zoology, etc.[205]

Perceptions of Muslims in Spain in the Sixteenth Century

Perceptions also depended on factors like the proximity to the frontier and thus the "enemy," the level of contact, and political interest and aims, but also on the intellectual background and cultural conceptual frameworks within which ideas about the Muslims were articulated. When talking about the Renaissance and humanistic ideas and methods of

[203] It is argued by both Meserve and Bisaha that the conceptions of the division of the East and West, representing the Turks as barbarians, and the Scythian origin of the Turks which can be found in the early modern writings, were basically of Greek origin (first introduced by Herodotos). Bisaha, *Creating East and West*, 2-6; Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 16. Meserve also argues that it can be traced that humanist authors (who are claiming the necessity of using classical sources) were mainly relying on medieval sources. See Meserve, *Empires of Islam*, 16.

[204] About Venetian *relazioni* and its changing rhetoric (from a rather positive picture of the "despotism" of the Ottoman sultan to a representation of the sultan as tyrant) see Lucette Valensi, "The Making of a Political Paradigm: The Ottoman State and Oriental Despotism," in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, c1990): 173-203.

[205] Baghdianz McGabe, "The Ambassador," 45.

learning and writing, one has to differentiate between works of people coming from different geographical areas. Even if a common pattern can be seen in the intellectual developments and their manifestations, this period should not be considered homogenous. There were variations within the framework of Renaissance that informed the intellectual life.

In Spain, the humanist discourse and the perception of Muslims were influenced by the centuries-old presence of Muslims on the peninsula and by the *reconquista* along with the consolidation of the state and the process of empire-building. The situation was rather ambiguous as the coexistence and interaction with the "religious others" during the Middle Ages left a deep imprint on the Spanish culture, with the Graeco-Latin heritage being supplemented with the heritage of Islamic (and Jewish) cultures.[206] This heritage, however, found itself opposed to the intention of building an empire outside as well as on the peninsula and to the attempt to acquire a religious and ethnic homogeneity.[207]

As I have mentioned, Italian humanist ideas were influential in the intellectual life of the peninsula, but in the process of building a homogenous empire, Spanish humanism also took on a more religious character and Christian humanism developed. Religion was a cohering factor for empire building in which the government used the help of the censorship and the Inquisition.[208] The other distinctive characteristic of the literary products of the Spanish Renaissance (the so-called Golden Age literature) was a different kind of attitude towards the past. There was a revival of the Middle Ages of the Iberian Peninsula, particularly the Visigoth origins of the Spanish kingdoms,[209] when the whole peninsula had been united under one king and one religion. The homogeneity of the state was disturbed by "religious others," the Muslim and Jewish populations of the peninsula. They were a threat

[206] Luce López-Baralt, "The Legacy of Islam in Spanish literature," in *The legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. by Salma Khadra Jayyusi (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994.): 505-552.
[207] Barbara Fuchs, *Exotic Nation: Maurophilia and the Construction of Early Modern Spain* (Philadelphia: university of Pennsylvania Press: 2009), 1; and idem, *Mimesis and Empire: The New World, Islam, and European Identities* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 3.
[208] The Inquisition was established in 1481.

to an intentionally primary Christian "Spanish identity." And on the other hand, they were also seen as a threat by being the tool for a possible Ottoman attack or invasion, and for alliance with their "religious brethren."[210] So after the conquest of Granada the "tolerance" based on the *capitulaciones* according to which the Muslim inhabitants could live according to their religion and laws diminished quite rapidly. Those who converted (the Moriscos) remained "suspicious elements" in the society until they were all forced to leave in 1609.

This "maurophobia"[211] detected in the historiography and legislation got a great impetus mainly in the reign of Queen Isabella, who not only led a *reconquista* on the lands of the peninsula, but also in the field of culture.[212] In spite of the repressive legislation and attitude against the Jews and Muslims, the "maurophilia" also continued to exist. The sympathetic attitudes towards the Moors (the favored genre was the *romancero morisco* which praised the Moors' "chivalric pomp," their being beautiful, and depicted them as objects of erotic dreams, etc.) remained from the *romances* and *canteres de gesta* of the Middle Ages, and they were concerned with love as well as war. It was argued that the Moorish past was also part of the Spanish culture.[213] Moorishness was a habitual presence in the Iberian culture, which was present in various degrees differing from region to region. [214] In her book *Exotic Nation*, Barbara Fuchs shows how Moorish practices, from customs and festivities through language and clothes to housing, were part of the quotidian lives of

[209] Ottavio di Camilllo, "Renaissance in Spain," in *Renaissance Humanism. Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, edited by Albert Rabil, Jr., vol. 2 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), 65-66.
[210] Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire*, 8.
[211] About the Maurophilia and Maurophobia see Luce López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature. From the Middle Ages to the Present* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992.), 209; Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*.
[212] Fuchs showed that the adverse provisions against the Muslims and Jews sprang up not only because of internal political considerations but also as an answer to accusation of Moorishness coming from other parts of Europe (see the so-called "Black Legend"). "In order for Spain to become part of Europe in this period, it must loudly renounce its identification with all things Semitic – both Jewish and Moorish." Fuchs referring to Alain Milhou, *Exotic Nation*, 20.
[213] See Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 80-87.
[214] Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire.*

Christians mostly unconsciously.[215] The sometimes-idealized depiction of the Muslims of Iberia offered a different kind of "otherness" than appeared in other European states.

With the expansion of the Ottoman Empire Muslims of a different "kind" appeared and became the great enemy of the Spanish monarchy in the Mediterranean and North Africa. Knowledge about them had great strategic importance. More writings were produced dealing with North Africa (mainly Algiers and Morocco) than with the New World.[216] Whether the coexistence influenced the perceptions about the Muslims in these Spanish writings, and whether they differentiated between "their Moors" (or Moriscos) and the "Turks" or used the same tropes as the rest of Europe are important questions. It seems that before the conquest of Granada, familiarity with Muslim culture can be traced in accounts, but it gradually disappeared and European perceptions occupied the Spanish accounts. Bunes Ibarra even states that most of the writings are full of general European assumptions and stereotypes. Spanish writings were also full of citing and copying from other well-known medieval and contemporary texts, as was in custom in other parts of Europe as well.[217] One of the earliest *Turcica* published in Spain (Salamanca, 1503), *La gran conquista de Ultramar*, is actually a translation of a French work by Geoffrey Buillion, itself a copy of William Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* (circa 1184).[218] Or one can also refer to the work of a Spanish captive, Diego Galán, the first part of whose text is mostly a copy of previous works.[219] It has to be noted, however, that a differentiation between Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula ("Moors") and other Muslims appeared in some

[215] Fuchs, *Exotic Nation.*
[216] The historian Ambrosio Morales (1513-1591) wrote in the preface to Mármol Carvajal's account that the latter's work is important because Africa is next to Spain and hostile, and therefore it is needed to be known. "Porque siendo Áffrica una provinzia tan vezina de España, y tan enemiga: es cosa de gran provecho tenerla particularmente conosida, para la paz y la guerra, se podrá tratar con toda aquella ventaja que da el conoscer la tierra y sus particularidades." Cited in Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra, "La visión de los musulmanes en el Siglo de Oro: las bases de una hostilidad," in *Torre de los Lujanes*, 47 (Madrid, 2002), 64.
[217] Lawrence, "Europe and the Turks in Spanish literature," 24-26. Bunes Ibarra, "La visión de los musulmanes en el Siglo de Oro," 65.
[218] Lawrence, "Europe and the Turks in Spanish literature,"21.
[219] Bunes Ibarra, "Diego Galán," 45-46.

Spanish writings. Moors were considered to be on a higher cultural level since they lived close to Christians in a previously Christian land. They were seen as capable of creating a refined culture in previous centuries while the rest of the Muslims were mainly considered not capable of such a feat.[220]

How was de Sosa influenced by the fact that he was from the Iberian Peninsula? Even if in his account an effort towards "objectivity" can be detected, and even if it is in a way a "dry" (recording without comments and expressing emotion) account in some parts at least, one still encounters the topoi and the stereotypes of his age existing in other European narratives. If the fact that he was from the Iberian Peninsula and educated in Spain left its marks on his writing, it did so in the sense that he makes many references to sites in Iberia. He uses the strategy of making things and places familiar to the reader through comparison with places and customs of Iberia: "All the streets of Algiers are narrow, even more so than the narrowest streets of Granada, Toledo, or Lisbon;"[221] or "…almost everyone hangs some beautifully ornate damascene knives from them, however possible on the left-hand side, the same way our Spanish Galicians carry their swords on their waists."[222] There is a reference to a game which was played in Spain as well, an inheritance from the Hispano-Muslims in Iberia, that is, the *juego de cañas* (a jousting game). Speaking about Islamic festivals in Algiers, he notes: "The children get together in small groups to dance, separated by race, just as in Seville and Lisbon they separate the Blacks of Guinea, because the Kabyles stay in one part, the Moors of the Sahara in another, and the Blacks in yet another."[223] Furthermore, he gives an account about different Muslim groups living in the city, mentioning Moriscos and

[220] Bunes Ibarra, "La visión de los musulmanes en el Siglo de Oro," 68.
[221] *Topographia*, 117.
[222] Ibid., 169.
[223] Ibid., 211-212.

pointing them out as "the cruelest enemies of us Christians in Barabary."[224] All these references will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Otherwise, when de Sosa uses stereotypical characterizations for Muslims in general, he uses the same topoi familiar from European accounts. He says that the "Turks" are "like brute animals,"[225] while Moriscos "can never get enough Christian blood, nor do they ever lose the great hunger and thirst in their vitals for it." [226] Being lustful and sodomites are other topoi of the sources that occur in de Sosa's text as well, just like describing the Turks as backward and calling them "the vilest of people, stupid and villainous,"[227] whose reign is tyrannical. The European accounts also relate positive characteristics of the Turks, like the discipline of the Janissariess, their bravery and loyalty, etc. This general assumption appears in de Sosa's text with the typical self-critique ("the respect and obedience they tender him is admirable, in stark contrast to Christian military usage"),[228] also seen, for instance, in the account of the Habsburg emissary to the Ottoman court, Busbecq, with the difference that de Sosa also adds that janissaries do not always advance according to merit but depending on whom the agha or the "Grand Turk" favors.[229]

Thus it can be stated that the *Topographia* can be considered a captivity narrative which also has characteristics of the travel literature of the sixteenth century and follows the patterns of the *ars apodemica*. Apart from the characteristics of travel writing, de Sosa also uses the strategies of a writer of the captivity literature. His circumstances as a captive who is compelled to live in an alien and, for him, hostile culture and feels humiliated in this state, and who sees the bad treatment of his fellow Christians cannot (nor is allowed to) speak about the society which caused these conditions only in a completely objectified way. Even

[224] Ibid., 123.
[225] Ibid., 124. Also see in the writings of Quirini, Piccolomini, etc. in Bisaha, "New Barbarians," or Meserve, *Empires of Islam*.
[226] *Topographia*, 123.
[227] Ibid., 124.
[228] Ibid., 135.

though his writing contains negative comments on this other culture, his writing is not characterized by a negative tone on the whole. Although the "compulsory" tropes and classifications are present in the text thanks to his education, the intellectual tradition of his age, the Church and the politics of the Spanish monarchy which he wants to return to, etc., the writing is not overwhelmed with stereotypes at all. Moreover, what the reader gets is a detailed and nuanced picture of the city and its inhabitants, a work which is a forerunner in its age with its great ethnographic sense, which makes him differentiate among different groups of Muslims, as we will see in the next chapter.

[229] Ibid., 128.

Chapter Four
Describing and Classifying the Muslims of the Late Sixteenth-Century Algiers

"… aquel nuevo mundo tan diferente y extraño"[230]

4.1. "Ethnicity" and "Religion" as Categories of Identity in de Sosa's *Topographia*

The key questions for analyzing de Sosa's account are the categories of distinction he is using in his account, especially his usage of the categories of "religion" and "ethnicity."[231] Although at first sight his main criteria of categorization appear transparent, the logic he is employing in classifying the inhabitants of Algiers is not in fact so easy to understand when approaching his terms of analysis with our modern sensibilities. In the account one finds groups under the label of "Algerians," "Moors," "Turks," "Jews," and "Christians." Even though "Christian" is a religious category, other terms seemingly refer to "ethnic" categories in the sense that people are grouped according to their origin and/ or current place of living, the clothes they are wearing, their complexion, language, etc.[232] In sum, they appear to be labeled according to some kind of shared cultural features and not according to religion – according to our modern reading. However, a closer reading suggests that this would be an oversimplification. For instance, consider the expression "to turn Turk or Moor" (i.e. to convert to Islam). One can see that in de Sosa's account religious and ethnic concepts overlap, which is also a characteristic of the early modern writings about

[230] "…that new world so different and strange." De Sosa cited in Voigt, *Writing Captivity*, 55.
[231] De Sosa also indicates the existence of a "professional identity," which is an early modern phenomenon that defines people not according to their origin, religion, the region they live in, but their professions, like in the case of janissaries or *sipahis* in the Ottoman Empire. De Sosa writes about *kadis*, *spahis*, janissaries, etc. in separate chapters devoted to each group, but I am not going to discuss these in detail because I am focusing mainly on intra-Muslim distinctions of identity and of the other ethno-religious group, the Jews.
[232] I am using the term "ethnicity" according to the anthropological usage whereby ethnicity is based upon perceived differences in origins or upon shared historical and cultural heritage. "An ethnic group is a collectivity of people who believe they share a common history or/ and culture." Scupin and DeCorse, *Anthropology*, 225.

"other."[233] While religion was still a fundamental categorization, the concept of "ethnicity," a kind of "cultural community" with a shared place of living – expressed rather by the term "nation" – began to be emphasized more in this era.[234] The concept of "nation" and what it implied also transformed in the period and place of living (regional provenance) reinforced by languages, dress, hair, food, customs became one of the most important elements of identity.[235] However, I will argue that "ethnicity" appears more important than religion in de Sosa's classification of different groups living in Algiers, even if these concepts (religious, "ethnic," and perhaps "regional" identity) overlap in his writing. He uses the term "Algerians" to refer to the "Moors, Turks, and renegades" (discussing the Jews separately) mostly in the cases when he is discussing dress, marriage, everyday life activities, etc., rather than "Muslims," which he uses mainly when he is relating about religious festivals, or some religious rite or custom, although the usage of the terms is not systematic.

In Chapter 11, which deals with the inhabitants of Algiers and its surroundings, de Sosa establishes the main groups he is going to talk about: "Moors, Turks, and Jews." Within the category of the "Turk" he further distinguishes between "Turks by profession" (renegades) and "Turks by nature." These terms (Moors, Turks, renegades) were ambiguous, and ideologically loaded in the early modern writings. The term "Turk" was ambiguous in

[233] "There were Catholic Christians, heretics of various sects, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Persians, Jews, Italians from almost all cities, French, Spanish, Portuguese, English, Germans, Flemings, and to conclude in a few words, [people] of almost all religions, and nations of the world," writes Pietro della Valle showing the mixture of a religious and "ethnic" or "national" identity. (Cited in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 13-15). See more about the discussion of identity (religious, ethnic, regional, professional) in the early modern context in Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*; Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, c1999); Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism;" Meserve, "Introduction."

[234] Robert Barlett argues that also in the Middle Ages "for the majority of medieval writers, ethnicity was defined by and manifested in culture as much as, or more than, descent." For his argumentation he cites besides others Regino of Prüm (d. 915) who says "the various nations differ in descent, customs, language and law." Barlett finds language and customs having a central place in defining ethnicity. Robert Barlett, "Medieval and Modern concepts of Race and Ethnicity," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31 no. 1. (2001): 39-56.

[235] Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 13-14.

both its European and its Ottoman context.[236] In Europe, "Turk" meant Muslim in general, which is indicated by the expression "to turn Turk" (convert to Islam), and such expressions like "Turkish rites" to describe practice of Islam. It was interchangeable with the expression "Mahommetan" or the medieval term "Saracen," and in most of the cases there was no distinction made among Muslims according to the place of living, or else.[237] The case of the "Moor" is similarly problematic. It could equally indicate a Muslim in general, a Muslim of North Africa, or particularly of Mauritania, but was also used for Muslims living in Spain as well.[238] It has to be added that there were authors who made distinctions among these terms. Such authors were Giovanni Battista Salvago, a descendent of Venetian dragomans who was born in Istanbul, Lorenzo Bernardo, a Venetian ambassador, and Leo Africanus, to mention just some of the few examples.[239] Because of their positions (a descendent of Venetian

[236] As Cemal Kafadar points out, in the Ottoman context the term "Rumi was used for those who spoke Turkish … and acquired their social professions, institutions, education, and cultural preferences" in an urban environment as opposed to "Turks," who were associated with "tribal ways and cultural codes." So there existed a dichotomy between "Rumi" and "Turk" that roughly paralleled the distinction between a bourgeois and a rustic, although Kafadar also argues that the picture was not that simple. See Cemal Kafadar, "A Rome of One's Own: Reflections on Cultural Geography and Identity in the Lands of Rum," *Muqarnas*, Vol. 24., History and Ideology: Architectural Heritage of the "Lands of Rum" (2007), 7-25.; Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: the Construction of the Ottoman* State (Berkeley: University of California Press, c1995), 19-28.

[237] See more: Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism;" Nabil Matar, *Turks, Moors, and Englishmen in the Renaissance*.

[238] Isidore of Seville in the sixth century speaks about northwest Africa as Mauritania (derived from "Maurus/Moro") following the Roman usage; his contemporary, John of Biclaro, a Visigothic chronicler, refers to the people of pre-Islamic North Africans as Moors. From the so-called *Mozarabic Chronicle of 754* it seems that in the early history of al-Andalus "Moor" meant Berber, a man of African origin. Later in the Christian kingdoms a transformation of the Moor from a Berber into a general term for Muslims can be seen. See more about the changing meaning of Moor with changing historical context in Ross Brann, "The Moors?" *Medieval Encounters* 15 (2009): 307-318. Leo Africanus uses the term "Spanish Moor" for Hispano-Muslims.

[239] Salvago was sent to a diplomatic mission to North Africa, and in his *relazione* (submitted in 1624) he distinguishes between Anatolian Turks, and those of Europe, then "Barbary Turks," who are mainly from the Anatolian groups of Turks. Moreover, he writes about "Ottoman grandeur," thus making a distinction between "Turk" and "Ottoman"– Ottoman as the state, which has different ethnicities. In this sense, he is unique and the first who makes this fundamental differentiation in the history of the Venetian reports. Of course, many times he conflates the terms. Furthermore, he names ethnic groups like "Africani," "Barbareschi," "Turchi," "Turchi nativi," "Turchi asiatici," "Mori," "Arabi," etc. See E. Natalie Rothman, "Self-fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone, Giovanni Battista Salvago and his *Africa Overo Barbaria* (1625)," In *Renaissance Medievalisms*, ed. by Konrad Eisenbichler (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies), 132. Lorenzo Bernardo writes in his relazioni in 1592: "all Turks held to a single religion… but now the Turks have not a single religion, but three of them. The Persians are among the Turks like the [Protestant] heretics among us [Christians]… Then there are the Arabs and Moors, who claim they alone preserve the true, uncorrupted religion and that the "Greek Turks" (as they call these in Constantinople) are bastard Turks [i.e., bastard Muslims] with a corrupted religious, which they blame on their being mostly descended from Christian renegades who did not understand the Muslim religion." Bernardo Lorenzo, "Its Decline May Now be Under Way," in *Pursuit of Power: Venetian Ambassadors' Reports on Spain, Turkey and France in the Age of Philip*

dragomans born in Istanbul, a Venetian ambassador, and a converted Hispano-Muslim from Granada) they all claimed a familiarity with Muslim society, just like de Sosa – an inhabitant of the Iberian Peninsula who was familiar with Muslims. Thus, the uniqueness of de Sosa can be seen here in his making deep analysis of a Muslim society, and his being able to recognize and represent it as a diverse society with different, even conflicting groups of Muslims – such as "Turks" from Anatolia, "Turks from Romania," "Moors" from the city of Algiers (*baldi*), "Moors" from the mountains (the Kabyles and the Zwawa), Moriscos coming from different parts of the Western Mediterranean, etc. Moreover, they are distinguished by de Sosa according to their place of living, appearance, language and further they appear to be different in some aspects of their culture.

Frequently, the renegades were even more negatively depicted than Muslims "by nature" in the early modern European writings.[240] Christians who converted to Islam were perceived as traitors of their church and their state. Moreover, they were seen as those who offered their skills, knowledge, and their manpower to the enemy. The reasons for converting could be various, but it was certainly attractive that climbing the social ladder was easier in the Muslim world, which violated social rules in the eyes of the inhabitant of Christian Europe where everybody's place in the society was fixed for the most part.[241] This

II, 1500-1600, ed. by James Cushman Davis (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 157.; The French geographer Nicholas de Nikolay also distinguishes among the "Moors," "Turks," and "Jews" in Algiers, but he does not apply further distinctions. He published his writing with pictures about inhabitants of the Mediterranean (which had a great impact on the further depictions mainly of "Eastern others") he saw during his travels in North Africa, the Mediterranean, and "Turkey." See Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations into Turkie* (New York: De Capo Press, 1968) (reprint London, 1585).

[240] The number of and the ease with which renegades crossed religious frontiers was striking for contemporaries. Dursteler points out (*Venetians in Constantinople*, 113.) that "If religion was one of the most important constituent parts of identity in the premodern world, then the presence of so many who traversed boundaries of belief suggests the malleability of even this aspect of identity." The conversion was a topic frequently discussed in writings of the early modern era, and it was also fed by the writings of returned converts to Christian lands who wrote on their "involuntary" and only nominal conversion to find the way back to the Christian society and escape the sentence of the Inquisition.

[241] The success of certain men coming from low social strata who went to the Ottoman Empire and made a great career was well known in Europe. This phenomenon of possibilities appears in the accounts about the Muslim society, including de Sosa's account when he is speaking about the lack of importance of origin and kinship in contracting marriage and seeking social mobility. He writes that merit rather than descent defined a man living in the Algerian society—the concept to which some European authors were sympathetic. (However,

attitude appears in the Venetian reports and in de Sosa's writing as well, as illustrated by the expression they use for the renegades: "Turks by profession."[242]

Other categories used in de Sosa's account are similarly problematic—the question arises about the meaning of the terms "Arab," "African," and "Berber," as well as about their relationship to each other. He says he is not going to discuss Christians because they are not counted as inhabitants of Algiers since they either "arrive here as captives and slaves," or they are merchants who do not stay in the city but "return[s] to [their] own land."[243]

De Sosa starts the description with the local people, the "Moors," those who were in Algiers earlier in history. Striving to be precise in analyzing different groups of people, de Sosa defines sub-categories of the "Moor": "natives of the city of Algiers itself, commonly called in their language *baldi*, which means something like »citizen«;" the Kabyles, a tribe from the mountains surrounding Algiers, and among the Kabyles de Sosa defines another tribe, the Zwawa; and finally the Bedouine. De Sosa also classifies the Hispano-Muslims as the "Moors," which is established already in the early chapters where he is speaking about the history of the city. He talks about the "Arabs" who conquered Africa and the Iberian Peninsula, and he refers to those who defended Orán in 1505 as "Moors."[244] Furthermore, he also calls Leo Africanus (who was from Granada) a "Moorish" author. Plus, he names

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he also adds that aside from merit, man could advance by bribe.) The hatred against renegades appears in many writings, where they are called "roagues, skumme of people," "villanes and atheists" (Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 118-19). Nicholas de Nikolay writes that they are "given all to whoredome, sodometrie, theft, and all other most detestable vices, lyuing onely of routings, spoyles, & pilling at the Seas…" – here one can see the same identification of the renegades with corsairs (Nicolas de Nicolay, *Navigations to Turkie*, fol. 8.). But converts were not only from the lower classes but many learned men converted in a hope of using their skills and knowledge for advancing their careers (military engineers, lawyers, etc.). See Dursteler, *Venetians in Constantinople*, 113-15. I am not going to discuss the various causes of conversion here – voluntary or involuntary – it will be only discussed in the light of what de Sosa wrote about the question. On this issue see Bertolomé and Lucile Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah: L'histoire extraordinaire de renégats, XVIe et XVIIe siécles* (Paris : Perrin, 2006) and Eric R. Dursteler, *Renegade Women: Gender, Identity, and Boundaries in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

[242] This is connected with "professional identity;" renegades as "Turks by profession" are considered not to be good Muslims, accused of being "atheists" as they only converted because of the expected benefits. This is the main accusation against them by de Sosa as well.

[243] *Topographia*, 119.

those who immigrated from Granada, Valencia and Aragón to Barbary the "Moors."[245] So one can conclude that de Sosa's definition of the Moors relates to Muslims who live in Iberia and North Africa. In de Sosa's account the "Moor" also encompasses "Arabs," "Africans" and "Berbers"—the terms used more freely by Leo Africanus.[246]

As it has been mentioned, in a separate chapter about the Turks de Sosa divides them into two "kinds": "Turks by nature" (born Turks) and "Turks by profession" (those who converted and became "renegades"). Thus, his definition of the "Turk" also blurs the modern ethnic and religious categories, and adds a further identificatory category of profession to the mix. He also distinguishes between the Turks from Anatolia and Turks from Romania, adding the geographical provenance within a larger category of the "Turk" as yet another point of differentiation.[247]

Lastly, he is speaking about the Jews, although not in such detail as about the Moors and Turks. But, de Sosa also pays attention to the complexity and diversity of this group and divides the Jews according to their origins into three groups: Jews from Spain, Mallorca and the Balearic Islands; Jews from North Africa; and Jews from "Turkey."

For de Sosa, the basic markers of identity when discussing any group are, first, their place of living, then their appearance (complexion, build of the body, special markers like tattoos),[248] their profession, and their clothing.[249] If some characteristic was more decisive or

[244] Ibid., 100.
[245] Ibid., 122.
[246] De Sosa writes that the Kabyles are "the ancient and natural *Africans*." He mentions that the "Turks" go for collecting tribute from the "*Arabs* and *Moors*," and further writes that "Many women among the Kabyles and Zwawa are whiter than their men. … But the majority of *Berber* women live from the work of their hands… and providing services of all kinds in the homes of wealthier Moorish women and renegades." *Topographia*, 120-21. (Italics mine) When he is talking about North Africa, Leo Africanus uses mostly the terms "Arab" and "African," and also refers to "Berbers" as the tribes living in the countryside.
[247] Salvago also speaks about these sub-categories of "Turks."
[248] Sometimes de Sosa puts their number living in Algiers in the second place, but it is not indicated in every case. Leo Africanus also regarded important to indicate the numbers of the inhabitants. It conveyed a message about the writer that he is well-informed, precise and reliable. Furthermore, it could bear strategical importance, if the numbers were accurate.
[249] It has to be remarked that he leaves out the question of "origin" from his discussion, which was a favored topic of the humanists of the fifteenth century like Piccolomini, Flavio Biondo or Lauro Quirini. He rather uses

important, he changed the order, and put the significant element earlier, like in the case of the Bedouins. In their case, after mentioning their place of living, de Sosa continues with the harsh accusation that they do not work but just beg for alms. Furthermore, while talking about the "Turks," he feels the urge to introduce them to the reader as "the vilest of people, stupid and villainous."[250] These statements and their preeminent place in the description about them are meant to show that the Turks are regarded as the "number one enemy" of Christianity and the Spanish.

The factors defining a group within the category of the "Moor" (the same is true in the characterization of the Turks and Jews) indicate their place in the hierarchy devised by de Sosa. The list starts with the *baldi*, who is a "citizen" living in an urban area and thus occupies a higher level of civilization than the tribal people. De Sosa resorted to the opposition between the urban and rural inhabitants, which was a classical trope also embraced by the Renaissance authors. It was derived from Greek political theory whereby living in the city meant a level of "civility" (being a good citizen), and supposed a kind of education, ability to manufacture, etc.[251] This supposedly higher civilizational degree is also reflected in the complexion and build of the body, with the *baldi* on the top of the hierarchy with their "partly white and partly tan"[252] skin and white, good figured women, and with the Bedouins on the lowest level due to being "ugly, ill-featured, of skin and bones, tan or very dark brown in color" and dirty.[253] This categorization of people according to their

"regional" categorization, which distances him from earlier writings. For the fifteenth century humanist writing about the origin of the "Turks" see Meserve, "Introduction."

[250] *Topographia*, 124.

[251] Seymur Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages," in *Implicit Understanding: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by Stuart B. Schwartz (New York: Cambridge University Press: c1994), 50. For more about racial classifications which connected physical characteristics with cultural differences see Scupin and DeCorse, *Anthropology,* 129-30.; This opposition between people living within and outside the city walls appears in Leo Africanus' work, too. Especially, port cities were the sites of "civility" for him, particularly because they connected North Africa through the Mediterranean with Europe and Arabia. Rothman, "Self-fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone," 135. Leo uses the term "civility" many times in his account.

[252] *Topographia*, 119.

[253] *Topographia*, 122.; The same applies for the Turks as he regards Turks from Rumelia as whiter and more "lively and talented," while Turks from Anatolia are much darker and "more simple-minded." *Topographia*,

complexion, color of their skin and/ or hair was present in the writings of the sixteenth-century authors and was inherited from the Bible. The blackness was a sign of a sin they were carrying, and thus, also the sign of their inferiority to European people.[254] Although de Sosa does not use the concept of "Europe" and "European people," I think he still used this widely known theory of the dark skin as indicator of inferiority. Despite this concept's religious roots, the distinction and categorization of the people according to external markers together with the concept of the "civilizational" levels prefigures racial thinking that informs later, nineteenth-century anthropology and colonial discourse.[255] Furthermore, according to de Sosa's categorization, occupation indicates people's usefulness in the society: the *baldi* are merchants, shopkeepers, principally producing foodstuffs, laborers, artisans or tillers of land, silk producers, raising cattle and livestock; the Kabyles are "serving Turks or rich Moors, often digging gardens and vineyards;"[256] the Zwawa are soldiers and the Turks use them as a kind of auxiliary troops, while their women serve wealthier women, weave or knit. Lastly, the Beduoins are only an unnecessary element, a drag of the society.

The forth group of Moors are described in the following manner: "those who came over to these parts and still come over from the kingdoms of Granada, Aragón, Valencia,

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124. Leo Africanus characterized the inhabitants of the whole "Berbera" "white-sinned" and that it implied something positive can be noticed: "Esta [Berbera] es la parte más notable de Africa, en la cual se hallan las ciudades habitadas por hombres blancos, que se gobiernan según los dictámenes de la razón y de las leyes." [This (Berbera) is the most remarkable part of Africa, in which there are the cities which are habited by white people, which is governed according to reason and law.] Cited in Laura Lara Martínez and María Lara Martínez, "Descripción general de África y origin del nombre del continente según León el Africano y Luis del Mámol Carvajal" Clásicos mínimos on *Archivo de la frontera*, (2005) http://www.archivodelafrontera.com/wp-content/uploads/2005/02/CLASICOS009.pdf Cervantes writing about Zoraida, the "Moorish" heroine of "The Captive's Tale," to have "una muy blanca mano" [very white hand]. Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 412.

[254] Africans were considered to be the descendant of Ham (one of Noah's sons), who was cursed because he saw the nakedness of his father: "a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren" (Genesis, 9:25). Thus the people of Ham were to be the servants of both the descendents of Shem (Semitic people, people of Asia – according to sixteenth-seventeenth century ideas) and of Iaphet (people of Europe). The superiority of Europe was settled this way as well. See more: Phillips, "The Outer World of the European Middle Ages," 44.; Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism," 224.

[255] Considering together the skin and body type, it also indicates the beginning of the science of physiognomy, which was very popular not only in early modern Europe, but in the Muslim world as well. Martin Porter, *Windows of the Soul: The Art of Physiognomy in European Culture 1470-1780* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Miri Shefer-Mossensohn, *Ottoman Medicine, Healing and Medical Institutions, 1500-1700* (Albany: State University of New York Press, c2009).

[256] *Topographia*, 120.

and Catalonia,"[257] and de Sosa divides these Hispano-Muslims into two groups, that is, the *Mudéjares* from Granada and Andalucía, and *Tagarinos* from Aragón, Valencia and Catalonia. If one compares the characteristics of all the different groups discussed by de Sosa, it becomes clear that he sees these Hispano-Muslims (i.e. the *Mudéjares* and *Tagarinos*)[258] as superior to any other group due to their being "white and well proportioned."[259] Moreover, he views them as the most useful participants in the society as they know every kind of craft, particularly those that were extremely useful in war and navy (like manufacturers of harquebuses, gunpowder, blacksmiths, builders). As it was indicated before, Muslims from the Iberian Peninsula, typically termed in the literature as "Moriscos," appeared in contemporary Spanish writings as Muslim people who are considered to be on a higher cultural level than the rest of the Muslims because of their links to Christianity (Christian lands and people).[260] On the other hand, de Sosa emphasizes how dangerous they are for Christianity, especially for Spain, and as such he depicts them very harshly, calling them the "cruelest enemies of *us Christians* in Barbary, because they can never get enough Christian blood."[261] Here, he looses the "objective tone," and his emotions burst out.

The other group of inhabitants of Algiers who bring his emotions to the surface are the "Turks." They are described in a very negative way throughout the text, and de Sosa characterizes their bodies as "robust," which suggests that their education was missing good manners: "because since childhood they are reared with neither fear nor good manners."[262]

[257] *Topographia*, 122.
[258] Mudéjares and Tagarinos were Muslim people, who remained in the Iberian Peninsula without converting to Christianity after the conquest of Granada (1492).
[259] Barbara Fuchs examined notary documents from the second half of the sixteenth century about redeeming captives from North Africa and says that these documents specifying the color of the slaves talk about the color of the Moriscos as anything from "negro" to "blanco." Thus, she says, "the fact that all these different shades are detailed makes it impossible to establish any standard physical appearance for Moriscos," which made "certain Moriscos…undistinguishable from "real" Spaniards." Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire*, 153. Yet Sosa describes all the Moriscos as "white," perhaps because of the abovementioned belief in their "superiority" over other Muslims.
[260] Bunes Ibarra, "La visión de los musulmanes en el Siglo de Oro," 68.
[261] *Topographia*, 122. Italics mine.
[262] Ibid., 124. Salvago also speaks about them in a very negative way, mainly about "Barbary Turks," in which group the Turks from Anatolia ("coward, uncouth and rustic") are the most numerous and eminent. He writes

But it is important to note that despite his negative view of the Turks, de Sosa also admits that "some turned out to be men of worth and valor."[263] He calls them "men," which is an indication of the concept of homogenous human nature present in the text.[264] However, the topos from the previous era when they were commonly described as beasts and animals also appears but only as an allegory: "like brute animals they are given free rein in all manner and vice that materializes or appeals to the flesh."[265] After discussing "Turks by profession," that is the renegades, he lists the six ways that Turks make a living – as *kaids*, *sipahis*, janissaries, corsairs, merchants, masterbuilders or craftsmen. He then devotes whole chapters to each profession.

De Sosa speaks most about the Turks, devoting fourteen chapters only to them, apart from the chapters where he discusses them together with the Moors and Jews. This is understandable since they occupied a prominent position in the life and society of Algiers and held the leading posts in administration and the army, which are discussed in separate chapters (in categories of the *kadis, spahis,* janissaries, corsairs, their customs in peace and war). The other reason why the Turks occupy such a significant space in the account can be the great curiosity and fear of them, as well as the expectations of the readers (individual readers or state officials who needed information because of strategic considerations). Moreover, the author must have had more information about the Turks from the books, reports and pamphlets circulating in Europe. He is writing less about the Moorish tribes

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that in Istanbul the "Turks" themselves make these distinctions considering the Anatolians to be "uncouth and rustic as opposed to Europeans, who are deemed to be valorous, while they [Anatolian Turks] are deemed to be cowardly." In Barbary "Turks" were the administrative elite, and Salvago also points to them as the "creators" of Barbary: "The corsairs of the province are called Barbaresques, but in reality they are a mass and a gang of ruffians of many races and progeny. The founders were Turks and they instituted a new militia of Janissaries in Barbary…." These Turks are considered to be adventurers, outlaws and marginal elements - swindlers, vagabonds, murderers – of the Ottoman society. For more on Salvago and his rhetoric see Rothman, "Self-fashioning in the Mediterranean Contact Zone."

[263] *Topographia*, 124.

[264] The concept of a homogenous human nature emerged already in the fifteenth century. Inhabiting the remote territories with mysterious creatures and alike was a characteristic of writings of antiquity and the Middle Ages, and gradually disappeared from the accounts from the fifteenth century on. The same applies for the treating of the "Turk" being depicted as wild beasts, and "monstrous race." Höfert, "The Order of Things," 42-43.

(Kabyles, Zwawa and Bedouins) since he did not encounter them daily. He had more first-hand experience with the Moorish citizens (*baldi*), the "Turks," or the Jews whose household he served in. De Sosa includes the corsairs in his discussion of the "Turks" because they are "Turks by profession" – even though the origin of the corsairs was varied. According to de Sosa's catalogue of corsairs, there were 22 renegades and three sons of renegades (the most numerous ones were the Genoese, counting six persons) out of the 35 corsairs he lists by name, but there were also 12 renegades and one "of the Jewish nation" (certainly also a renegade) among the 23 *ka'ids* of Algiers before 1581.

According to de Sosa, the renegades are not "real" Muslims; rather, he depicts them as "not legitimate Muslims."[266] He writes that "few are the renegades who are truly Moors or Turks," and they convert only because of benefits of being a Muslim, and because of "lust, sodomy and gluttony."[267] Chapter 13 is dedicated to them, and de Sosa lists here the reasons for "forsaking the true path of God"[268] with using many known topoi. As first he lists the case of the slaves (calling the act of conversion the "fainthearted refusal to take on the work of slavery"[269]). He then discusses conversion "by pleasure" emanating from the desire to live a good life of the Turks. Lastly, he talks about conversion due to "youthful ignorance" and "the wickedness of sodomy imposed"[270] on converts since their childhood by their masters. He gives reasons from the other perspective as well by saying that Turks forced people to convert because they saw this as doing service to God and Muhammad.

After enumerating the reasons for conversion from the perspective of both the converts and the agents of conversion, he goes on to discuss the economic reasons as a more

[265] *Topographia*, 124.
[266] *Topographia*, 210. The same appears in various other writings; to cite an example Lorenzo Bernardo writes in his relazione: "As a matter of fact, I have known many of these renegades who had no religious beliefs, and said religions were invented by men for political reasons. They hold that when the body dies the soul dies, just as it does with brute beasts, which they are." Bernardo, "Its Decline May Now be Under Way," 157-8.
[267] *Topographia*, 228.
[268] Ibid, 125.
[269] Ibid, 125.
[270] Ibid, 125.

down-to-earth or materialistic explanation for "turning Turk." In this part, "the cleric" in de Sosa gives word to "the doctor of law" who then discusses the inheritance issues of the renegades drawing parallel and noting a similarity between Christian and "Turkish" laws ("it is the same as what common law dictates among Christians").[271] In this way he familiarizes the audience with the observed, makes it understandable, and at the same time brings the two worlds closer by pointing out similarity, instead of sticking to their fundamental difference. In de Sosa's work, renegades are accused of being the principal enemies of Christian religion, partly because of their great numbers,[272] and partly due to their (strategic) knowledge of their lands (they knew the language and shared the appearance of their former coreligionists and could thus easily creep into Christian territory without being recognized). Moreover, they put their skills (many were carpenters, harquebusiers, other artisans) and manpower into the service of the enemy and betrayed Christianity. In the eyes of the Christian ecclesiastical establishment, of which de Sosa was a member, converting to Islam meant the greatest sin. Furthermore, de Sosa's master was a renegade, even if he was Jewish by origin, so de Sosa experienced bad treatment by one of the renegades first hand. Renegades are not only depicted as the great enemies of Christianity but also as people most of who want to reconvert. De Sosa writes that many renegades claims that they are Christians on the inside and Muslims only outwardly.[273] Here de Sosa again intervenes in the text with a personal judgment, pointing that these people will go to Hell. Afterwards, he adopts a moralizing tone of a church man putting emphasis on both body and soul together, and the importance of a public confession: "a man is obliged to serve God and his creator with all he has received, body and soul, and to profess publicly in front of all, so that they

[271] Ibid, 126.
[272] "Almost all the power and dominion, and government and riches of Algiers and the entire kingdom resides in them." (*Topographia*, 127.) Sosa puts the number of their households to six thousand or more, which Garcés estimates to 50-60 thousand people. Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 321.
[273] The character of the renegade who wants to reconvert appear in Cervantes' plays as someone, who wants to

see and know this…"[274] He sees the renegades as tricksters who convert to become rich and gain power and position.[275]

Furthermore, he makes a distinction between male and female renegades, depicting the latter in a more positive way by saying that at least some of them "very truly and continuously commend themselves to our Lord Jesus Christ…"[276] These women send alms in God's name, go to mass, send goods to the church, and wait for the day when a Christian armada appears at Algiers to free them. Depicting these women as true Christians waiting in Africa can be regarded as an urging and a legitimation for a future conquest of Algiers and North Africa.[277]

De Sosa does not have a positive opinion of the Jews; he emphasizes their love for money (and thus their being engaged in counterfeiting money) and their bad treatment of the Christian captives upon "turning Turk" ("hating them both as a Jew and as a Muslim").[278] He also gives account of the humiliation and indignity the Jews suffer from the Muslims, which he describes as "incredible to see." He says: "for the slightest complaint or on a slender occasion, they skin them alive;" "when coming upon a Jew … [even] a small

[274] *Topographia*, 228.

[275] Cervantes had a different view, a double vision on renegades. He depicts them as converts, who want to return to Christianity and to Christian land, thus, they help Christian slaves in whatever they can, even with their attempts to flight. (About renegades, who helped Christian captives in order to gain letters of recommendation see Chapter 3 of Hershenzon, "Early Modern Spain," 59-103.) On the other hand Cervantes also criticizes them saying "he himself [the renegade] obtain the object he so much desired, his restoration to the bosom of the Holy Mother Church, from which by his own sin and ignorance he was now severed like a corrupt limb." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 413.

[276] *Topographia*, 229.

[277] The female converts are described more positively in the sources such as narratives of conversion and Inquisitorial reports since they are regarded as too weak to resist pressures of conversion. They are depicted "as sexual objects and passive victims of circumstance," and "bound by patriarchal and familiar constraints." See Tijana Krstic, "Everyday Communal Politics of Coexistence and Orthodox Christian Martyrdom," in *Contested Conversions*, 157, 161. But as Marc Baer also argues, many times this was not the case, and women converted because of the advantages of being a Muslim, e.g. they wanted to divorce from their Christian husbands, or because "Muslim women bought and sold property, inherited and bequeathed wealth, established *waqfs* [endowments], borrowed and lent money, and at times even served as holders of *timar* [prebends] and usufruct rights on *miri* [state] lands, as tax farmers and in business partnership." See his "Islamic Conversion Narratives of Women," 426. It is also interesting that in the case of men, marrying a Muslim woman was considered the strongest incriminatory evidence in the eyes of the Inquisition because it suggested his intention to remain in Muslim lands and assimilate, while in the case of women it was assumed that they were coerced by their husbands to convert and were unable to resist.

Moorish boy will make him remove his skullcap from his head and take off his slippers, which boy will use to slap his face a thousand times, and the Jew will not dare to move or defend himself."[279] He also provides the explanation the Moors gave for this treatment, saying that it was "his, Jew's just deserts and unremitting penance for the great sin and obstinacy of his tribe."[280] One has to remember that de Sosa had a bad opinion of his master, a former Jew, who "does nothing else but occupy his days and nights in rummaging through money, counting money, bustling about money… practicing alchemy, and coining false money." The same is depicted in the chapter about the Jews: "they engage in great deceits and falsehoods, counterfeiting money or mixing quantities of copper to coin in into an alloy."[281] This image follows the Christian polemic about the "usurious Jew" who took great interest on loans to Christians. As a pamphlet states "as almost everyone knows, the Jews go around cheating from youth to old age."[282]

In sum, in the chapters discussing the three main groups (Moors, Turks, and Jews)[283] separately de Sosa sets the main characteristics of each according to a list of criteria to which he keeps throughout the text. His descriptions are detailed and distinctions carefully delineated, ordering peoples into further subcategories, mainly according to their origins and/ or current places of living. He is following a set schema in each chapter. In spite of this precise pattern, his relation is not dry but is flavored with exciting stories and phenomena,

[278] When one reads these lines, she/he has to keep in mind that de Sosa's master was a Jewish renegade, Muhammad, who did not treat him well.
[279] *Topographia*, 182.
[280] Ibid., 182.; This very low status of the Jews are also mentioned in Leo Africanus. When he is relating about Fez, he mentions Jews for whom it is required to wear distinctive clothes, behave in a differential manner and pay a tribute to the sultan. Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: a Sixteenth-century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 131.
[281] *Topographia*, 181.; The
[282] R. Po-chia Hsia, „The Usurious Jew: Economic Structure and Religious Representations in an Anti-Semitic Discourse," in *In and Out of the Ghetto: Jewish-Gentile Relations in Late Medieval and Early Modern Germany*, ed. by R. Po-Chia Hsia and Hartmut Lehmann (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 161.; The accusation of the Jews as those lending money at usury appear in Nikolas de Nicolai's account as well, where he is writing about Algiers and its inhabitants. Nicholas de Nikolai, *Navigations into Turkie* book 1., fol. 7.
[283] Although de Sosa also discusses renegades, apart from some comments on their weak faith, he puts them with the same group as Moors and Turks when he is talking about their customs.

such as the story of the cross carved in the Zwawa faces indicating their "Christianity" in the past,[284] or the origin of the horsetail that the janissaries used in battle.[285] The fundamental distinction between "us" and "them" – Christians and Algerians – is set at the very beginning, already in the first line of the first chapter, where de Sosa draws the attention to what Algiers and its people are well-known for: "the great and ceaseless harm its people inflict on all the coasts and provinces of the Christian world."[286] It also implies a certain sense of "*unitas Christiana*" on the part of the author who uses the pronoun "us" to denote the "Christians."[287] Further in the text he does not let the reader forget this by providing continuous references to the bad circumstances of Christian captives, or the attack on Christian lands on behalf of the Algerian Muslims.

The hatred towards the Turks is also set at the very beginning and pervades the text, and, as such, it follows the "trend" of the Christian writings produced in the era. When they are first mentioned, the Turks are called tyrannical, an often used characterization of them appearing in the sixteenth century.[288] This accusation appears related to their oppression of the Moors. De Sosa therefore sets the opposition between the Moors and Turks, which makes this an important text not only because it differentiates among different groups of Muslims but also discusses the conflicts among them.[289] The main accusation against the Turks throughout the text is their cruelty and lechery, and their being villainous and stupid—something that I will return to in the ensuing chapter. Furthermore, this negative characterization is not always expressed directly but through a story recounting their deeds

[284] Ibid., 121.
[285] Ibid., 144.
[286] Ibid., 93.
[287] De Sosa also mentions European nations, like Germans, French and Galicians.
[288] "The Algerians hoped that this sheik would defend them and take them under his wing, as he did for some years, until the Turks tyrannically seized the city and took possession of it, as what follows will show." *Topographia*, 101.
[289] Salvago writes about this issue but in the first half of the seventeenth century. It will be discussed further in the following chapter.

in an "objective tone," but which implicitly reinforces the negative opinion about them.[290] He uses this strategy on other occasions, too. The accusation of the Turks as "barbarians" (he only uses this word only few times) indicates their being stupid and senseless. They are not seen as barbarians by de Sosa in terms of their lack of education but because they do not live according to "reason." [291] Furthermore, the Turks' being courageous is juxtaposed to the Moors' being cowardly and not "daring to resist the Turks."[292] This juxtaposition pervades the whole text.

This also indicates that in de Sosa's perception courage and military virtue are not among the most valued characteristics, but he rather regards "reason," and "sense" more important to be possessed by a man. This is reflected in his methodology and style of writing: he endeavors to be as precise as possible, as detailed as possible, arguing with logic (according to him), or with the explanations of the "insider." When he is talking about the janissaries he even lists what one can find in their packs: "two or three shirts and breeches kept in small chests, a few hand spans wide; armaments such as a harquebus and scimitar; some horn container for gunpowder; and a small mat and blanket with a cape for sleeping and covering themselves."[293] The extremely detailed information he provides in the text must have been of great military and strategic use.[294] On the other hand, his attempt to appear precise allows him to claim the authority, which was a common strategy of writers, as someone with deep relevant knowledge, who is trustworthy. This emphasis on orderly

[290] As it can be seen in the section about Barbarossa and how he occupied Algiers. *Topographia*, 103. De Sosa calls Barbarossa a tyrant just as Carvajal does when he is relating the history of Algiers. He gives account on the same murder of the former ruler of the city of Algiers (Al-Thumi): "y quando Horux Barbarroxa aporto alli a posseya Celim Beni Tumi a quien aquel tiranno mato, como queda dicho en la ciudad de Tremecen [Tlemcen]." ["and when Oruc Barbarossa arrived here, which was possessed by Celim Beni Tumi whom that tyrant killed, as it is said in the city of Tlemcen."] Mármol Carvajal, lib. 5. fol. 124. cap. 48.

[291] The emphasis on education and "arts" can be seen when he is talking about the Arabs and accusing them of ruining the liberal arts by naming things differently. This calls to mind Piccolomini's accusation against the Turks upon the conquest of Constantinople that they trample on laws and the liberal arts, with the difference that de Sosa is worrying about the names, words, which was typical for his era.

[292] *Topographia*, 103.

[293] Ibid., 146.

[294] What I mean by that is mentioned in Chapter 1 of this thesis.

and precise exposition was also a part of his self-representation indicating his high-level of education, abilities, and intelligence. Regarding his methodology, one can also see that he applies the tool of comparison in his depictions. He pays attention to similarity ("….and almost everyone hangs some beautifully ornate damascene knives … the same way our Spanish Galicians carry their swords..."[295]) and difference ("unlike Christians, these merchants are not accustomed to form a company with merchant from other parts…"[296]) compared to Christians. Calling upon the familiar through comparison and decoding was a method of making the new information understandable, familiar to the reader.[297] In order to make his observations intelligible, the author had to choose categories for classification of the socio-cultural system of the people of Algiers.

4.2. The Themes of Classification in de Sosa's *Topographia*

De Sosa organized his observations on the "alien ways of living" in Algiers by arranging them into cultural themes in order to make the gathered knowledge comprehensible. He used "some criteria of importance or universality," and tried to "discern likeness or uniformities in his materials."[298] De Sosa mainly followed the categories devised by other sixteenth-century travelers, such as the history and the name of the place, its landscape, its buildings and fortifications, customs and religion of its inhabitants, and type of its government.[299] However, his specific editorial choices within these larger categories and the manner of representation are noteworthy. In his discussion of "socio-cultural systems" of Algiers de Sosa focused in particular on everyday activities and issues such as dress, language, marriage, childbirth and childrearing, pastime, home decorating, cooking/food,

[295] Ibid, 169.
[296] Ibid, 167.
[297] See more on methodology of ethnographical writings in the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries in Margaret Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, 167.
[298] Ibid., 164-5.
[299] See Stagl, "A History of Curiosity;" Höfert, "The Order of Things," and Chapter 3 of this thesis.

religious festivals, burials, religious customs and rites, etc. In contrast, the topography of the city and its government receive a much shorter description. Within the mentioned themes de Sosa also touched upon topics such as games, education, magic, circumcision, calendar, and so forth. These themes of classification, apart from being interesting to the author, were suitable for showing the great diversity within the inhabitants of the city of Algiers and their difference from (or sometimes similarity to) "Christian" culture. Moreover, the potential readers (particularly the administrators of the Spanish monarchy, and the church) could also dictate the nature of inquiry. By detailing the differences among the inhabitants of Algiers de Sosa provided potentially valuable information for the Inquisition, which was gathering every kind of information helpful in recognizing and convicting crypto-Muslims (and crypto-Jews).[300] Within the scope of this thesis I cannot discuss all of the customs and rites de Sosa mentions in his account but I will focus on those that reveal most about his perceptions and sensibilities of being a Christian, a "Spaniard," a cleric, and an expert in law, while also keeping in mind the potential readers of the text. The focus will be on the passages where he tried to maintain an "objective" tone when a negative judgment would have been expected as well as on those where he lost this assumed distance, where he diverges from his contemporaries or other sources on North Africa, and where his explanations about a phenomenon seem worthy of being mentioned.

Dress and Language

Apart from customs and rites, rituals and manners of everyday life, there are two "external" factors that define identity for de Sosa: dress and language. Both were among the

[300] The title of Carlo Ginzburg's essay "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist" is telling because it suggests the detailed character of the inquisitorial inquiry (questions asked of suspects and "witnesses") and its similarity to that of a modern anthropologist. The questions touched upon every nuanced aspects of the lives of the "religious others" (Muslims and Jews), especially external markers, beliefs, norms, religious rites and everyday customs. The Inquisition also gathered and analyzed reports (travel writings, captivity narratives, etc.) produced about Muslims and Jews. See Carlo Ginzburg, "The Inquisitor as Anthropologist," in *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method,* trans. by John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Balitmore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, c1989); *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, ed. by Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011); Bennassar, *Les Chrétiens d'Allah*.

main concerns of the Spanish monarchy, as is apparent from the legislation against the Moriscos that led to the revolt of the Alpujarras.[301] Clothes (and hairstyle) were of great importance in Europe as well in the sense that they did not only have functional roles but also symbolic meanings and served as signs of shared beliefs and values that communicated different messages (such as age, social status, wealth, etc.)[302] De Sosa was a careful observer of Algerian "fashion" (paying particular attention not only to "style" but also color and materials of clothing) with an eye for both cultural diversity and religious affiliations.[303] While he mostly discusses what is worn by "Algerians" ("Turks, Moors and renegades"), de Sosa notices and gives account of regional and "ethnic" differences. For instance, the people from Constantinople (and "Romania"), who had not bought new clothes yet, "walk about in garments worn in Turkey. These differ considerably from Algerian fashions…"[304] Another main distinction indicated by clothing is between Jews and Muslims (dress and hairstyle), particularly because of the restrictions imposed on Jews: "no Jew is allowed to wear shoes

[301] The legislation did not target the domain of religion but regulated cultural and even daily life. One of its aims was to forbid the Moriscos of Granada to dress like they customarily do, and called upon them to dress like in Castilia. It also ruled against the usage of Arabic, the language of (converted) Muslims in Spain. The Morisco leader Francisco Nuñez Muley in his argumentation against the legislations points to the fact that the dress worn in Granada is an indicator of regional not religious identity, just as Christians dressed differently in different parts of Spain and Europe. See Fuchs, *Mimesis and Empire*, 102-104.; Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005).

[302] The contemporary interest in clothing as an indicator of ethno-religious identity can be seen from the many costume books printed from the fifteenth century onward. The first universal history of clothing was published in 1575, which listed Greek and Roman clothing and that of the Islamic and Asian world as well. The dress as a behavioral code and an indication of social class was also denoted in some of these costume books of the sixteenth century. On this issue see *Clothing Culture, 1350-1650*, edited by Catherine Richardson (Aldershot: Ashgate, c. 2004). Nicholas de Nikolay's account of his travels in the Mediterranean can also be considered as a costume book of the area.

[303] It is interesting to note that de Sosa discussed religious dimensions of clothing (like the elbow-length sleeves, which enabled the wearer to wash his arms up to the elbow as it was required by Muslim law), and other kinds of customary aspects of dress (like wearing slippers in order to be able to take them off easily and fast because Muslims do not enter their houses in shoes in order to keep the house clean) or simple economic considerations (the iron taps on the heels of shoes to make them long-lived, because shoes were expensive), etc. Thus, it also can be seen here that de Sosa informs the reader and connects an external marker like dress with religious identity. *Topographia*, 172. He does not discuss the colors of clothing, which was another issue of great importance for both Christians and Muslims since it conveyed one's status in the society. For example, Busbecq discussed the black color of clothing as connected with something evil or disastrous, and it is telling that Jews had to wear this color. *The Life and Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq*, eds. Charles Thornton Forster and F.H. Blackburne Daniell (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1881.) vol. 1., 144.

[304] *Topographia*, 172.

of any kind of color."[305] They usually wear black dress, which is similar to the regulations in Europe. Even within their own group, Jews' clothes vary according to where they come from (Spanish lands, Mallorca, Africa, "Turkey," etc.).

De Sosa gives great weight to the depiction of Algerian women; he discusses their clothing in a separate chapter. The same "ethnic" difference is noted for them as well: "The dress of women is not entirely uniform."[306] According to de Sosa, Jewish women dress like Muslim ones except for the shoes, as "they wear slippers of black leather,"[307] and they do not go out covered like the Muslim women do.[308] Wealthy women wear "a round beretta of brocade or of satin or damask" on their heads, and they put "countless pearls and gemstones"[309] wherever they can. This richness of the wealthy women's clothing is also depicted by Cervantes in great detail in "The Captive's Tale" in *Don Quijote*.[310]

Apart from "ethnic" differences, social stratification (wealth and reputation) is also indicated by both clothing and facial hair (long beard). De Sosa distinguishes among "rich men," "men of reputation," and "important men."[311] The leading status of the janissaries is also signified by their peculiar dress, the exclusivity of which is taken seriously: "neither Moor nor Turk nor renegade can wear this edging on this clothing, under penalty of a life

[305] Ibid., 183.
[306] Ibid., 198.
[307] Ibid., 202.
[308] Ibid., 202.; He explains this without mentioning religious considerations; he only says that Muslim husbands are jealous and they care about maintaining their reputation. Ibid., 193; "Muslims'" being jealous appears in other writer's accounts. See for instance Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, Vol. I, Book 1, 183.
[309] *Topographia*, 199.
[310] "It would be beyond my power now to describe to you the great beauty … of my beloved Zoraida … I will content myself with saying that more pearls hung from her fair neck, her ears, and her hair than she had hairs on her head. On her anklets, which as is customary were bare, she had carcajes [bracelets or anklets worn by Morisco women] of the purest gold, set with so many diamonds that she told me afterward her father valued them at a thousand doubloons…" Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote de la Mancha*, ed. Francisco Rico (Madrid: Punto de Lectura, 2012), 421. I used the translation of John Ormsby of *Don Quixote* on E-Books Directory (http://e-bookdirectory.com). Leo Africanus calls the rings and ankle bracelets a "fashion of the Africans" (Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, 159.), while de Sosa does not make this remark, only says they are worn by "Moors, Turks, and renegades." *Topographia*, 199.
[311] De Sosa calls as important men *ka'id*s, merchants, some *ru'asa* [*reis*], and other "older men." Furthermore, where he is speaking about circumcision, he mentions that if somebody who wants to become a "Turk" is a "distinguished person – such as a soldier from Orán; or a master of arts or crafts; or the officer of a ship – he is

sentence."[312] Regardless of ethnicity, wearing the turban is common "be they Turks by birth, renegades, corsairs, merchant, or artisans," and if some "Turks and renegades" or sons of them are poor and not important personalities, they wear only *tartura*.[313]

De Sosa marks cultural distance between "Christians" and "Algerians" throughout all the chapters. In the case of Muslim women, especially their body painting grabs his attention.[314] His lengthy description shows fascination with this custom, "which is different from that used by Christian women,"[315] as are the big earrings and many scents and oils that the Algerians are using. The beauty ideal of the black hair, as opposed to the European ideal of the blond, is also unusual for him. On the other hand, cultural similarity also finds its way into his discussion as he mentions that women in Iberia dress "*a la morisca*."[316] He recognizes similarity also in the custom of wearing damascene knives on the left-hand side, "the same way our Spanish Galicians do."[317] Furthermore, in his discussion of fashion of "Turkey" he decodes what he sees for his readers by making references to the "Hungarian style" or the style of the Germans.[318]

In the chapters about fashion the reader finds references to active trading between Algiers and Europe with textiles coming from England, Flanders, and Valencia. Leo Africanus also mentions foreign wool that wealthier persons wear, and he regards it as a sign

dressed up as a Turk" and the janissaries parade with him on the streets. Thus, one can get a clue about who was regarded as an eminent member of the society. *Topographia*, 127.

[312] Ibid., 172. The distinguished status of the janissaries is also implied here but discussed in more detail in chapter 20 ("Customs of the Janissaries in Peacetime").

[313] Ibid., 172. Janissaries also wear *tartura* but in a different style. *Tartura* is "a hat without a crown that was part of the uniform of the military Turkish elite." Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 331.

[314] They "paint designs on their cheeks, chin, and forehead, such as marks, cloves, and rosettes." *Topographia*, 200.

[315] He comments on it negatively with a dash of humor, which is so typical of his negative points of view: "In truth, this habit turns those who are beautiful quite ugly, and the ugly women, to a great degree, even uglier." Ibid., 200. Leo Africanus, for whom these female beauty practices are not strange, says that body painting is a "most decent custom." He says that this custom was brought in by the Arabs. Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, 159.

[316] "… some women tend to wear over their smock or camisole a kind of cape … of the kind used by non-Moorish women when they are sometimes pleased to dress *a la morisca*." *Topographia*, 199.

[317] Ibid., 169.

[318] Ibid., 172.

of "civility." Both Leo Africanus and de Sosa view trade as an important connection between the two sides of the Mediterranean that leads to cultural similarities.

Cultural diversity of Algiers is also manifested in the various "languages" (languages and dialects) spoken here. According to de Sosa, these are three: "Turkish," spoken basically by the "Turks," "Arabic" spoken by the Moors, and "*lingua franca.*" Moreover, he speaks about further "dialects"[319] (de Sosa uses the word "language" here as well) within what the Moors speak, although "they conform to each other, both in many of their words and modes of speaking."[320] Another difference is "diction and pronunciation," which varies according to groups like the Kabyles, the Arabs, and the Baldis. De Sosa states that they speak so differently that they can hardly understand each other, which he suggests is similar to the difference between Spanish, Italians and French.

According to his interpretation, the cause of such diversity in one province is the corruption of the "Arabs of Arabia" that transpired when they conquered Barbary. Here, he agrees with Leo Africanus who is writing about Arabs "corrupting" the language of the Berbers, and vice versa.[321] In addition, he writes: "But all the sea-towns of Africa from the Mediterranean sea to the mountains of Atlas, speake broken Arabian. … Howbeit they which dwel ouer against Tunis & Tripoli, speake indeede the Arabian language; albeit most corruptly."[322]

Furthermore, both "Moors" and "Turks" use the *lingua franca* to speak with Christians. *Lingua franca* was the "contact vernacular" mainly used in the Mediterranean,[323]

[319] "Dialects are linguistic differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, or syntax that may differ within a single language." (Scupin and DeCorse, *Anthropology*, 273.), and de Sosa refers to these as "diction and pronunciation." Leo Africanus is speaking about the same issue: "Moreouer they haue among them another diuersitie, not onely of pronuntiation, but of significant words also…" He could have been the source here for de Sosa. *The History and Description of Africa*, vol. 1., book 1., 134.
[320] *Topographia*, 184. Leo Africanus says the same. See Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, vol. 1., 133.
[321] Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 134.
[322] Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, vol. 1., book 1., 134.
[323] *Lingua franca* has generated heated debates regarding the meaning of the term, the origin and usage of the vernacular, and its implications (e.g. whether it unifies or divides the Mediterranean). It contained vocabulary

about which de Sosa says that the "Moors" and the "Turks" use the term "to name both the language and mode of Christian speech."[324] Moreover, de Sosa also speaks specifically about "a lingua franca of Algiers," which is a "veritable mumbo-jumbo," a mixture of words of diverse Christian kingdoms and the bad pronunciation of the "Moors and Turks." [325]

As a representative of the European intellectual tradition of the era, de Sosa viewed Muslims with a certain air of superiority.[326] He accuses Muslims of not knowing "how to vary modes, tenses, and cases as do the Christians…" (of which the result is the *lingua franca* of Algiers, "a speech of the muzzled Black slave, brought to Spain anew.") [327] This care about "language" and "naming" can be seen in chapter 2 ("Why the City Is Called Algiers"), where he blames the Arabs for renaming cities and forests. He writes: "this plague of naming so ruined the liberal arts, especially those privileged by some Arabs as a profession – Philosophy, Astrology and Medicine – that however much learned men have labored to clean up the Augean stables…"[328]

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from Greek, French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese (as de Sosa also writes). As Henry and Renée Kahane write in their "Lingua Franca: The Story of a Term" (Romance Philology, 30:1 (1976): 29: "*Sprachmischung*, linguistic merging, is indeed one of the characteristic features of the Lingua Franca, which involves by and large the amalgam of the Romance vernaculars." As Jocelyn Dakhlia also argues for different varieties of this vernacular (e.g. a Portuguese one in India, Java or Malaysia) in her *Lingua franca* (Arles: Actes sud., 2008.) In addition to these studies, see also John E. Wansbrough, *Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean* (Curzon Press, 1996).

[324] *Topographia*, 185.

[325] Ibid., 185.; Cervantes also denotes *lingua franca* in his works ("The Captive's Tale" in *Don Quijote*, *Los baños de Argel, El trato de Argel*). In "The Captive's Tale" he writes: "the language that all over Barbary and even in Constantinople is the medium between captives and Moors, and is neither Morisco nor Castilian, nor of any other nation, but a mixture of all languages." Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, 421.

[326] Cervantes calls the language of the Moors "la bastarda lengua." Ibid., 423. Names were important as is visible from the fact that the sixteenth-century traveler and "observer" was required to note both the old and the new names of the place that he visited according to the methodology of travel (or *ars apodemica*). Höfert, "The Order of Things," 59. Peter Burke in his book *Languages and Communities* explores the process of "discovering languages" from the middle of the fifteenth century, when people became conscious of varieties of languages (for instance, consider the function of the language as an object of criticism by religious reformers). Around 1500 an interest in the history of languages and linguistic diversity appears, a discussion on issues that nowadays would form a part of "sociolinguistics." Peter Burke, *Languages and Communities in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 15-16.

[327] *Topographia*, 185.

[328] Ibid., 99. Here de Sosa refers to the mythological king Augeas, whose stables contained the greatest number of cattle in the country and had never been cleaned until Heracles came, cleaned it and killed the king. Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 312.

Ceremonies and Everyday Life

The most important ceremonies celebrated by communities in the Maghrib were associated with childbirth, circumcision (of boys) or haircut (of girls), marriage and burial, and Islamic religious festivals, such as the Ramadan, the "small festival" of breaking of the fast, and the "Great Festival" of the sacrifice.[329] The deeper his analysis in his investigation of the customs and rites of Algerians, the less he relies on written sources (which were scarce to begin with). His "sources" are people, as is indicated by the often-employed phrases like "as I heard" or "having debated with some of them,"[330] or "when asked why … they responded that…"[331] Consequently, his account contains numerous legends or stories that illustrate his statements.[332]

The two topics related in great length, marriage and burial, are explained with numerous references to symbolism of religious rites that clearly distinguish a socio-cultural community. According to de Sosa, in Algiers "Turks, Moors, and renegades all marry indifferently;" and he depicts the Jewish marital customs separately. De Sosa notes a great difference between Christian customs and "Algerian" ones, as in the very beginning of the chapter that discusses marriage he starts talking about polygamy among Muslims ("Turks as well as renegades and Moors").[333] This topic was of great interest to Christians in Europe in this era that blended great indignation at this "barbarous" custom and fascination with it, but de Sosa only gives an insider's explanation for this notion according to which having several

[329] De Sosa's description of the ceremonies and customs resembles the secondary literature about Berbers in North Africa, which indicates his careful observations on cultural phenomena he experienced by himself. See for instance David Hart, *Tribe and Society in Rural Morocco* (Portland: Frank Cass, 2000) and Edmund Doutté, *Magie & Religion dans l'Afrique du Nord* (Alger.: Typ. A. Jourdan, 1909).
[330] *Topographia*, 181.
[331] Ibid., 218
[332] For example, when he speaks about the "*gotomía,"* the behavior towards Christians as being inferior to Muslims, he offers two stories for confirm his argument. Ibid., 226.; He tells a legend, which is about Uluç Ali. He says that four days before Ramadan, the Moors and Turks light many lamps in the mosques and they also light candles or lanterns in the vessels in port. "Everyone agrees that on this night all the waters shall not flow, but they shall be quiet and dormant for half an hour. And he who is venturesome, who finds the water quietly sleeping without running, will be given all he wants by God." And they say Uluç Ali, the "General of the Sea for the Turks," found the sea quiet for the third time, therefore he rose to such greatness. Ibid., 213.
[333] Ibid., 188.

women keeps the husband from committing "sin with other women."[334] The fact that he provides an "insider's" explanation suggests that he conversed with the inhabitants who became his source of knowledge. At the same time, however, on the issue of polygamy he also comments that it is "in accordance with the carnal liberty that Muhammad allows them," pointing out the contradiction in which this custom stands to "natural reason" and the "intent of matrimony."[335]

When discussing marriage, he mentions that "lineage or nobility" did not matter in choosing the wife (who could even be a converted Jew), which must have been astonishing to the audience in Christian Europe where a strict hierarchy based on origin and kinship obtained when considering marriage. Although they married regardless of origin, they "favored" groups from which a bride was to be chosen. According to de Sosa, renegades (hence former Christians) are more "perfect and diligent," and better looking. He states: "ordinarily these men [Algerians] take the greatest pride in marrying renegades."[336] The notion of Christians as being more beautiful, skilled and laborious appears here and elsewhere in the account.[337] De Sosa also draws attention to the legal matters concerning marriage and dowry in both cases: "Everything is done legally, in front of the *kadi*, or judge

[334] Ibid., 188.; De Sosa allows that, although most men have more, many have only one wife, and he only has a comment in brackets which can be treated as a negative judgment implicitly on the phenomenon – "the majority of them (as per general usage and in accordance with the carnal liberty that Muhammad allows them) have two, three, four, and more wives." Moreover, he mentions that the husband has to treat well and supply his wives equally. He seems indifferent in the beginning, but he returns to this question speaking about women and seeing it from their points of view. Ibid., 188. Joseph Pitts, an English captive, who spent part of his slavery in Algiers, and left a lengthy account of Algerian culture such as religious and everyday practices, customs and manners, also mentions that most men have only one wife. His account (*A True and Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans…*) was published in 1704. Joseph Pitts, "Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans," in Vitkus and Matar, *Piracy, Slavery, and Redemption* 243.

[335] God ordered matrimony to be "love, peace, and concord among married people and their children." *Topographia*, 192.

[336] Ibid., 188.

[337] There is a difference in the marriage ceremony when a Muslim marries a Muslim and when he marries a Christian slave, both of which de Sosa describes. In the case of "marrying" a Christian slave, man does not give dowry, unless he gives his slave freedom. Here, de Sosa relates about female slaves and the regulations concerning them; they only could be sold until they produced a child for their masters. See Toledano, *As if Silent and Absent*, 83-84.; The trope of Moriscos and Christian slaves in Algiers being hard-working appears in several places; in contrast, de Sosa accuses "Moorish" and "Turkish" women of being lazy and doing nothing more than "constantly eating and chewing." *Topographia*, 203.

of the city."[338] His basis of comparison are naturally Christian customs, so, compared to them, he points out two aspects in their "mode of marrying," which happen to be "very contrary to those in the Christian world."[339] Those are the marriages arranged by go-betweens and the dowry given by the husband and not the wife.[340]

Here De Sosa speaks about the "Moorish" inhabitants of the city in general and does distinguish further within the category of the "Moor" by relating whether the Kabyles or the Zwawa had different practices. In the case of marriage, would a *baldi* marry a woman of tribal origin? Was there "equality" in this sense?[341] What was the relationship between theory and practice? This is not clear from de Sosa's text,[342] which can be an indication of his limits of observation and information gathering. He seems to concentrate on the inhabitants of the city rather than those of the countryside.[343] De Sosa only denotes that while Jewish marriage ceremony is open for everyone, the Muslim ceremonies are not. The latter can be seen only by Christians because they are permitted to see Muslim women without being covered (except for women of high social rank). Although de Sosa mentions it several times, he does not give any explanations for this.

[338] Ibid., 189.
[339] Ibid., 189.
[340] The issue of the dowry also appears in Cervantes' *Los Baños de Argel* where a Moor wants to marry another's daughter: Lope: "And the Moor, what does he say?" Hazén: "That he deserves her, not for being a king, but for the gold that he offers as dowry: for in this strange nation, it's customary for the husband to pay the dowry, not the wife" In Miguel de Cervantes, *"The Bagnios of Algiers" and "The Great Sultana" Two Plays of Captivity*, ed. and transl. by Barbara Fuchs and Aaron J. Ilika (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, c2010), 15.
[341] Jews are the exceptions whom Muslims do not marry and who do not marry others.
[342] Leslie Peirce discusses in her book *Morality Tales* a marriage case where the brother of the bride protested against his sister's marriage arranged by their mother. The fiancé was a Kurd and although the mother seemingly did not have anything against it, the brother regarded the fiancé as being not equal, but inferior to his sister. According to Hanafi law, it is prohibited to give females in marriage to men of inferior social class and in this case, an "ethnic" group was regarded as inferior. (Peirce says this incident registers "antagonism between urban elites and those deemed lacking in urban sophistication because of their tribal backgrounds.") Regarding or regardless of religious law, similar case is easily imaginable, particularly concerning the Turks, who followed Hanafi law (while the majority of North African Muslims practiced Maliki). See Peirce, *Morality Tales*, 65.
[343] The richness of information can be seen in other accounts on Algiers and North Africa, like Leo Africanus, Mármol Carvajal, Nicholas de Nikolay and Joseph Pitts. They give account not only of various tribes around the city but also about the way of living in the countryside (agricultural areas, etc.).

The legal procedure is also examined by de Sosa in the case of the funeral and the inheritance: "The family must have received a license (there is no burying without a license) to bury the body from the Administrator of Goods of the Muslim State Treasury."[344] Comparison among "Muslim," "Christian" and "Jewish" customs is drawn also in the case of the funeral rites. For instance, Muslims carry the dead body with head first and feet last, while Christians and Jews do it the other way.[345] Furthermore, de Sosa here also gives a very detailed description about Islamic, and also supposedly typically North African customs and rites (preparing the body, praying by the marabouts, putting the body "over some tomb of their marabouts and saints,"[346] tossing the deceased's turban on the ground three times, the importance of silence at the grave, scratching their body in mourning, etc.)

De Sosa expresses his disagreement concerning afterlife, when he is discussing about why they put the dead body over a tomb of a marabout:

> When I asked someone why they did this, he wittily responded that the deceased would receive from the marabout the power to enter Heaven, whereas I say that it must be to walk faster and more robustly toward Hell.[347]

In the case of burials, the difference between a Muslim and a Jew is denoted not only in their ceremony but in their place of burial, with a distinct place for the janissaries.[348] Furthermore, de Sosa gives account not only of distinctive features between the Muslim and Jewish inhabitants of the city but points to the mistreatment of the Jews by the Muslims during their rituals, especially funerals: "But until they arrive outside of the city, they do not dare to recite their psalms or prayers, because the Turkish and Moorish boys would pelt them with a hail of stones."[349] He also discusses the intolerance towards Christians, and the

[344] *Topographia*, 247.
[345] Ibid., 248. He indicates further differences like not using candles and torches on the funeral procession.
[346] Ibid., 248.
[347] Ibid., 248.
[348] Ibid., 248.
[349] Ibid., 251. The oppression and hard circumstance of Jews is related in a Castilian account, where the author says in one place that Jews who immigrated from Spain suffered bad treatment upon their arrival to North Africa even as much as some returned to the Iberian Peninsula. Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 137. Leo Africanus gives account on their status in Fez, according to which they were in *dhimmi* status and were obliged

double standard used in the society. That the Christians were regarded as inferior by Muslims is related at great length and supported by numerous examples: "If a Christian voluntarily gives or presents anything to a Muslim, they say they are not obliged to remunerate, pay back, nor even show gratitude for it, for it is owed them" because God ordered it like this – this was the answer of a Moor: "Look, my Christian friend, Allah … orders the Christian to behave nicely to the Moor, but not vice-versa."[350] This notion is the *gotomía*.[351]

The inequality in the Algerian society is not limited to Jews and Christians but de Sosa tells about the difference in the treatment of different Muslim groups as well. It manifests itself, on the one hand, in legal issues. As a doctor of law he dives into legal matters, such as "repudation" (divorce), women in front of the court, inheritance, testaments, witnessing and testimony, and other judicial treatments.[352] Here, he relates that when a Muslim dies his children inherit his goods, but "if a Turk or renegade has daughters or a male child, the patrimony is divided equally among them; but if he is a Moor, the Grand Turk, or the king of Algiers, is substituted in place of a child..."[353] and so forth. In the same way there is a great difference in the treatment of people in the case of adultery. The conditions and sentences are depicted in great detail by de Sosa, denoting the distinction between the sentence in the case of a Muslim adulterer, and when Christian men commit it

to wear distinctive clothes, headdress and behave in "deferential manner," furthermore, top pay tribute or poll tax to the sultan. Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 131.

[350] *Topographia*, 225.

[351] Garcés suggests that "*gotomía*" is a slang word used in North Africa and came from the root of the verb *katama* in Arabic meaning to hide, or to suppress, repress, subdue. Garcés, *An Early Modern Dialogue*, 343. In addition, de Sosa gives example for the intolerance towards Christians by referencing a case when the governor of Algiers ordered the Christian images that "Turks had taken from certain galley" as booty burnt, because they were regarded as the cause of famine in 1579. It provoked de Sosa's to call the Muslims "barbaric." *Topographia*, 223-24.

[352] He even keeps an eye on newly ordered matters as he gives account on a new order coming from Constantinople in 1580, which changed the procedure of inheritance of the renegades. Moreover, de Sosa denotes the difference between theory and practice as he writes if a man (a Muslim) commit a fault but "please the *mizwar*" (a kind of chief of a body of troops) they do not present him to the *kadi*. Ibid., 230.

[353] He continues: "If the deceased was a Moor and only had daughters, all of his worldly goods go to the Grand Turk, and his daughters are disinherited. And if he is a Turk or renegade, the estate is divided in half, so that

with Muslim women – the first pays a fine, the latter is burned alive or forced to turn Muslim.[354]

On the other hand, the inequality and intra-Muslim tensions are depicted in the text apart from legal matters. The tensions are indicated already at the beginning of de Sosa's account relating the history of the city:

> …the Turks having loudly declared him [Barbarossa] throughout the city as lord of Algiers, the Moors remained greatly stricken with fright and, not daring to resist the Turks, were forced to consent and subject themselves to the yoke and lordship of Barbarossa…"[355]

The oppression of the Turks comes up repeatedly: "The Algerians seldom hang anyone, unless he is a public thief or criminal or killer. But if he is a Turk, everything is concealed and made to look good."[356] In the government of Algiers de Sosa also denotes this superiority of the Turks: there are two *kadis*, a Turk" and a "Moor" and "there is this order or preeminence: that the kadi of the Moors can appeal to that of the Turks, but not the other way around."[357] De Sosa goes as far as to claim that the Moors are so badly treated by the "incomparable pride" of Turks that "even as Muslims these Moors sigh repeatedly for the Christian armada that will liberate them from such an evil and perverse people, as all the

the Grand Turk, or king of Algiers, takes half, and the deceased man's daughter or daughters take the other half …" Ibid., 227.

[354] The difference is indicated in the case of women as well, and the punishment changes according to whether she has been caught for the first time or was a repeated offender, whether she committed adultery with a Moor, a Turk, a renegade or a Christian. Ibid., 230. In addition, de Sosa relates that a witness' reputation was of central importance to his ability to testify: e.g. street peddlers and those who earn a living in the public baths are rejected as witnesses because "they say that these two kinds of people, no matter how they earn their money, would give false testimony." De Sosa also tells of a man, who was rejected as a witness because he crossed the tombs without his breeches ("he was exhibiting his shameful parts to the dead"). Ibid., 230.

[355] Ibid, 103.

[356] Ibid, 267.

[357] Ibid, 266.

world knows."[358] This careful depiction of intra-religious distinctions and oppositions in the Muslim community of Algiers is a new and exceptional phenomenon in de Sosa's era.[359]

Women of Algiers are depicted with great care by de Sosa. This weight given to their representation can partly be explained by the intriguing role they had in the societies of the Maghrib in religious activities, both in public and private spheres, and by their role in the raising of the next generation.[360] Besides the leisurely activities he associates with women – taking bath, visiting each other, going out to country houses, and partying a lot – de Sosa also emphasizes religious rites they practice. Their peculiar task was visiting the tombs of marabouts and making offerings, and visiting the tombs of family members.[361] As de Sosa says, "a woman who does not make these visits is not considered a good Muslim,"[362] indicating that these pre-Islamic practices were blended into Islamic rites.

His description of women's religious practices (particularly of Muslim women)[363] focuses on their seeking the intercession of the supernatural. De Sosa describes women's

[358] Ibid, 233. This theme of Christians who are waited to liberate people (hence conquer the land) appear not only when de Sosa is speaking about the miseries of the Christian captives but when he is telling about female renegades who still "commend themselves to our Lord Jesus Christ … they wait that day in which the Christian armada will arrive in Algiers." Ibid, 229.

[359] Only later, in the seventeenth century, the Venetian envoy to North Africa, Salvago, makes similar distinctions, and gives account of differences among the Muslims of Algiers and of Istanbul, as well as about the social distinctions between the Ottoman metropolitan and provincial elites. He mentions the "Anatolian Turks" arriving to Barbary with the disdain of the "European Turks" and making themselves the leaders of Barbary. He also mentions the *kuloğlu*s – the sons of "Turkish" soldiers and "Moorish" mothers, whom I have mentioned in Chapter 2 of the thesis. Rothman, "Self-fashioning," 123. De Sosa's distinguishing between Muslim and Muslim, moreover, pointing to their bad relationship could be of strategical importance in the sense that it pointed to the "Christians" (Spain or else) a potential ally against the "Turks." This idea is also discussed by Margaret Meserve who points out that some humanists, presented certain Muslim polities as "good" empires of Islam to single them out as potential allies against the Ottomans. Meserve, "Introduction," 3.

[360] Ruth Margolies Beitler and Angelica R. Martinez, *Women's Roles in the Middle East and North Africa* (Greenwood, c2010), xv. De Sosa allows that Algerian women "rear their children with much loving care." The importance of a successful childbirth is also indicated by the many rites and celebrations connected to it. De Sosa talks about "devices and charms" mothers hang around their babies' necks. De Sosa says that Algerian children behave badly to their parents, and later become lecherous and great drinkers. Their education is also not sufficient, which is the fault of their parents. *Topographia*, 195-96.

[361] Visiting the dead members of the family is also described at greater length in the chapter discussing death and burial. This important activity of women in the Algerian society also appears in the account of Joseph Pitts. As he puts it, "the women flock out thousands in the morning to visit the sepulchers of their deceased relations, weeping over their graves and petitioning to them… The women also pay their visits to the marabouts." Joseph Pitts, "Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans," 254.

[362] *Topographia*, 205.

[363] De Sosa writes that Christian men and women are banned from the premises where the rite is practiced.

practices, which he associates with the occult spirits, as "witchcraft."[364] Since these women are not corrected and disciplined by the churchmen, he only says that they "never cease drawing lots and casting spells, removing teeth, grinding bones… and calling up *devils*." "Dancing in the same manner, the *devil* enters them in the same way…"[365] Otherwise, the tone of the "external observer" who has great curiosity towards an alien culture is felt in de Sosa's relation. According to him, in Algiers fortunetelling happens through "having a familiar spirit, who they claim enters into their heads." De Sosa depicts how certain women dance and fall into a trance, in which the "aged Black women" are the most competent.[366]

De Sosa also gives account of a "college or company of sisterhood," which many distinguished women enter. They hold a ceremony before which they change costume and they keep out Christians because they say, according to de Sosa, that the *djinn* would not respond. Such an exclusion of Christians appears only in the case of this particular rite, but not elsewhere. Moreover, it is interesting that he points out that Christians are allowed to see Muslim women unveiled and that they are allowed to see the wedding ceremony of the Muslims, while the Jews are strictly banned from them.

De Sosa discusses home decoration and cooking together with women's pastime activities. This seems to be a good opportunity for him to accuse the Muslim women of

[364] De Sosa gives account on women "proficient in sorcery," casting spells in order to be loved, to have good fortunes, as well as for their family's well-being (to succeed in marrying off daughters); women would also cure illness with the help of the "*djinns.*" Even today, in Morocco people believe some women to have a talent in magic and ability to engage with the divine. See Beitler and Martinez, *Women roles*, 114-115. One has to note here the great issue (and a debate about its existence already in the fifteenth century) of witches and sorcery in early modern Europe, which was a frequent accusation against people in front of the Inquisition. In 1537, the Supreme Council of the Inquisition in Spain issued instructions to the regional courts how to handle such cases. Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 81.

[365] *Topographia*, 206. Italics mine.

[366] "Worth noting here is that there are some aged Black women among them who say wonderful things." Ibid, 206. Joseph Pitts tells a story in which a black woman helped him find his stolen jacket. This black woman could "as they say, tell fortunes, and inform people where their lost goods are." Joseph Pitts, "Religion and Manners of the Mohammetans," 308. Leo Africanus also depicts fortunetellers, "diviners," and conjurers in Fez, who practice with the help of the devil: "and the diuels giue them answere with beckning, or with some gesture of their hands or eies." His tone is judgmental: "so inconsiderate and damnable is their credulitie in this behalf..." In addition "they haue damnable custome to commit vnlawfull Venerie among themselues, which I cannot expresse in any modester termes." He also mentions women dancing "strangely at the noise of drums."

laziness again and of doing very "few things" during the day but chewing and eating. He claims that the same is the reason for their houses being so simple and not properly furnished: "they do not manage to augment their clothing and household items with their work and diligence as do Christian women."[367] De Sosa argues the same about the food. He has no great interest in this topic but uses it to show that "the poorest shoemaker or tailor in Christendom treats himself better than the richest Moor or Turk in Algiers"[368]—the point that was also made by Leo Africanus, almost verbatim.[369]

It is interesting that de Sosa shows no familiarity with either the household items he lists or the furnishings and style of Algerian homes, although according to Barbara Fuchs, home decoration of Muslim style lived on in the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth century in Spain.[370] On the other hand, the same is not true at all of his descriptions of the festivals and games of the "small festival" [371] in Algiers, where he shows familiarity with the customs and the phenomenon of celebrating separately according to "race" or "nation:"

Otherwise his account of fortunetelling and "witchcraft" is not as detailed as de Sosa's. Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, Vol. 2, Book 3, 457-459.

[367] *Topographia*, 207.; The other reason de Sosa mentions is the stinginess of Muslim husbands, who do not spend money on decoration, and he also gives a religious explanation for not using household tools of high value: "they consider this a sin and their Qur'an prohibits it." Eventually he states that they "simply cannot approach this degree of elegance." Ibid, 208.

[368] Ibid, 208.

[369] Like de Sosa, Leo Africanus also notes the absence of the kitchen items such as napkin and fork, and writes about the simplicity of food and drink. He closes his discussion in the same manner as de Sosa: "In short, a simple Italian gentleman lives with more refinement than any great chief or notable in Africa." See Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels*, 120.

[370] Barbara Fuchs cites as example of Lope de Vega's house (which became a museum) which is furnished with pillows on the floor and items of Moorish provenance. See Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 143. She quotes Helen Nader, who says that "until late in the seventeenth century, Christian women sat on the floor Muslim style; to accommodate this custom, in the women's salon, a low platform (estrado) covered with carpets and cushions occupied most of the floor space." Fuchs, "The Spanish Race," in *Rereading the Black Legend: the Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires*, eds. by Margaret R. Greer et al. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2007), 94.

[371] In North Africa, and in de Sosa's relation, the most celebrated festivals are the "small festival" after Ramadan, (*al-'Id al-Saghir*, to which de Sosa gives the Turkish term *Şeker Bayram*), the "Great Festival" (*al-'Id al-Kabir*), and the "*mawlid*," the birthday of Mohammed. He also mentions *Laylat al-Kadr*, the twenty-seventh night of Ramadan, and the *sab'wa-'isterin*, which he calls *axerim*, the forth day before Ramadan. *Topographia*, 209-215; Hart, "Berbers of Morocco." De Sosa relates legends, games, and other curious rites concerning the festivals and the fast, mostly giving the explanations of the Muslims while adding ironic comments in some places, like: "Their marabouts give an amusing reason for this, saying that Allah wished and ordained this so that the months and dates would not complain that some were more celebratory, and thus more honored, than others." *Topographia*, 209.

> The children get together in small groups to dance separated by race, just as in Seville and Lisbon they separate the Blacks of Guinea, because the Kabyles stay in other part, the Moors of the Sahara in another, and the Blacks in yet another. And the Black women also come together, and each nation dances and plays its drums and flutes according to its own custom.[372]

According to de Sosa, the Bedouins do not join in these dances as they are "vile and weak-spirited people." As for the Turks and renegades, they do not join either because "they presume to show more gravity"[373] and think and act as superior to the other inhabitants of the city. Among the games De Sosa mentions wrestling, which also appears in the accounts of Nicholas de Nikolay and Joseph Pitts.[374] He also mentions the *juegos de cañas* or jousting games, which must have been familiar to Spanish readers.[375] In this chapter de Sosa also gives account of the Christians, who also "celebrate and enjoy the good times," forgetting their miseries, but this is the only mention of them that does not emphasize the misfortune of their captivity in the city.[376]

De Sosa criticizes and debates with Muslims and Jews about their beliefs or customs. His argumentation is that of a "sensible man," who follows logic and is not satisfied with simple religious (Muslim or Jewish) explanations. For example, he tells of the celebration of Muhammad's birthday with the believers putting some food in various places in the house for him to eat, and calling for Muhammad, saying that "because they are poor he should not spurn them and go eat that night in the homes and privies of the wealthy."[377] De Sosa finds this laughable and pities the people who believe in this: "Although this is an amusing thing to witness and even to make fun of, it is also, on the other hand, worthy of the greatest

[372] Ibid, 211-212.
[373] Ibid, 212.
[374] It is visible that de Nikolay has a broader view regarding Africa and the Ottoman Empire, as he mentions other places where he saw wrestling, and also tells about a source he read about Ethiopia, while de Sosa has a close focus on Algiers and rarely provides information on anything outside the city. Nicholas de Nicolay, *Navigations to Turkie*, fol. 86.
[375] Barbara Fuchs talks about its Andalusian origin, which "had become fully Spanish." (Fuchs, *Exotic Nation*, 101.) She cites a Spanish account from 1612 (*Relación de la expulsion de los moriscos*) where the author Damián Fonseca talks about the local Moors playing cañas. Ibid., 166.
[376] *Topographia*, 212.
[377] Ibid, 214.

compassion, given that the devil can so cruelly fool men with rational souls and judgment."[378] His blaming Muslims for being against "rational souls and judgment" and being ridiculous also appears in the section on ritual sacrifice: "if they ask them when and how God blessed that ram [to be sacrificed], they respond in a serious way that God sends an invisible angel for each ram that blesses it..."[379] He criticizes Muslims for abstaining from pork and drinking wine as well as for regarding certain Christian saints as Muslim and respecting them as such, etc. In these cases he uses "logical argumentation" and wants to talk some sense into his interlocutors. When it does not help, he accuses them harshly of being "greatly ignorant" and states that "none of them knows logic, nor philosophy, metaphysics, geometry, astrology, or any liberal art."[380] He applies this accusation to Muslims in general, not only in Algiers but "in all of Barbary…Turkey, Asia, Arabia, and Persia (where the Law of Muhammad is observed and flourishes)," since there is not "a school in which some or all these sciences are taught and professed."[381] He states that there are few surgeons in all of Algiers, where only a Genoese renegade and a Morisco from Valencia are to be found. The latter fact, he argues, confirms his statement about Muslims' not being skilled, clever, educated,[382] and not following their sense. Hence, in de Sosa's account Christians appear as superior, and Moriscos as being more educated and skilled than other Muslims. De Sosa considers the Muslims as backward, superstitious, and blinded by religious prejudice because they always respond to his questions with answers like "God

[378] Ibid, 213.
[379] Ibid, 213.
[380] Ibid, 223. Here he differs greatly from the Granadian writer Leo Africanus, who is emphasizing the Arabs' knowledge in "the studie of good artes and scientes," saying that they are "most studious of Mathematiques, of Philosophie, and of Astrologie." Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa*, vol. 1, Book 1, 182.
[381] *Topographia*, 223.
[382] When discussing the education of Muslim children in Algiers he mentions their learning the alphabet and counting on the abacus (here he mentions that they use the same numbers as in the Christian world). Interestingly, he distinguishes between reading and writing in "Turkish" and Arabic "because there are separate schools for each of these." But he adds that the marabouts, who teach them, are not masters of arts: "few are the teachers and marabouts who may understand the Qur'an" because it is written in "an ancient Arabic language." Moreover, he mentions a marabout about whom they say that he learned the "ancient Arabic," but de Sosa suspects that he was "In truth an ignorant fellow with no knowledge of any discipline or liberal arts…" Ibid, 175-76.

was powerful enough to do everything" and "God knows" and because it is a "great sin." An example of de Sosa's "logical argumentation" is the following:

> They say that the dead marabouts, who are their saints, come at night to eat what the devoted offer them over their tombs, like Muhammad on the day of this birth, as we earlier noted. When I tell them that this is not possible because their bodies cannot eat, being ashes and dust in their tombs, nor their spirits either, since they are not nourished by bread, nor fruit, nor other foods, they respond that God knows that, and that in such cases the "who" or the "why" is not relevant. This is the answer of brutish people, without judgment.[383]

He also wants to convince Muslims that it is not reasonable to claim Christian saints as Muslims,[384] because "our Lord Christ lived 621 years before Muhammad, and …his saintly disciples had very different lives from the Muslims."[385] He shows further the superstitious nature of the Moors and Turks with the account of their believing "mightily in dreams" as something prophetic, sacrificing a ram before they start an important business, etc.[386]

De Sosa also has a different perception of honor, saying that "among them honor is not given preeminence, nor does anyone regard himself a better than another for being the son of a Turk, renegade, Moor, Jew, or Christian…" Only the janissary rank "carries some kind of honor," as they can hit anybody while nobody dares to touch them. For de Sosa, this "equality" (in principle) implies lack of honor, and thus, lack of virtue. He concludes: "From this it may be concluded that not having honor among them, what virtue can there be? The result is that they very easily tolerate any affronts, and even the richest and most powerful ka'id is liable to insults or beatings…"[387] Where he is discussing virtues and vices, he comments that it was a good characteristic of the Algerians that they "do not challenge, stab, or wound each other except for some great disaster. The reason for this may be that they

[383] Ibid, 221
[384] Ibid, 217-18
[385] Ibid, 218.
[386] Apart from the consternation of the "learnt man" de Sosa's account on these "superstitions" of the Muslims can be also put parallel to the inquiries and records of the Inquisition about people within Spain having "prophetic dreams," or "talent in visionary," etc. See the cases of Elena/ Eleno de Céspedes and of Piedrola in Chapter 3-4 of Kagan, *Inquisitional Inquiries*, 64-115.
[387] *Topographia*, 230-231.

possess no sense of honor," but also that they have "a great facility for reconciliation"[388] and quickly make peace with each other. The perception of honor, "honor code," or rather the "rhetoric of honor"[389] was seemingly different in Spain, where the rhetoric of honor was important "because it gave people a means to avoid or undo humiliation."[390] One way to resolve conflicts concerning honor and reputation was the formal duel. It appears that de Sosa believed that without recourse to dueling Algerians had no means of defending one's honor and reputation.

In these chapters, it could be seen that it was de Sosa's intention to keep the image of the "scholar" who gives account of his observations with "objectivity" while keeping the distance. He relates about things (like the witchcraft), which could have been condemned by a Christian, particularly by a man of the church, as many had done before. He also intended to convey the image of himself as a careful observer who got close as much as it was possible to an alien culture by giving internal explanations, using "local" words and expressions (giving the names of the months in Arabic), and giving greatly detailed description of what he saw and what he heard. In this methodology de Sosa can be placed among some travelers, geographers, and *baili* of his time, who out of curiosity, scientific impetus, and because this was their job tried to give accurate knowledge on the "other," and claimed competence in another cultural code as a means of self-fashioning. However, not many "observers" in the era were able to, or had the will to, make a detailed analysis about "other" societies, and pay attention to nuances in differences and similarities besides

[388] Ibid, 245.

[389] In his book *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain* Scott K. Taylor argues that in spite of the many honor plays and confessor's manuals and other code of conduct books written on how to correct behavior and handle honor issues, there was not a single and clear "code of honor" which everyone could follow. Engaging with criminal court cases Taylor assumes that what was written in these manuals was not all the time exactly the same as how people acted, but "rather honor can best be understood as rhetoric." "The *rhetoric of honor* simply means the conscious use of phrases, gestures, and actions – including elements of the duel – to convey information about the issues in contention while simultaneously advancing a violent confrontation." He further argues for "rhetoric of honor" being a better term, because these words and deeds concerning honor and violence were not fixed. See Scott K. Taylor, *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, c2008), 21.

providing explanations to a variety of "foreign" phenomena as de Soda did. At the same time, although he gave many internal explanations for certain phenomena, he had basically a Christian perspective (although the familiarity of someone from the Iberian Peninsula with certain Muslim customs is obvious). While he claimed an insider's knowledge of the Algerian world, with his negative comments and by using classical rhetoric in some places ("barbarians," they call Muhammad "as the prophets of Baal called for their god")[391] he also distanced himself from it and reinforced his identity as a Christian, Iberian, churchman and doctor of law.

Apart from curiosity and "scientific" inquiry a possible explanation for this inclination towards a kind of "objective" narration, and detailed account of matters of every day life – both in cases when it had to do with religion and when it did not (if it can be separated at all) – can be of strategic nature, that is, the service of the Church and the Spanish state in their struggle aimed at extirpating "heresy" (in this case principally crypto-Muslims and crypto-Jews) from the peninsula. The text could aim to help the functioning of the Inquisition, which examined the lives of the "others" and examined reports on Muslim societies for information on, for instance, how a "Muslim" would carry his deceased in the funeral procession (with head first, feet last, unlike Christians), or how a Muslim would not go into the house with his/her shoes on, etc. However, the clear purpose of writing cannot be assessed, and de Sosa also could have had multiple reasons for writing that served a variety of possible agendas.

[390] Taylor, *Honor and Violence in Golden Age Spain*, 228.
[391] *Topographia*, 214.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of Antonio de Sosa's account this thesis argues that a diverse picture of the Muslims was present in Europe of the early modern era. Moreover, the work discussed in this thesis makes a significant step towards a more nuanced representation of and approach towards the "other," including a different methodology with which an alien culture is to be classified and analyzed. In his treatise de Sosa analyzed a Muslim society using different categories of classification than only religious; for him, the basic markers of identity inclined towards a more "secular" vision based on shared cultural, regional and anthropological traits. Religion still played a great role in his categorization, and his concepts and markers of distinction overlap, but the appearance of a kind of "ethnic" or "ethno-religious," "ethno-cultural" sensibility is obvious here. In this sense, the *Topography* is an outstanding example of the "ethnographic" treatise of the early modern era. As it could be seen at first from the structure of de Sosa's account, he put the emphasis on the "diversity of human" – the diverse inhabitants of Algiers and their place of living, their dress, languages, physical appearance, custom, everyday life, religious rites, etc. He used socio-cultural themes to observe and represent the culture of the "Algerians," in which method he partly followed the patterns of the *ars apodemica*, the methodology of travel, but with a sensible stress on the people – their similarity and diversity to each other and to Christians.

First, I looked at the characteristics of genres that the *Topography* bears. I showed that it can be regarded as a work belonging to the travel literature, as it follows the methodology of travel, and gives an account along the categories that were defined in the *methodus apodemica*. He walks the reader stone by stone through the city of Algiers, and gives a detailed description about the city and its inhabitants with a studied tone of indifference or distance (however, only partly successfully). His account, however, can also

be understood as a captivity narrative. The experience (the trauma) of captivity with all of its implications, such as his changed social status (from a prominent man of the church to a slave kept in chains in the house of a renegade Jew), and the feeling of humiliation, incarceration, that he was closed off the world he knew and for which he was important, all must have influenced his strategies of writing and the contents of his account. The hatred towards his captors, especially if it is true that his son died there, left its imprints on the text (e.g. his general opinion on Jews as his master was a converted Jew). But on the other hand, he entered, in fact, in a close relation with the culture and everyday life of the inhabitants of the city as he spent four and a half years there, in everyday contact with the people of Algiers. Thus, he could observe the common life and make connections and conversations, and even debate with people there. Lastly, the miseries of the captives in Algiers appear in this book as well, and are not confined only to his *Diálogos.*

In order to place de Sosa among the writings of the early modern era, I looked at the concepts, notions, and perceptions that can be found in his writing. Beyond methods of travel writing, he also used those concepts which appeared and gained more importance in the humanist literature of the era. Such notions are the curiosity towards another culture (and not the dismissal of every aspects of it by all means), more emphasis on empirical knowledge and observations and less on his sources as he got deeper into the text. His concern about languages is also reflective of the growing interest in this issue during the early modern era, and so is the examination and categorization of people according to physiognomic traits. Stereotypes of the early modern era also appear in the writing, such as the usage of "barbarian," lazy, cruel and "lecherous Turks," but this is not what prevails in the text at all. While he reports on phenomena that were condemned by many of his contemporaries, he often attempts to evaluate them with a tone of curiosity and indifference, without judging and blaming. It has also been noted that the most negatively depicted group

were the "Turks," (the conventionally called "Turkish threat") the enemy which threatened Christendom, and the renegades, who violated borders of religious, and social kind, which weakened the Christian struggle against the Muslims, and strengthened the enemy. So his condemning statements are mostly that of the threatened Christian of Europe. This is exactly the case also in his handling of Moriscos: On the one hand, de Sosa considers them as more valuable people, because they were born on a "Christian land," and thus, they are skilled and learnt. But the Moriscos' great knowledge of the Spanish lands made them the most dangerous enemy. Furthermore, I have shown that de Sosa's main accusation against "Algerians" ("Turks, Moors, and renegades") is their being senseless, illogical, being backward and bounded by religious prejudice. His argumentation against religious blindness and superstitions uses references to logic and reason which is a different kind of discussion on matters of church and belief as opposed the contemporary conventions. What is even more important in his descriptions is that he does not deal with questions of origin anymore; while his contemporary, the French royal geographer, delegated to Constantinople, Nicholas de Nikolay, still called the "Turks" Scythians, de Sosa gets rid of these concepts of the humanist writings mainly typical of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century. For the sake of accuracy, de Sosa even corrects some of his sources and insists on his own observations, like in the case when he "corrected" Leo Africanus. His critical attitude also is visible in questioning what he sees and asking for the reason and origin of certain phenomena. Moreover, he debates with those who he asks for the explanation in order to go even deeper into the issue. I would say that de Sosa was a more sensitive "fieldworker" than most of his contemporaries, completing or correcting the assumptions about the "other" present in the period.

In addition to this, de Sosa does not argue for an impermeable border between the Christian and Muslim worlds: he rather points to similarities to be found on both "sides" and

does not insist on differences (partly due to active trading between Algiers and Christian regions). Moreover, the notion of familiarity appears in the text, where de Sosa calls on certain piece of clothing, a game, etc., which are also present in Spain. It seems that he does not show as much familiarity as he could have regarding Morisco culture's strong presence in the Iberian culture. But this issue raises questions since we do not know of de Sosa's childhood and his familiarity with Morisco culture. As Muslim presence and influence varied from region to region, it seems impossible to define clearly the extent of "Spanishness" in his case. To show unfamiliarity (or to show not much familiarity) with Muslim aspects of culture can also be a strategy of writing, and thus, argue for the homogenous Christian Spain and against the accusation of the "Black Legend." It is also worth considering that his writing may have served the Spanish Inquisition's goal of extirpating "heresy." A possible purpose of his work could have been to serve the search for crypto-Muslims and crypto-Jews among the inhabitants of the peninsula. It can be also one possible answer to the question why de Sosa chose those cultural themes he looks at, and why he depicted every little aspect of a topic. Apart from the plausible answer that it was the expectation and style of humanist writings and de Sosa gained authority in this way, I suggested another reason of strategical nature. It has been shown how his description of the city served military goals (as it was a common practice to use captivity narratives, travel accounts, etc. for this matter, and as de Sosa's letter to the king also attested). His "ethnographic" description could have also served political-religious matters in the same way.

A further assumption in the thesis, related to the strategical function of his text, was the great usefulness of the depiction of the divided nature of the Muslim society in Algiers for a possible military ally from the Muslims against the "Turks." Even though these assumptions cannot be proven, at least they point to the complexity and richness of the text,

and its main strength, in my view, is the portrayal of intra-Muslim relations, tension, and inequality of the members of a Muslim society on the basis of "ethnic" diversity. Besides other merits of the *Topography*, the fact that this nuanced depiction of a Muslim society was done by a Christian cleric and more efficiently than his contemporaries who served as envoys or ambassadors, makes this work significant. My study builds on the works on early modern identity politics in the context of Muslim-Christian relations, and ways of categorizing different groups of people. The early modern era was a period of developing new concepts and methods in scientific explanations that included a new approach to people on a more "secular" basis that translated into "ethnic" categorizations. However, the concept of "ethnicity" in the early modern context should be treated with great caution and not automatically ascribed its modern connotations. By going into details of de Sosa's descriptions and categorization based on "ethnic" identity markers I attempted to capture how this concept worked in his account rather than assuming that it functioned identically as in some modern text.

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APPENDIX

Fig. 1. The Western Mediterranean 1480-1580.

Andrew Hess, *The Forgotten Frontier, A History of the Sixteenth-Century Ibero-African Frontier* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978), 94.

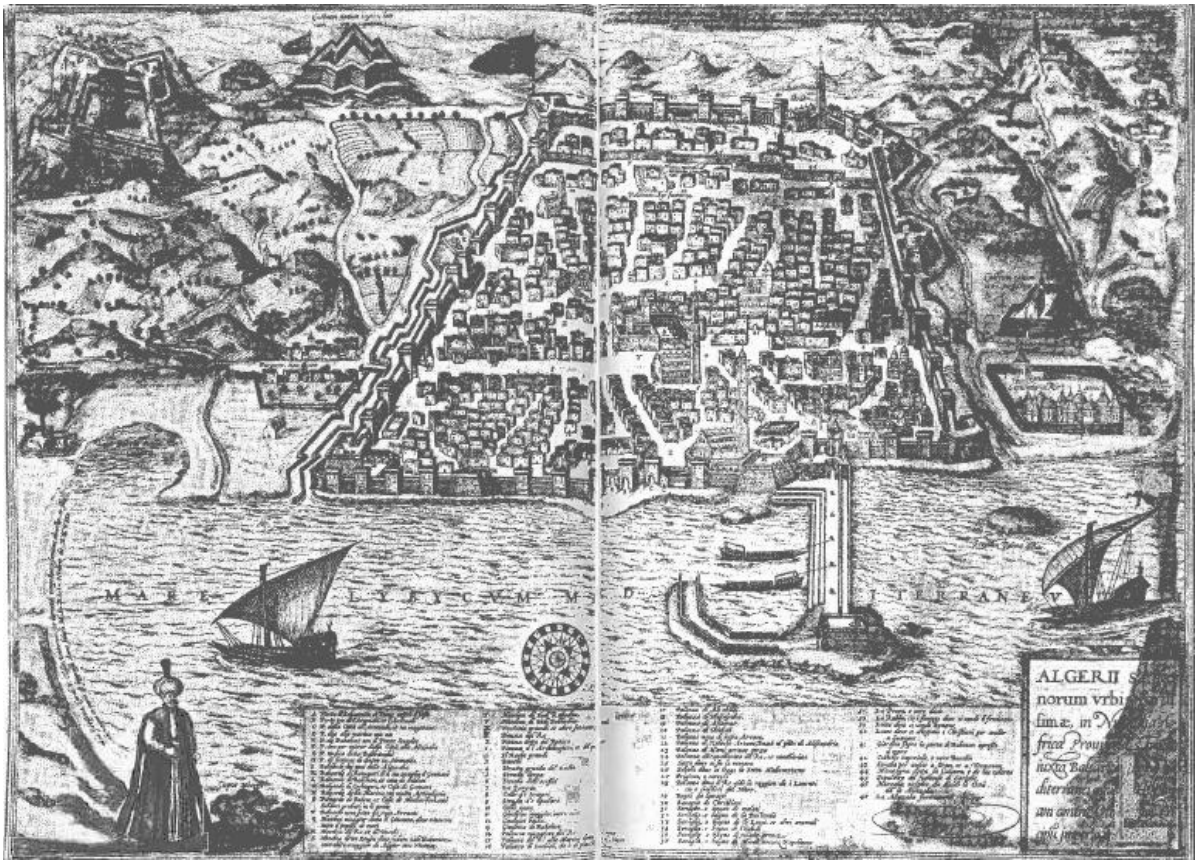

Fig. 2. Algiers, a print from a German manuscript c. 1550.

John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast, Algiers under the Turks, 1500-1830* (New York: Norton & Company, c1979), 118-119.

Fig. 3. Hayreddin Barbarossa

John B. Wolf, *The Barbary Coast, Algiers under the Turks, 1500-1830* (New York: Norton & Company, c1979), 124.